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EDUCATION IN NON-WESTERN COUNTRIES

by JAN VAN BAAL, Amsterdam

In every culture education is a form of transfer of culture from one generation to the next. In western civilization education has developed into one of the major concerns of society, keeping engaged huge numbers of professional specialists whose one and only task it is to educate the members of successive generations of children and adolescents. This kind of education has been institutionalized mainly in the school. Though school education is by no means restricted to western culture and has been applied in a number of other civilizations as well, western school education is unique in combining long duration and a widely extended curriculum on the one hand with its universal and compulsory application to all members of the younger generation on the other. Today this system of education is on its way to universal application. For reasons which need neither reiteration nor discussion modern school education is universally accepted as a primary condition for development and progress throughout the world. Within a few years the school, once a predominantly western institution, will be part of the basic experience of every child wherever in the world.

The introduction of western learning and western school education into the non-western world has far-reaching implications. One of them – and an important one – is this: in the non-western world school education is not restricted to being a form of transfer of culture from one generation to the next but also one from one culture to the other. Even where this education is provided by non-western teachers the matter dealt with is western in origin and nature and the dissemination of this kind of knowledge must serve to influence the non-western culture in a western sense. That does not mean that the ultimate aim of the process of education is a complete westernization. It aims at the transfer of such knowledge and techniques of western origin as are indispensable for the progress and development of the non-western societies where this education is given. As such it is none the less the transfer of an important part of western culture to a non-western one.

The fact that school education in the non-western world is not restricted to the transfer of culture from one generation to the next but implies the transfer of culture from one civilization to the other, leads to two important conclusions, the first of them being that school education in non-western countries is of necessity a more complicated and more difficult process than in the west. Greater demands are made on it, and it

receives less support. As far as support is concerned: education at home and in the village is less geared to formal school education than is the case in the western world. In many instances home education and school education will even be vastly different not only in content but also in outlook. And, with regard to the greater demands made on school education, it must be stated that, in teaching non-western children, the teacher has less occasion to refer back to what the children have learned at home than he has in the western world. Thus hygiene is a widely-taught subject which must make up for the deficiencies of family training in this respect. In more backward areas children have to be taught a great variety of things and, next to these, many things also have to be unlearned. For all these reasons one must be prepared for the fact that school education demands more time and attention in these than in the western countries. The idea that education in development areas can be simpler than that provided by corresponding schools in the west is based on faulty thinking. The indoctrination of an equal amount of knowledge and techniques requires more time and more intensive training in non-western than in western countries.

The second conclusion to be drawn from our definition of education as transfer of culture is that school education in development areas is a matter of acculturation, i.e., of a form of culture change resulting in a closer resemblance of the local culture to the culture towards which the acculturation process is directed – western culture in this instance. This implies that school education in non-western countries must be placed within the framework of the complex of problems concerning the acculturation of non-western peoples. Here again there is reason to stress that by acculturation we do not mean a complete westernization, but the incorporation of such measure of western culture traits as is indispensable for securing a full share in human progress and prosperity.

Granting that some degree of transfer of culture is unavoidable and even highly desirable, the question arises: what does that imply? The answer given depends on the answer to the question as to what culture is. If culture is defined as a complex composed of more or less loosely connected cultural elements susceptible to multiplication or change in a fairly arbitrary manner, then there are no serious problems. Then school education is simply a matter of teaching and we may expect adjustment to follow without great difficulty. In that case acculturation means the adoption of new cultural elements from another culture, something which has taken place throughout the course of history. The phenomenon is termed "diffusion". Seen from this angle the present-day acculturation process as fostered by school education differs from former instances of

diffusion only in the greater number of culture elements simultaneously taken over. If there is any problem at all, it is of a quantitative kind; otherwise it is just as much a case of diffusion as any previous one.

The underlying concept of culture, however, is no longer shared by modern anthropologists who refuse to regard culture as a more or less chance collection of cultural elements, but tend to stress that a culture is an integrated whole based somehow on a primary attitude towards life and on a fundamental concept of the world, which are expressed in the culture concerned. A culture is, among other things, an expression of a certain way of life and thought, based upon what is called a "cultural personality", i.e. a personality structured in such a way as to find adequate expression in that culture. Cultural personality is, of course, an abstraction, but an abstraction based on very concrete realities. The analysis of the concept of style and of cultural patterning reveals that in all periods and cultures there is a tendency in every society toward the formation of a certain type of ideal personality. This process is partly conscious, partly unconscious. As a conscious effort it takes the form of concrete ideals concerning desirable behaviour. As an unconscious process it reveals itself as a pressure exerted by society on its young members who grow up under circumstances which are identical in many ways. The identity of ideals and circumstances created by society and faced by its young members seems to be greater and more comprehensive in primitive societies than in a modern western community. However, we should not underestimate the effect of the modern world as a whole on a child growing up under its hold. Compulsory education, for instance, has the effect of creating highly identical circumstances for all children, and its unifying result on the formation of their character, though difficult to define, should not be underrated. We will have occasion to return to the subject later on. For the moment it may suffice to state that in the process of growing up, circumstances and ideals prevailing in a society tend to produce a type of personality which, though varying from individual to individual, shows a number of fundamental similarities which are summarized in the abstract concept of cultural personality. That this abstract concept applies to concrete fact is apparent from such differences as everybody knows to exist between an American, a Spaniard and an Englishman. The concept of cultural personality expresses in a scientifically operational form the pre-scientific notion of national character. The fact that the notion has found a scientifically operational form is important because the implications of the concept have far-reaching consequences.

The first of these consequences has been clearly demonstrated by

Hallowell in his article "Culture, Personality and Society" in Kroeber's *Anthropology Today*. He reminds his readers of Fromm's statement that western industrial society could never have attained its ends if it had not succeeded in moulding man into a person eager to spend most of his energy for the purpose of work, who acquired discipline, orderliness and punctuality to a degree unknown in most other cultures. The necessity for work, for punctuality and orderliness had to be transformed into a drive for these qualities. "Human beings have to become psychologically structured in such a way that *they want to act as they have to act*, and at the same time find gratification in acting according to the requirements of the culture" (p. 611).

The combined statement of Hallowell and Fromm leads us on to the next consequence, which is the heart of the problem. When this statement is applied to the transfer of culture it is readily apparent that school education must do more than transferring a certain amount of knowledge and techniques. To become operative in the non-western culture this knowledge and these techniques have to be applied by youngsters whose personality has become structured so as to make them want to apply the acquired capabilities in such a way as they have to be applied, and at the same time find gratification in doing so.

There is every reason to give this problem serious consideration. In the first place because the effect of school education is often disappointing with regard to the capacity effectively to manipulate the acquired knowledge and techniques, and in the second place because the fundamental differences between western and non-western cultural personality are thus obvious that the existence of some correlation between the disappointing results of school education and certain lags in the development of a new cultural personality is not too bold a supposition. Even if such a correlation would appear to be less close than suggested by the above considerations, there is still the necessity to pay full attention to the pupil's character formation in order to enhance the effect of his training. A short digression on the differences of character formation in western and non-western societies may serve to substantiate this view. This digression, which aspires to nothing more than the elucidation of a couple of salient points, is necessarily of a very general nature. For the sake of brevity and of clarity emphasis must be given to extremes. That implies that the differences thus noted cannot be applied to the non-western world in general. Even so, they have a bearing on the problem and may serve to demonstrate the difficulties which may be encountered by school education and which in many cases do indeed detract from its results.

In the first place, non-western methods of early education usually lack the regularity characteristic of the western way of life, where fundamental activities such as eating and sleeping are, to a great extent, geared to fixed hours. The western child is trained to live by the clock. Early in life it learns to recognize time as an important factor. In most non-western societies there is little punctuality with regard to time. A similar difference appears to exist in the evaluation of activity. The western child is stimulated to be active in one way or another. A child should do something. The variation in non-western attitudes regarding activity is wide, but in many of them the specific emphasis laid on activity in western society is lacking. More than those in the western world, non-western people have the gift of enjoying leisure by doing nothing at all without complaining of boredom as, in such circumstances, would happen in western culture.

In the second place, the early educators of the non-western child are ill prepared for the task to educate it for life in a modern society. The child is growing up in a changing society and must be equipped for life in the society of to-morrow. Among its earliest educators the mother ranks first. Of all people of her age-group the mother belongs to the more conservative, more tradition-bound class. She is conservative not because of any biological predisposition, but because she never had a chance to be anything but conservative. All too often school education was denied to her or limited to a few years because school education was considered to be of no value to a girl. Unlike so many males who, as adolescents, were allowed to go and work for a number of years in town, the girl was usually kept at home and had no opportunity of widening her horizon. If as a woman she is conservative, she is so because society prevented her from becoming modern. The very same society, however, entrusts the children to her care. How else should these mothers rear their children except to their own image? Visualize such a mother walking to the fields with her child. Once arrived and at work, she has to prevent the child from running away into the bush where it may lose its way. What else can the poor mother do but warn the child of the ogres and spirits who live in thickets and prey on little children? And how is she to keep her child out of the neighbour's garden? Is it not the obvious thing to forewarn him of the likelihood that the neighbour has put a spell on his plants which will cause illness to anyone touching them without his permission? So the child grows up surrounded by the spirit world of the autochthonous culture, taught to regard the world as a mysterious whole of unpredictable intentions which can only be mastered by the application of secret

formulas and names which give shape to these mysteries and render them manageable to those who know.

The society in which the child grows up does not exert much influence to counterbalance its early conservative training. On the contrary, it is often found that this conservative orientation is enforced by the grandparents' role in the child's life. In most cultures grandparents take a special interest in their grandchildren. Often they are people enjoying some leisure, which they are readily willing to spend in indoctrinating the young ones in tribal lore and in communicating to them the glories of the past.

Perhaps most fundamental is the influence the world as a whole exerts on the child growing up in it. An extreme case may serve to exemplify this, viz. a comparison of the world of the child raised in Amsterdam or Paris and that of the child growing up in New Guinea. The world of the Amsterdam child is, apart from the people living in it, a world of objects. Everything is man-made. Even the trees in the park are products of human endeavour. They grow there because somebody wished to have this type of tree on this particular spot. The child is surrounded by objects from the very day of its birth. All sorts of toys are part of its environment. From the moment its hesitating hands start grasping, the child in its cradle finds toys waiting to be handled. In this world of objects it is not unusual for a child to day-dream of concrete things: aeroplanes, rockets and space travel. This child's world cannot be described simply as objective, but objects are of great importance in any case.

The Papuan child's world is entirely different. It is not a world of man-made things, but a world of nature: a difficult, often even hostile nature, against which man is scarcely able to defend himself. When and wherever difficulties arise and man feels his existence endangered or thwarted in his purpose, nature is experienced as an opposing force laden with intentions. This force may assume the form of spirits and demons, or may be experienced as a power surpassing conceptualization, a mysterious and apprehended something pregnant with capricious intentions. Such a world has not an object character. It cannot be subjected by simply moulding and remoulding it at will. It is a world with a will and intentions of its own; the most of which man is capable is to find his way in it. In such a capricious world the child learns from earliest childhood, to fend for himself, not by reshaping that world, but by adjusting to it, by finding a path in its labyrinth. The child learns to adjust himself situationally. It is a fundamentally different adjustment from the one taught to the western child. The latter learns to think in terms of things, of manageable objects, to take a genuine interest in things and in the

possibility to alter them, whereas the former is taught to adjust himself, to find his way in a world which has not the objective character belonging to things but the semi-personal character attributed to apprehended intentions.

The conditions as pictured above are extremes, but they are instructive. They demonstrate, *inter alia*, the varying importance attributed to things. It might well be that the high value set upon things has a bearing on the predominant place accorded to the ideal of truth in western thinking. Truth in western thought is truth about things. Things are in the focus of everybody's interest and attention. If this should appear to be true, the apparent lack of appreciation of the ideal of truth in many non-western societies is not a matter of inferior ethics but a matter of divergent interest. To western civilization the value set upon truth is not primarily the fruit of superior ethics but of interest in things. The absence of a similar interest in things leads to situations in which truth is not primarily truth about things but truth about people, that is a kind of truth that should be handled circumstantially even in western civilization.

As education is a social phenomenon, tied up with other social factors in an inextricable whole, it should be studied in its social setting, by making a number of analytical case-studies of the acculturation process and the cultural situation in selected areas, studies which pay special attention to the cultural personality developing in the changing culture. The critical analysis of the data collected on the social and economic conditions and on the individual's reactions to and his achievements in a changing world must present the necessary information on the specific needs of the society with regard to the character formation of its younger members. To collect this kind of information the cooperation is required of the educationalist with representatives of other disciplines, such as the sociologist, the linguist, the anthropologist and the economist. Their combined findings will enable the educationalist to see his problem, to measure the scope of the educational needs the society presents to him as a planner of education. That does not mean that the educationalist will be able to devise a system of school education which is going to remedy every evil or shortcoming. Education does not work as a charm; its power is as limited as any other human device. The one thing which may be expected from an educational system based upon a critical analysis of society and on a sound knowledge of educational experience is that the result will be a better system of education with other and better methods than those in use today, with another curriculum and with educationalists well prepared for their specific task in their specific situation.

In actual practice we find that western methods of education are copied, not because previous research demonstrated the value of these methods for the area concerned, but because there is no opportunity for previous basic research. Thus we find that in elementary schools in many parts of the world readers are used which, though seemingly well adapted to the local atmosphere, are intrinsically nothing more than versions of Jack and Jill adapted to local circumstances. From a pedagogical point of view the question may be raised what the special merits of this method are for the education of children living in African or Pacific communities.

History and social studies make part of the curriculum for the higher grades. Well directed, such studies may make a major contribution to the youngsters' education. In this field, again, research and generalization of pedagogical experience are highly desirable. Today, in more than one area the task of giving substance to the subject is left to the initiative of the teacher.

The most striking example of pedagogical groping in the dark the present author came across was demonstrated by the teacher of a training course for village teachers in New Guinea, who propounded the theory that the subject of natural history must be aimed at instilling a love of nature into the pupil. A praiseworthy object if the pupil were a young barbarian from Amsterdam, but senseless and even wrong with regard to young barbarians from New Guinea. Senseless because nature is their worst enemy, wrong because in this way nature again is invested with a subjective meaning (be it this time a benign one). These boys should be taught to regard nature as an object. The counting of stamens and petals will accord them the benefit of observing for the first time in their lives how living nature is tamed by being made the object of systematic classification.

For all these reasons there is an urgent need of intensive research into education in non-western countries, a kind of research to be executed by way of interdisciplinary co-operation. Our actual knowledge in this field is limited. There are only a few centres in the world where a systematic study of education in non-western countries is possible, and the activities and interests of these centres encompass so wide a scope that little time is left to pay to our problems the attention they deserve. The high priority given to the dissemination of knowledge and to the eradication of illiteracy has created a situation in which all existing institutions are overcrowded with work, as they must grapple with pressing problems of organization and the drafting of curricula for ever new and more courses and schools. They are engaged in ever more training programs for teachers and specialists, and in functioning as clearing-houses of

information. As such they do a marvellous job. Nevertheless, it must be stated that the immediate effect of the present public interest in the generalization of school education is to absorb so much time and energy that the opportunity for basic research is sadly lacking because everybody available is overburdened with other work.

In the meantime the need for basic research of the kind indicated above is more urgent than ever. To fulfil this task there is only one approach: the establishment of an institute intended primarily to do research in the field of non-western pedagogics by studying the implications of school education as a form of transfer of culture in changing societies, where the emergence of a new type of cultural personality requires the special attention of all those engaged in school education. What we want is a number of field-studies made by an educationalist and a sociologist, if possible in collaboration with a linguist and an economist, making available full information on the problems of acculturation in the area and of the possibilities of meeting deficiencies by more effective methods of school education. The new world is badly in need of a coming generation of people who do not only possess the necessary knowledge and skill: more than knowledge they want help to attain a successful psychological adjustment to the requirements of their rapidly changing world.

Research studies of the kind as indicated above might provide the basis not only for better systems of education but even for a better understanding of the scope and limitations of the role of education in our own western culture. We, too, live in a changing world and the preparation of the younger generation for its future task holds a number of problems which are of a comparable order to those besetting the education of young people in development areas.

For all these reasons the author fervently hopes that the efforts now undertaken in the Netherlands to arrive at the establishment of an Institute on the lines suggested above, may result in successful fieldwork. The plans, as devised, aim at international cooperation on a broad basis: for a multi-faceted approach the most favourable condition.

ERZIEHUNG IN LÄNDERN, DIE NICHT ZUM ABENDLÄNDISCHEN KULTURKREIS GEHÖREN

von JAN VAN BAAL, Amsterdam

In der nicht-westlichen Welt hat die Schule eine umfassendere Aufgabe als im Westen. Sie ist dort das wichtigste Medium für den Prozeß der Akkulturation. Akkulturation ist nicht dasselbe wie Verwestlichung. Sie zielt vielmehr auf den Erwerb von Wissen und von Techniken, die für die Verwirklichung einer Prosperität unerlässlich sind, die die nicht-westlichen Länder auf eine Stufe mit den westlichen stellt.

Kultur ist jedoch mehr als eine zufällige Anhäufung von Kulturlementen; sie ist der Ausdruck einer gewissen Lebens- und Denkweise, die sich auf das gründet, was man als eine 'kulturelle Persönlichkeit' bezeichnen könnte. Die Meisterung wesentlicher Techniken und Methoden erfordert einen Persönlichkeitstypus, der eine Befriedigung darin findet, entsprechend den Erfordernissen der neuen Kultur zu handeln. Die vorschulische Erziehung in nicht-westlichen Ländern richtet sich auf traditionelle Werte und Verhaltensweisen, die in verschiedenen Fällen in Konflikt geraten können mit solchen, die für die Entwicklung eines schnellen Fortschritts unerlässlich sind. Die Einwirkung der gesamten Umwelt des Kindes auf seine Persönlichkeit wird ganz verschieden sein, je nachdem, ob diese Welt London oder Paris heißt oder vom tropischen Dschungel beherrscht wird. In diesem Zusammenhang muß besondere Aufmerksamkeit auf die Bedeutung des Interesses für materielle Dinge gelegt werden, das für eine erfolgreiche Teilhabe an der modernen Zivilisation von Bedeutung ist.

Es wird argumentiert, daß die Schulerziehung der Persönlichkeitsbildung besondere Aufmerksamkeit widmen müßte. Es gibt keine Standardpersönlichkeit. Eine Aufzählung von einzelnen Charakterzügen, die entweder gefördert oder ausgemerzt werden sollten, nützt für die Erziehung nichts. Was benötigt wird, ist Forschung, die darauf abzielt, festzustellen, welche spezifischen Defekte in der Persönlichkeitsstruktur in einer jeweilig gegebenen Gesellschaft die fortschrittliche Entwicklung und volle Teilhabe an einer technologischen Gesellschaft hindern. Eine Kenntnis solcher Art wird es dem Erzieher ermöglichen, Methoden zu entwickeln, die dazu beitragen können, solche Schwierigkeiten zu überwinden. Sie werden auch zu einem besseren Verständnis unserer eigenen Erziehungsprobleme in unserer sich wandelnden westlichen Welt beitragen.

EDUCATION DANS LE MONDE NON-OCCIDENTAL

par JAN VAN BAAL, Amsterdam

Dans le monde non-occidental, l'école a une tâche plus vaste que dans les écoles occidentales. Elle est le principal élément dans le processus d'acculturation. L'acculturation n'est pas synonyme d'Occidentalisation. Elle vise à l'application des connaissances et techniques qui sont indispensables à la réalisation d'un degré de prospérité qui place ces pays à égalité avec les nations occidentales.

La culture est toutefois plus qu'un assemblage accidentel d'éléments culturels; elle est l'expression d'un certain mode de vie et de pensée, basé sur ce qu'on pourrait

appeler la personnalité culturelle. La maîtrise de techniques et de méthodes occidentales exige une personnalité qui s'accommode d'une action conforme aux exigences de la nouvelle culture. L'éducation pré-scolaire dans les pays non-occidentaux est axée sur des valeurs et des attitudes traditionnelles qui peuvent dans de nombreux cas entrer en conflit avec celles que requiert la réalisation de progrès rapides. L'effet que peut avoir l'univers de l'enfant sur sa personnalité sera totalement différent selon qu'il se situe à Londres ou à Paris ou s'il est dominé par la jungle tropicale. Dans ce contexte, une attention particulière est réservée à l'importance de l'intérêt pour les choses matérielles en vue d'une participation heureuse à la civilisation moderne.

Il est évident que dans l'éducation scolaire il faudra s'intéresser surtout à la formation de la personnalité. Il n'y a pas en effet de personnalité exemplaire. L'énumération de traits de caractères qui devraient être encouragés ou combattus est sans utilité dans l'éducation. Ce qui est nécessaire c'est une recherche ayant pour but de trouver ce qui dans une société donnée constitue un défaut de personnalité pouvant entraver un développement positif et une participation entière à une société technique. Une telle connaissance permettra aux éducateurs de définir des méthodes qui aideront à surmonter ces difficultés. Elle contribuera aussi à la compréhension de nos propres problèmes d'éducation dans l'évolution du monde occidental.

RECENT TRENDS IN CHINESE EDUCATION

by CHANG-TU HU, New York

There is hardly a country in the world which does not nowadays seek the most rapid economic and educational advances. From Afghanistan to Zanzibar the passion for development has seized us all, and investment in human resources has all but supplanted investment in physical capital as the development consultant's favorite rostrum. Yet a number of critical issues in education and development await resolution. What specific patterns of educational investment provide the most rapid economic growth? Is the production training of students during their period of formal education a help or a hindrance for the schools, the economy, the state? How can we best solve the problems associated with the rapid increase in the number of teachers needed? Can educational development be pushed too fast? Can it be relied upon to change basic political attitudes and private motivations, molding a willing, cooperative diligent citizenry to smooth the path to economic growth? The list of difficult problems is virtually endless.

Nowhere, perhaps, have such questions cried out more sharply and urgently for answers than in mainland China in recent years. The Great Leap Forward announced in early 1958 was supposed to vault the country in a brief period of fifteen years to the industrial level of England. The educational progress which was to go hand in hand with these prodigious plans for economic growth was based upon two primary theses: education must be combined with productive labor by students and teachers; and ideological purity and dedication (Redness) was to take precedence over the acquisition of competence and skill (Expertness).

In November, 1958, in the wake of the Great Leap Forward, an exhibition was held in the capital city of Peking to show, with charts, graphs, and visual devices of various kinds, the impressive gains and triumphs that had been achieved through the combination of education with productive labor. In a congratulatory editorial marking the opening of the exhibition, the *People's Daily*, organ of the Chinese Communist Party, reaffirmed the correctness of the Party line in stressing the principle of combining education with productive labor. Among other claims, the numbers of schools and students enrolled on all levels were reported to have increased by leaps and bounds, as indicated in the following table: (1)

	No. of Schools	No. of Students	Percentage of Increase	
			Schools	Students
Higher Ed.	1,408	790,000	515	80
Secondary Ed.	118,000	15,000,000	846	112
Primary Ed.	950,000	92,000,000	73	43

Other equally impressive "leaps" were reported to have been registered on all fronts. Citing concrete examples, the *Education Semi-Monthly* reported that the Department of Economics of Nankai University, working collectively and abiding by the principle of combining academic work with production, completed, within forty days, various research projects totalling four million words, while prior to that, over a much longer period, only less than a million words of written work had been completed. (2) In the field of steel-making, it was reported that some twenty-one thousand schools erected 14,400 steel furnaces which were expected to produce 1,590,000 tons of steel by the end of 1958. (3)

One of the most often-repeated slogans for the Great Leap Forward has been the four character adage of "To, K'uai, Hao, Sheng", meaning "more (in quantity), faster (in time), better (in quality) cheaper (in expenditure)". Applying this principle to education, schools of all types were established in all parts of China at breakneck speed. The following is a description of the manner in which educational expansion has been brought about:

"The province of Honan has embarked upon a grandiose program of establishing technical schools. By the end of February (1960), 164 technical schools have come into existence, with an enrollment of over 46,800 students. . . . Lacking capital, productive labor has been promoted by mobilizing students for labor projects, thereby earning sufficient income for the construction of school buildings. Lacking machinery, teachers and students, under the guidance of experienced workers, cooperated to build their own by making use of available local materials. Lacking teachers, short-term training courses are organized through the use of the apprenticeship method, in the meantime employing retired or active technicians." (5)

It is claimed that during the year 1958 alone, fifty-nine schools were established in Honan by means of utilizing local resources. The amount of capital outlay for one school has thus been reduced from the normal cost of three million *Yuan* to no more than one hundred thousand *Yuan*, while the majority of such schools have managed to become self-sufficient within a year's time.

At the time of publication, such claims challenged human credulity, especially when one is reminded that these gains had been achieved within the span of one year, the year 1957 being the base for comparison.

It did not take long, however, for the leaders in China to realize that the Leap not only had failed to achieve the anticipated positive results, but had given rise to problems of alarming proportions. In a communique issued in August, 1959, no less an organ than the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party made the admission that the 1958 production figures for all major items had been grossly overstated, necessitating, therefore, a drastic revision downward. (4) In the face of such evidence, even if we concede that educational statistics are less susceptible to such gross overestimates than agricultural yields, the impression cannot but remain that such figures as quoted by the *People's Daily* are of dubious value indeed. Nor is it necessary to point out that, in education, quantitative development has relatively little meaning unless accompanied by qualitative improvement.

Thus, in discussing the recent trends in Chinese education, the Great Leap Forward must be taken as a point of departure, for in recognition of the severely adverse effects of this campaign, which was nation-wide in scope and embraced all national endeavors, corrective measures were introduced in the field of education, as in other activities.

There can be no fundamental argument against the objective of establishing more schools at a faster speed and on a more economical basis. The key question, however, is whether schools thus created are qualitatively "good" or "better" in terms of the educational needs of the nation. By the latter part of 1959, it became obvious that the Leap in education, though impressive in quantitative terms, had not only exacted a heavy price with respect to quality but also given rise to problems of a serious nature. Since productive labor formed the cornerstone of the educational Leap, teachers and students in regular full-time institutions were required to participate in productive labor for an average period of three months, exclusive of special "crash" programs which were introduced from time to time. For part-time and spare-time schools of various types, the amount of time devoted to labor was proportionally higher. (6)

A major change of this nature in educational practices, involving millions of students and educational workers, would require an enormous amount of planning and coordination to insure that education did not suffer because of the reduction of class and study time, and to make certain that labor thus expended would prove productive. Inasmuch as the entire Leap campaign was primarily based upon a highly exaggerated estimate of both material and human resources, and an unrealistic belief in the ability of the Party's propaganda machine to generate popular enthusiasm, the campaign proved disastrous on all essential fronts. It is now common knowledge that both the agricultural and industrial sectors

of the economy suffered catastrophic setbacks, attributable partly to natural calamities but more significantly to human failures of a gigantic magnitude. In the field of education, failure of the Leap provoked harsh criticisms, understandably more out-spoken among students, their parents, and certain segments of the teaching profession.

Because of the rigidity of control exercised by the Party, there have been virtually no open criticisms of the Leap expressed in publications on the mainland. But because the party has been aware of popular dissatisfactions with the new educational principle and the policies based thereupon, numerous references to such criticisms appear in official pronouncements defending the party policy. As is often the case in a totalitarian society, the vigor with which the controlling agency defends its policy is an index of the degree of popular disaffection. A review of mainland Chinese publications in the latter part of 1959 leaves one with the clear impression that there was wide-spread dissatisfaction with the educational policy then in force. Some of the most persistent criticisms stemmed from a fundamental doubt about the wisdom of emphasizing productive labor to the extent that was done at that time. The critical view which gained considerable currency was that what was lost by the Leap far outweighed the gains. According to this view, the entire program resulted in "the waste of golden youth." In specific terms, the critics charged that the practice of sending students to the rural areas deprived them of the opportunity to pursue their educational goals under trained teachers, while pitifully little was learned from the examples afforded by "Model workers." After admitting that certain beneficial results have been derived from productive labor in terms of physical development and Socialist morality, intellectual growth has suffered greatly, a situation succinctly summed up in the phrase: "two high and one low." (7)

More importantly, the so-called merging of schools with factories and farms created a situation so chaotic that the normal educational process was seriously disrupted. Teachers were unable to follow their teaching plans while students were at a loss to know what course of action to pursue. Students suffered from a confusion concerning their identity; they were both students and workers, yet they were neither students nor workers. Under such circumstances, more and more students withdrew from schools, some of their own volition because of a loss of faith in the educational future, others at the behest of their parents. The popular view prevailed that, since the Party seemed determined to transform students into workers who, although without formal education, were comparatively well-treated, there was no longer much point in trying to seek education as a path to personal advancement. (8)

It must be borne in mind that the Leap in education formed part of a much larger movement which sought to propel China helter-skelter into the modern industrial age. Consequently, the emphasis upon productive labor can be readily appreciated in pure economic terms – to utilize a reserve of available able-bodied manpower. More important, however, was the political objective of bringing up a new generation of socialist men, dedicated to the task of building socialism according to the tenets of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Participation in labor was therefore considered an effective means of developing in the students a proletarian outlook and a proper respect for labor, at the same time preventing them from becoming isolated from the masses. The concern with political correctness necessitated, among other things, a firm control over education by the Communist party, whose educational cadres emphasized Redness at the expense of Expertness, resulting in a general lowering of academic standards on all levels. Further opportunities for education, as well as future careers, became dependent upon the assessment of political reliability of individual students by the party functionaries. There developed, as the Leap gathered momentum, a widespread skepticism about the need and even the wisdom of acquiring substantive knowledge, a process which was rendered increasingly difficult by the disruptive effects of productive labor. As a consequence, in addition to specific charges against the excesses in stressing labor, there was criticism of the extent to which political considerations were allowed to interfere with the educational process.

While defending the party's position on education, the Communist leadership are nonetheless aware of the many problems and criticisms. Without abandoning the slogans or changing the fundamental objectives, the party in recent years has introduced a series of corrective measures which have resulted in a tactical shift on the educational front. The recent trends in Chinese education can best be understood in reference to this shift.

Of first importance is the shift in emphasis from "redness" to "expertness," although the slogan "red and expert" still describes the goal of training and education. To have an increasingly large army of students capable of reciting worn-out Marxist-Leninist phrases and echoing party pronouncements without acquiring substantive knowledge and specialized skill will, in the long run, fail to meet the needs of national development. From 1960 on, publications on the mainland began to stress the importance of academic excellence and to exhort the students to greater scholarly efforts. On the occasion of a graduation exercise in 1961, Vice Premier Chen Yi, speaking for the Party, cautioned against undue

emphasis on politics in education. He went so far as to state that, since the socialist reconstruction of China required the service of unnumbered specialists of all descriptions, each student must endeavor to demonstrate his political consciousness through the acquisition and use of special knowledge and skills, sophistication in politics in the narrow sense being a matter of secondary importance. (9) Article after article in newspapers and journals deplored the erroneous but popular notion: "Fear not non-expertness; fear only when you are not red." (10)

The "leap" in education has exacted a tremendous price in the form of lowered academic standards, accompanied by the stultification of creativity and the stifling of personal aspirations. What the Communists have described as the "middle stream mode of thought" among students, that is, an ambivalent and negative attitude toward the entire educational process, is still quite prevalent, and it will be some time before the shift in emphasis begins to show results.

With the political line more or less redrawn and clarified, there has also been a notable change in the labor aspect of education. A considerably more rational approach has been adopted, and students now work in factories or on farms more for economic gains than for political training. Moreover, the duration and the timing of period of labor have been regulated in such a way as to minimize disruption of school work, while due consideration is given to the specialties of students in the assignment of type of labor to be performed. (11)

Organizationally, the frenzied attempt to expand at all costs has been abandoned in favor of consolidation. Such practices as elevating secondary technical schools to the rank of higher institutions, splitting one school into two, and arbitrary reshuffling of teaching personnel, all of which contributed to the chaos of the Leap, have been discontinued. At the same time, schools that existed no more than in name and were clearly of inferior quality have been either abolished or merged with others. Claims of great quantitative expansion have become less frequent and, when made, tend to be more reserved in tone. Since the Party's control over education is now completely assured, there is also the tendency toward granting a larger degree of autonomy in educational matters to regional and local authorities, as well as encouraging such productive organizations as communes and industrial plants to establish and maintain their own educational facilities. The fundamental objective of expanding at a fast pace but minimal cost still remains, but greater attention seems to be paid to the qualitative aspect of education now than during the initial stages of the Leap.

The consolidation and retrenchment program has some notable

features which are especially indicative of recent trends in education. On the pre-school and primary level, major emphasis is still upon the universalization of primary education which seems to have achieved impressive results by the end of 1958. (12) Current efforts are in the direction of expanding primary boarding schools and raising the quality of teachers as well as the quality of primary education itself. On the level of higher education, the pace of expansion has slowed down and a re-examination of the existing institutions has taken place with a view to meeting more effectively the demand for technically competent personnel. There has been a proliferation of fields of scientific and technological specialization, but organizationally this has not resulted in the establishment of ineffectual institutions. Most of Red and Expert colleges and universities which mushroomed during the Leap are now either extinct or reorganized. In a word, there seems to be a concerted effort to give substance to the names.

It is, however, on the secondary level that the most significant changes have been introduced. In some respects, secondary education during the Leap had proved to be a weak link between the primary phase below and the higher phase above. Regular full-time secondary schools had found it difficult to meet the needs of primary school graduates and at the same time had failed to provide higher institutions with qualified candidates in sufficient numbers. Because of this deficiency, the new trend seems to point in the direction of using the agricultural middle schools as a major remedial device.

The agricultural middle schools admit students of the 13-16 age group and operate on a half-day basis. Their curriculum is identical with that of the junior middle schools, but in addition to regular subjects, the students are required to learn through active work on farms those technical skills which would qualify them to serve as agricultural technicians. In view of the fact that there are some thirty-seven million Chinese in the 13-17 age group, and only a little over seven million are enrolled in full-time secondary schools, the agricultural middle schools, numbering some 30,000 and with three million students in 1960, have become a very important part of the educational scene. One of the leading educational authorities in the Communist hierarchy has predicted that the development of agricultural middle schools will reach its peak in approximately ten years. Considering the new economic stress on agriculture, to which industry now plays a subordinate role, there can be little doubt that this type of middle school will continue to occupy an important position in Chinese education. (13)

It seems clear that the excesses and confusion arising from the Great

Leap Forward campaign have in recent years been gradually eliminated. The all-consuming concern with economic development at a breathtaking pace has now given way to a sober reappraisal of the national capacity in terms of both material and human resources. On the educational front, the spirit of rationality, for want of a better term, seems to prevail. There is no longer the impatient quest for quantitative expansion but a genuine effort to create an educational climate in which serious academic work can proceed. Academic excellence is emphasized more than political enthusiasm, while labor, though still forming a significant part of the educational process, is now organized on a more rational basis.

The recent Chinese experience seems to provide a valuable object lesson for other societies in a similar stage of development. While it is universally acknowledged that the rate of economic growth and national development is to a large extent determined by the level of educational development, genuine progress on the educational front cannot be achieved without the requisite economic conditions. There is, so to speak, a rhythm to the whole task of modernization. Now that the Chinese have learned the bitter lesson at considerable cost and have embarked upon an educational program in a rational and pragmatic spirit, what is going to happen there will indeed deserve close attention.

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NEUERE ENTWICKLUNGEN IN DER ERZIEHUNG DER
VOLKSREPUBLIK CHINA

von CHANG-TU HU, New York

1958 hat die kommunistische Regierung in China eine Beschleunigung der wirtschaftlichen, sozialen und kulturellen Entwicklung angeordnet. In der Überzeugung, daß politische Begeisterung alle Hindernisse überwinden würde, hat die Regierung den Großen Sprung Vorwärts angekündigt, der China innerhalb von 15 Jahren auf den wirtschaftlichen Stand Großbritanniens erheben sollte. Entwicklung auf dem Gebiet der Erziehung wurde als ein wesentlicher Teil des Großen Sprunges angesehen, und es wurde ein grandioser Plan für die mengenmäßige Ausdehnung und die qualitative Verbesserung formuliert und als in Ausführung begriffen gemeldet.

In der Blütezeit des Großen Sprunges Vorwärts wurde Linientreue verlangt und von den Behörden höher belohnt als Sachkenntnis. Der Inhalt der Lehrpläne für den Schulunterricht wurde zugunsten von übertriebenen Anforderungen an körperlicher Arbeitsleistung der Schüler verringert. Die Arbeitsverpflichtungen sowohl der Schüler als der Lehrer genossen Vorrang im Stundenplan der Schule, wodurch eine ernste Beeinträchtigung hervorgerufen wurde. Die Ziffern über die „Ausweitung“ der Schule wurden durch die Anrechnung aller möglichen außerschulischen Veranstaltungen, die sich statistisch günstig auswirken, in die Höhe getrieben. Die Nachteile dieser Taktik wurden bald erkannt, da Schüler, Eltern und Lehrer Protest erhoben. Viele Eltern meldeten ihre Kinder von der Schule ab, und Studenten gaben das Studium auf, das ihnen nur wenig an solidem akademischem Gehalt und geringe berufliche Aussichten zu bieten versprach.

Die Forderungen, die damals erhoben wurden, sind kaum glaublich. Aber seit 1959 haben sich die kommunistischen Behörden gezwungen gesehen, sie herunterzusetzen und direkt oder indirekt zuzugeben, daß in China in den späten 50er Jahren viele der grundlegenden Vorbedingungen für eine erfolgreiche wirtschaftliche und pädagogische Entwicklung fehlten.

1960 nahm die chinesische Regierung Abstand von den radikalen Maßnahmen des Großen Sprunges Vorwärts. In der Erziehung trat wieder Sachkenntnis an die Stelle der Linientreue als erstes Erfordernis. Die an Schüler und Studenten gestellten Anforderungen an körperlicher Arbeit wurden drastisch eingeschränkt, und ihre Zeiteinteilung wurde sinnvoller gestaltet; die schlimmsten Auswüchse der erzwungenen pädagogischen „Ausweitung“ wurden fallengelassen. Die Rückkehr zu einer vernünftigeren Form pädagogischer und wirtschaftlicher Entwicklung kennzeichnet das Ende einer wichtigen, wenn auch betrüblichen, Epoche in der jüngsten Vergangenheit Chinas. Was jetzt kommt, verdient erhöhte Aufmerksamkeit.

TENDANCES RECENTES DE L'EDUCATION DANS LA REPUBLIQUE
POPULAIRE DE CHINE

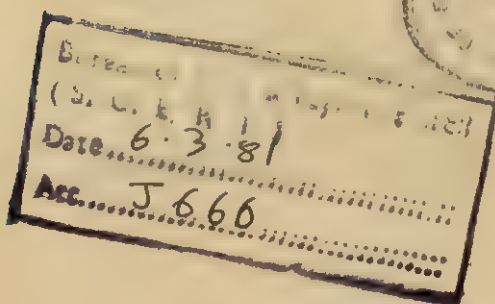
par CHANG-TU HU, New York

En 1958, le Gouvernement communiste chinois décréta une accélération notoire dans le développement économique, social et culturel. Convaincu que l'enthousiasme politique viendrait à bout de tous les obstacles, le Gouvernement annonça le "Grand Saut en avant" destiné à hausser la Chine au niveau économique de la Grande Bretagne en 15 ans. Le développement éducatif était considéré comme une partie essentielle du saut et un plan grandiose d'expansion quantitative et d'élévation qualitative fut formulé et mis en chantier.

Pendant l'apogée du saut, l'appartenance au parti était exigée et considérée par les autorités comme plus importante que les "capacités"; le contenu officiel des programmes scolaires fut entravé par l'obligation pour les étudiants d'exercer des travaux manuels. Les obligations de travail des professeurs et des étudiants ayant priorité sur le temps de classe, causèrent de graves dommages aux études. Les statistiques d'expansion scolaire étaient dévaluées de par l'inclusion d'éléments non-éducatifs, flatteurs du point de vue statistique. Les désavantages d'une telle politique devinrent apparantes lorsque les étudiants, parents et membres de l'enseignement émirent certaines protestations. Plusieurs parents retirèrent leurs enfants et plusieurs étudiants se retirèrent des études parcequ'elles ne leur offraient rien de solide du point de vue académique ou du point de vue carrière.

Même à ce moment les exigences étaient à peine croyables. Mais depuis 1959 les autorités communistes ont été forcées de les modifier et de reconnaître directement ou indirectement que plusieurs des conditions de base pour un développement économique et éducatif favorable étaient absentes dans la Chine de la fin de la dernière décennie.

En 1960 le Gouvernement chinois abandonna les mesures radicales du "Grand Saut en avant". En éducation, les capacités une fois de plus supplantèrent l'orientation politique comme condition première; les prestations manuelles des étudiants furent fortement réduites et leur emploi du temps amélioré. Les excès d'expansion éducative forcée furent abandonnés. Le retour à une approche plus rationnelle de l'éducation aussi bien que de l'économie marque la fin d'une époque importante (quoique regrettable) dans l'histoire récente de la Chine. Ce qui viendra maintenant méritera la plus grande attention.



LES OBJECTIFS DE LA PSYCHOLOGIE EDUCATIONNELLE

par ARNOULD CLAUSSE, Liège

Comme l'a écrit en substance Henri Piéron dans sa *Psychologie Expérimentale*, définir une science, ce n'est pas faire de la science. Mais peut-être n'est-il pas inutile, dans la grande confusion et les conflits de compétence où s'épuisent actuellement trop d'efforts dans les sciences de l'éducation, de tenter de voir un peu plus clair. Science appliquée, la psychologie éducationnelle se définit d'abord par ses objectifs, ensuite, mais ensuite seulement, par ses techniques et ses moyens d'action. Une comparaison nous aidera à la situer. Si nous admettons que les sciences médicales constituent un ensemble de connaissances et de méthodes ayant pour but de réaliser, de maintenir et de rétablir la santé ou l'intégrité physique des individus, nous pourrions admettre que les sciences de l'éducation comportent l'ensemble des disciplines nous permettant de réaliser, de maintenir et de rétablir la santé ou l'intégrité mentale. Si les premières s'appuient essentiellement sur la connaissance des composantes et des fonctions somatiques que réalise la physiologie, les deuxièmes se fondent, d'une manière absolument parallèle, sur cette connaissance des composantes et des fonctions mentales que la psychologie s'assigne comme tâche. La psychologie est donc aux sciences de l'éducation ce que la physiologie est aux sciences médicales.

Les choses se compliquent cependant si l'on pousse plus loin la comparaison. En gros, on peut dire que la notion même de santé physique est simple et étrangère à toute appréciation relative ou subjective. Etre bien portant, c'est jouir d'une intégrité fonctionnelle définie par les lois de la physiologie normale; la santé physique, c'est l'absence de déficits et de troubles par rapport à un optimum précisé objectivement par la science. Il est beaucoup plus difficile de définir la santé mentale parce que l'optimum est ici relatif et varie selon le contexte dans lequel il s'insère et s'affirme. C'est que la vie mentale n'a pas d'existence propre et qu'elle est réaction, attitude, comportement vis-à-vis d'un ensemble de réalités mouvantes qui constituent le milieu au sens le plus large, milieu physique sans doute, mais aussi et surtout milieu humain, milieu social et idéologique.

Il en résulte que la psychologie, si elle peut nous fournir d'indispensables renseignements sur les mécanismes mêmes et les conditions grâce auxquels nous pourrions réaliser la santé mentale, est incapable de nous indiquer dans quel sens doit s'effectuer notre effort. En nous inspirant de la seule psychologie, nous serions un peu dans la situation de voyageurs

qui disposeraient de moyens de locomotion perfectionnés, mais qui tourneraient en rond parce qu'ils n'auraient pas fixé la direction et le but de leur voyage. Affirmer que l'éducation a pour objectif de faire de l'enfant un homme, c'est se contenter d'une solution purement verbale parce que c'est se jeter dans l'in vraisemblable confusion des idées par lesquelles, à chaque époque et en chaque lieu, on a prétendu exprimer et affirmer la nature humaine. En observant le fait éducationnel à travers l'histoire, on est amené à conclure, avec Durkheim, que "l'homme que l'éducation doit réaliser en nous, ce n'est pas l'homme abstrait, idéal, une perfection humaine vue à travers une philosophie éternelle, mais c'est l'homme tel que la société veut qu'il soit, et elle le veut tel que le réclame son économie intérieure."

Quelle que soit l'importance que les psychologues contemporains accordent à la "croissance," c'est-à-dire à cette notion quelque peu théorique d'un développement spontané et autonome régi par les lois de la physio-psychologie, il est bien évident qu'il ne peut s'agir que de potentialités qu'actualise le milieu dans lequel se réalise l'être humain. Il n'y a pas de développement immuable et fatal, sur le plan psychologique, qui serait inscrit dans la "nature" même de l'homme, qui transcenderait en quelque sorte les conditions au sein desquelles il s'affirme et qui les exploiterait dans le sens d'une "humanisation" inéluctable. L'homme à chaque époque et chaque homme en particulier est ce qu'il est parce qu'il se crée progressivement, par additions successives d'éléments positifs ou négatifs, extérieurs ou intérieurs, matériels ou spirituels dont il constitue peu à peu sa personnalité mentale, c'est-à-dire son mode de réaction et d'adaptation, son comportement. Les influences environnementales agissent sur les facteurs internes pour déterminer et la direction et l'étendue et la qualité de leur épanouissement. Si la "croissance" est un processus créateur qui trouve sa justification et son énergie dans les combinaisons biologiques qui la provoquent, elle implique inévitablement des relations constantes et des modes d'adaptation avec un "milieu" sans lequel elle ne serait qu'une abstraction stérile; elle implique une assimilation, une organisation et une réorganisation continuelles des éléments extérieurs. Certes, la "croissance" est encore un processus créateur en ce que l'individu ne se contente pas de subir son environnement mais que, dans une mesure qui peut augmenter considérablement avec le *learning*, il choisit lui-même les aspects auquel il répond et qui l'aide à élaborer sa vie mentale propre. L'oeil n'est pas un appareil photographique qui enregistre tout ce qui tombe dans son champ de vision; c'est plutôt une caméra qui explore, choisit, élimine, déforme et interprète la réalité par des prises de vue de plus en plus originales et personnelles.

L'individu se construit lui-même avec les matériaux qui, à chaque moment, dans chaque situation, conviennent à ce qu'il est déjà, à ce qu'il veut rester ou devenir. Mais ce qu'il est ou veut devenir dépend à la fois de ses qualités personnelles congénitales mais aussi et surtout des conditions et des circonstances de sa vie, des mœurs, des coutumes, des conventions, des manières de voir et de vivre de la civilisation, de la classe ou du groupe dont il fait partie.

Il n'est donc pas question, cela va de soi, de nier l'importance du patrimoine héréditaire propre à chaque espèce vivante ou à chaque individu particulier. Sans tomber dans les extravagantes abstractions de l'hylémorphisme aristotélicien, on doit admettre que, quelles que soient les conditions du milieu et les influences "éducationnelles", un gland, s'il donne quelque chose, ne donnera jamais qu'un chêne, un poulain, un cheval et un chiot un chien. Deux enfants de même âge apprennent à des vitesses différentes et à des niveaux de réussite différents. On peut affirmer que, dès leur naissance, saint Thomas d'Aquin et Einstein n'étaient pas des imbéciles, mais on peut croire que, nés et élevés dans la brousse équatoriale ou à l'époque de la pierre polie, l'un n'aurait pas inventé le thomisme et l'autre découvert la relativité. Si les influences environnementales plus ou moins consciemment organisées dans ce qu'on appelle l'éducation peuvent accroître ou réduire les manifestations des différences individuelles, il reste que, d'un insuffisant mental, il ne sera vraisemblablement jamais possible de faire un génie. Mais il faut ajouter tout de suite que les influences du milieu jouent très tôt, dès avant la naissance, dans la vie utérine déjà et que l'équipement congénital ne se confond pas avec le patrimoine héréditaire. Il est donc bien difficile de marquer le départ entre ce qui est aptitude naturelle et capacité acquise. La notion même d'intelligence innée est une notion vague et purement théorique sur laquelle l'éducation ne peut rien alors qu'elle peut énormément pour créer des conditions favorables permettant à l'individu de tirer le maximum de ses possibilités. Les biologistes nous rappellent que des cellules transplantées à un stade précoce de leur développement dans une autre partie du corps voient leur structure même se modifier dans le sens d'une adaptation et d'une intégration à la zone nouvelle. Une cellule de la peau transplantée dans la moelle épinière devient, non pas de la peau, mais partie de moelle (J. Rostand). Il y aurait donc, même sur le plan structural et biologique le plus strict une sorte d'indétermination, de neutralité ou de polyvalence dont ferait sortir le milieu.

Sur le plan humain, l'éducation voit donc s'ouvrir devant elle d'extraordinaires possibilités. L'enfant naît sauvage, indéterminé, polyvalent, plastique, prêt pour le meilleur et pour le pire, susceptible de

devenir un Européen du XXe siècle ou un contemporain de l'homme des cavernes. Pour devenir l'homme adulte que nous connaissons, il ne lui suffit malheureusement pas d'appartenir à l'espèce *homo sapiens* (ce qui réduirait au chômage tous les éducateurs!); pour être l'individu que nous rencontrons dans la rue, avec sa philosophie, ses conceptions morales, son intelligence, ses curiosités, ses réactions particulières, sa manière de se nourrir, de s'habiller, de se marier, de mourir même, avec ses idéaux et ses ambitions, bref, pour être un "homme" tel qu'il puisse être notre "prochain" il a fallu que la société lui suggérât ou lui imposât un développement et une spécialisation conformes aux impératifs d'un certain type de civilisation et de milieu. C'est la société, dans le sens le plus large, qui propose à l'enfant, *volens nolens*, des tâches, des exigences, des orientations, des limitations, des types de comportement qui feront de lui tel ou tel type d'homme allant de la brute primitive à l'être compliqué et raffiné de nos sociétés modernes. Comme le dit le psychologue P. Osterrieth, l'éducation est la réponse du monde adulte à la plasticité de l'enfant; c'est une propulsion; elle doit permettre à l'enfant de se développer dans la ligne même de l'économie générale du monde où il est appelé à vivre. Sur un enfant jeune, et n'en déplaise aux racistes de toute espèce, l'éducation greffe la "culture" correspondante au milieu où il est élevé.

Les observations faites par les sociologues et les psychologues, qu'il est inutile de rappeler ici et auxquelles on pourrait en ajouter bien d'autres empruntée à la vie de tous les jours, entraînent la réflexion bien au-delà des bornes tracées par les "archétypes" et par toutes les philosophies qu'alimentent les "formes" et les "substances."

C'est donc la société qui permet à l'individu d'atteindre certains modes de pensée pertinents aux exigences mêmes d'une organisation particulière et aux possibilités qu'elle ouvre à "l'humanisation" de l'être biologique. L'histoire de la pensée est ainsi intimement liée à l'histoire de la société considérée dans la complexité des différents éléments de tous ordres et de tous niveaux, matériels et spirituels, qui en font une structure fonctionnelle. Il convient, en effet, de prendre ici position à la fois contre un idéalisme absolu qui voit dans la pensée le moteur et le créateur des institutions et des organisations humaines et un matérialisme intransigeant qui n'admet le jeu des influences que dans le direction irréversible allant de l'infrastructure à la superstructure. Si nous envisageons un milieu historique déterminé, il faut le considérer comme une structure agissante, comme un véritable complexe organique. Dans ce complexe, tous les éléments, qu'ils relèvent du domaine des faits et des réalités ou du domaine de la pensée et du sentiment, qu'ils expriment des systèmes économiques ou des systèmes idéologiques, qu'ils appartiennent à la

technique ou à l'éthique, forment un ensemble cohérent et indissociable de moyens destinés à résoudre les multiples problèmes de l'existence. La science moderne a éliminé la traditionnelle et stérile opposition entre matière et énergie, c'est-à-dire, tout compte fait, entre matière et pensée, entre corps et âme. Elle a, par contre, introduit dans l'explication du monde et de l'homme cette notion si féconde de "champ" empruntée à la physique et selon laquelle l'organisme humain et son environnement, le milieu physique et le milieu intellectuel et moral doivent être considérés comme constituant un ensemble dynamique dont les différents éléments agissent les uns sur les autres, réalisant constamment et remettant constamment en cause, par leurs interactions réciproques, des équilibres provisoires, des complexes originaux dont les caractéristiques peuvent être aussi différentes des éléments constitutifs que l'eau est différente de l'oxygène et de l'hydrogène.

Or, il n'est pas indispensable d'être un spécialiste de l'histoire ou de l'anthropologie pour se rendre compte que c'est grâce à la société que, de la brute primitive accaparée par les sollicitations immédiates qui l'asservissent, se dégage peu à peu l'individu, dans la plénitude progressivement réalisée de sa personnalité autonome. L'erreur d'un certain "personnalisme" est de croire à la réalité préalable d'une "personne" qui imposerait à son milieu les exigences et les impératifs d'une nature inaliénable et autonome. En fait, la "personne" humaine est le résultat d'un épanouissement; c'est, dans une large mesure, une naissance, une création progressive qui s'effectue dans le sens d'une libération technique et économique délivrant l'être humain des servitudes matérielles de la faim, de la misère, de l'incertitude du lendemain et d'une libération intellectuelle et morale associée à la première et qui, par la connaissance, la "science," écarte les servitudes de la terreur, de l'impuissance, de l'ignorance.

Qu'il s'agisse de la collectivité considérée dans l'ensemble de son devenir historique ou de l'individu envisagé dans son développement psychogénétique, la base de tout comportement semble bien être le besoin de survivre, une sorte d'instinct de conservation qui organise et justifie les systèmes de défense et de sécurité.

Toute société, sur la base des besoins fondamentaux des individus qui la composent, d'une part, et sur celle de ses possibilités techniques, de la somme des connaissances et des moyens dont elle dispose d'autre part, s'organise en un tout dont les constituants agissent les uns sur les autres pour déterminer sa "personnalité", c'est-à-dire son type "culturel" (dans le sens anglo-saxon du terme) où s'associent l'économique, le social, l'idéologique.

Et ici on peut en bref distinguer deux types extrêmes de société. Celles qui ne disposent que de moyens techniques et intellectuels limités et rudimentaires se forment en économie fermée et statique, aussi bien sur le plan matériel que sur le plan intellectuel et moral. Mais ce statisme même, dans sa rigidité institutionnalisée, est contraire aux lois spontanées de la vie. La vie est une "histoire"; elle est bouillonnement, conquête, recherche du plus et du mieux. Ce qui signifie que, dans toute société humaine, quelle que soit la linéarité de son fixisme, il y a des éléments perturbateurs et des faits nouveaux modifiant le "champ" et imposant des réadaptations. Et ainsi, dans le jeu dialectique de deux forces et de deux idéaux contradictoires et complémentaires, d'un statisme qui érige la médiocrité au niveau d'une aspiration et d'un dynamisme créateur qui, sur la base d'une exploration et d'une exploitation toujours plus étendues du réel, élargit constamment le cercle de ses possibilités de vie, se développe le mouvement historique irréversible de la société humaine vers une émancipation progressive, c'est-à-dire vers une tolérance à l'insécurité toujours plus grande qui est la marque des individus comme des groupes adultes, c'est-à-dire autonomes.

Que ce mouvement dialectique, ne soit pas régulier et continu, qu'il y ait de longs paliers comme de brutales explosions, c'est là une vérité qui demanderait de longs développements si la réalité même n'en apparaissait avec une évidence immédiate.

Mais, il convient d'y insister: le rythme des changements et le rapport des forces réelles se sont profondément modifiés depuis un siècle. S'il est vrai, comme le dit L. Fèbvre, que "à chaque époque, les croyances de l'humanité sont ce qu'elles peuvent être", il est indéniable que de formidables possibilités ont été libérées depuis quelque cent ans grâce aux progrès de la science et de la technique. Le statisme est le refuge obligé des peuples terriens livrés aux seules ressources du muscle. Des économistes comme Colin Clark et Fourastié ont montré que, pendant des siècles, les structures économiques et sociales fondamentales ne s'étaient pas modifiées, avec toutes les conséquences que cela comporte dans tous les ordres de la pensée et de l'action, parce que la médiocrité scientifique et technique n'avait pas permis d'améliorer la productivité. D'autre part, avec les découvertes qui ont mis à la disposition de l'homme des énergies et des moyens nouveaux et puissants, les structures se sont transformées et continuent à le faire à un rythme toujours accéléré. On peut ainsi, sans forcer les traits, diviser l'histoire de notre monde occidental en deux grandes périodes: une sorte de préhistoire au cours de laquelle l'homme, limité aux seules possibilités d'une raison démunie de moyens d'action, végète dans une médiocrité et une impuissance à peine traversées de quel-

ques tentatives pour briser le cercle; puis l'histoire qu'inaugure la révolution scientifique du siècle dernier et qui, dans un mouvement rapide, ouvre à l'humanité des perspectives infinies d'épanouissement et de libération.

Les problèmes ne sont pas différents lorsque, de la société, on passe à l'individu. La psychologie moderne montre que, jeté dans un monde extraordinairement compliqué où tout lui est confus et étranger, l'enfant cherche avant tout à se créer, par la connaissance progressive liée à l'activité, un cadre familial, connu, reposant où il peut s'installer à l'abri des dangers, des inquiétudes, des surprises. Dans ce havre, il incorpore, en quelque sorte, son milieu immédiat, sa mère, sa famille, ses proches, sa chambre, sa maison, son quartier. Il faudrait reprendre ici toute la psychologie génétique; elle nous rappellerait que l'évolution psychologique de l'enfant répond aux exigences toujours plus grande d'une sécurité qui va en s'élargissant progressivement, avec de grosses difficultés parfois, de grosses appréhensions et des crises difficiles pour passer d'un cadre à un autre plus étendu et plus compliqué. C'est que l'équilibre chaque fois réalisé est un équilibre essentiellement précaire; les nécessités mêmes de la vie et de son propre développement imposent à l'enfant de sortir constamment du refuge très fermé qu'il s'est constitué; il est obligé d'affronter de nouveaux déséquilibres et de réaliser ainsi de nouvelles conditions de sécurité toujours plus étendues, donc plus souples et moins stables. Au demeurant, outre les exigences de l'adaptation au milieu qu'impose et favorise l'entourage humain, il y a, dans la nature biologique de l'être une propension à aller au-delà, à aller plus loin qui relève de la "croissance" et sans laquelle l'enfant resterait un éternel mineur.

Besoin de sécurité, d'une part, mais aussi obligation de remettre cette sécurité constamment en question, de la dépasser pour satisfaire aux exigences de la croissance et de l'adaptation, à cette dynamique de l'être vivant qui doit affronter son milieu et le maîtriser pour se réaliser au maximum. Et ainsi, par un jeu constant et délicat de deux facteurs contradictoires et complémentaires dont l'importance respective peut être profondément déterminée par l'éducation, se constituent les différentes personnalités. Il y a, pour chacun de nous, une *Einstellung*, une sorte d'*habitus* général devant nous-même et devant la vie, une manière d'être, de voir, de réagir qui définit notre "moi" et qui est la synthèse que nous avons élaborée de nos possibilités, de nos acquisitions, de nos richesses et de nos lacunes, de nos aptitudes et de nos handicaps, de nos expériences, de nos succès, de nos échecs, de nos audaces et de nos timidités. Cette synthèse détermine la place que nous occupons et le rôle que nous jouons dans l'ensemble physique et humain dont nous sommes le

centre, la façon dont nous acceptons, rejetons ou interprétons ce qui nous entoure, dont nous y réagissons.

La marge des possibilités est donc infinie et, en principe, il y a autant de personnalités différentes qu'il y a d'individus au sens biologique. En gros, cependant, on peut, ici aussi, distinguer deux types extrêmes. Le premier a réalisé une personnalité timorée et prudente, renfermée sur elle-même, réfugiée dans le cercle étroit d'une sécurité dont les conditions sont fixées une fois pour toutes. Entièrement dominée par des habitudes, des traditions, des types de réaction immuables, cette personnalité vit une vie médiocre, sans histoire, dans la certitude reposante de valeurs définitivement admises, dans la crainte et le refus d'expériences et d'interprétations nouvelles. Le second se crée une personnalité audacieuse et conquérante, ouverte sur la monde et sur les hommes, souple et généreuse, à la recherche constante d'expériences et de valeurs nouvelles; il s'efforce de sortir constamment des cercles provisoires de sécurité qu'il trace parce qu'il les considère, non comme des points d'arrivée, mais comme des points de départ, des étapes et des tremplins vers de nouvelles conquêtes et de nouvelles possibilités.

Le premier considère que tous les problèmes sont résolus ou, tout au moins, que les critères épistémologiques et éthiques qui doivent les résoudre sont définitivement acquis et, même, il préfère se refuser à accepter l'existence de problèmes nouveaux. Le second voit dans la vie une suite de problèmes originaux qu'il faut résoudre avec un maximum de liberté et d'originalité et que "vivre", c'est aller au-delà de ce qui est et de ce que l'on est.

Malgré l'importance que peut avoir ici le facteur héréditaire, il va de soi que la différence résulte pour une bonne part de la pauvreté ou de la richesse des expériences de l'enfant, de la richesse et du caractère ouvert de ses connaissances, c'est-à-dire des influences éducationnelles dans le sens le plus large du mot. Celles-ci déterminent, d'une part, les individus soumis, dépourvus d'initiative et d'audace, trouvant leur satisfaction dérisoire dans l'immobilisme, la certitude jamais mise en cause, d'autre part, les individualités fortes et audacieuses, les conquérants qui trouvent leur satisfaction dans la recherche constante d'une sécurité plus large et plus féconde, les esprits créateurs et indépendants qui ont atteint cette tolérance à l'insécurité qui est la marque des sociétés comme des individus adultes.

Tolérance à l'insécurité, disons-nous, et peut-être est-ce là le critère essentiel de ce que nous appelons aujourd'hui l'âge adulte. P. Osterrieth fait remarquer à juste titre que l'éducation des enfants varie avec la conception que nous nous faisons de l'adulte, c'est-à-dire de l'homme.

Ce qu'il nous faut définir, ce sont donc les exigences éducationnelles du monde occidental au 20^e siècle, c'est-à-dire d'une société dont le dynamisme est bien le caractère dominant. Sur le plan de la culture, le problème se présente aujourd'hui de la manière suivante; par la somme des connaissances qu'il accumule dans tous les domaines, par l'invraisemblable développement des moyens d'action qu'il utilise, par les audaces d'une pensée qui prétend rompre toutes les entraves du passé, l'homme aggrandit rapidement le cercle d'une sécurité toujours plus ouverte qui résout peu à peu les servitudes ancestrales, celles du corps comme celles de l'esprit. A une humanité timorée et impuissante s'est substituée une humanité audacieuse et sûre d'elle-même tournée vers la conquête et la liberté.

De même le marin primitif ignore le monde au-delà de ses horizons immédiats; il ne dispose pas des connaissances et des moyens techniques nécessaires pour l'affronter; il est obligé de rester à proximité des côtes et doit se contenter d'une maigre pêche. Tandis que le marin à qui la science et la technique ouvrent des horizons toujours plus larges et plus lointains voit s'offrir à lui des possibilités plus nombreuses et plus riches et rapporte de ses lointains voyages un butin magnifique qui élève à la fois son niveau de vie et son niveau de pensée.

Les exigences du monde contemporain

Définir la santé mentale, qui doit être l'objectif de notre psychologie éducationnelle, c'est d'abord préciser les exigences particulières du monde dans lequel nos enfants sont appelés à exercer leur action et à se constituer leur style de vie.

Jusqu'à la grande révolution du 19^e siècle, la société est relativement homogène et les collectivités sont peu nombreuses et peu volumineuses. Mais à mesure que le volume et la densité des collectivités s'accroissent les différenciations sociales s'accusent parce que les fonctions et les types sociaux, c'est-à-dire fonctionnels, se multiplient et s'imbriquent les uns dans les autres. A une structure "segmentaire", selon l'expression de Candaux, celle où, à la manière de certains organismes inférieurs comme les lombrics, l'ensemble du corps social est une juxtaposition de quelques groupes homogènes vivant en circuits à peu près fermés, se substitue une structure "organique" dont les différents éléments s'interpénètrent, se conditionnent les uns les autres dans les moindres détails de leurs activités. L'organisme social devient de plus en plus complexe et souple, il doit répondre à des situations de vie toujours plus difficiles et plus originales. Il lui faut une souplesse de fonctionnement et d'adaptation que ne peut lui permettre la structure traditionnelle parfaitement adaptée à une

existence dont les conditions ne changent guère, mais incapable de faire face à des problèmes nouveaux.

Du même coup, la place de l'individu dans la collectivité, donc sa valeur et sa signification en tant qu'individu et que "personne" n'est plus la même. La solidarité par similitude unissant des individus à peu près semblables et la solidarité par dépendance linéaire unissant les groupes dans le schéma d'une hiérarchie nettement établie font place à une solidarité organique beaucoup plus nuancée et beaucoup plus mouvante. Celle-ci unit des individus que les différences de vie, de fonction et de mentalité rendent plus libres tout en créant entre eux une solidarité, une interdépendance subtile, moins rigide mais non moins indispensable et réelle. Les liens unissant les individus s'étalent en un réseau extrêmement serré et touffu, mais ce réseau, loin d'être figé en des dépendances univoques et immuables, est animé d'une mouvance constante qui assure sa pertinence et son efficacité dans des situations sans cesse renouvelées.

Dans le monde traditionnel, tous les gens se ressemblent par un ensemble de traits physiques, moraux et intellectuels qui donnent à la société rurale et statique son unité profonde. Pendant des siècles, la façon de vivre, de se comporter, de penser, les sentiments moraux et les préoccupations n'ont guère changé; ils sont identiques dans le temps et dans l'espace parce que cette identité est liée à une similitude dans les conditions essentielles et les possibilités de l'existence. Dans le monde moderne sorti des bouleversements matériels et sociaux du siècle dernier, les différences se manifestent librement parce que la différenciation fonctionnelle grandissante impose ces différences comme un *sine qua non*. D'autre part, les groupes secondaires et multiples dans lesquels les individus sont inclus sont hétérogènes et variés. Le fait que l'individu se rattache à plusieurs groupes à la fois (profession, parti politique, confession, société récréative ou culturelle, etc.) le rend plus libre vis-à-vis de chacun d'eux. Il n'y engage qu'une part de sa personne et reste libre de se dégager comme il veut et quand il veut. La remarque est de Candaux toujours qui ajoute que les contraintes collectives sont donc beaucoup moins impératives et qu'on peut être "original" sans soulever la réprobation. On peut même dire que l'originalité est devenue indispensable parce qu'elle est la condition nécessaire d'une civilisation chaque jour plus compliquée, posant chaque jour des problèmes inédits dont il faut trouver la solution sous peine d'être écrasé et de disparaître.

On peut donc dire que c'est de la complexité sociale, fonctionnelle, morale et intellectuelle de la vie moderne, des besoins d'adaptation sans cesse renouvelés qu'est sortie la libération de l'individu, le rejet des con-

traintes restrictives de la personnalité. La science et la technique libèrent l'homme, elles créent la "personne" en l'élevant au-dessus du réflexe, de l'habitude pour la conduire jusqu'à l'intelligence qui est essentiellement liberté, initiative, création de solutions et de valeurs nouvelles.

L'esprit critique devient ainsi une des composantes indispensables de l'intelligence parce qu'il est instrument de notre réadaptation constante. Mais, à ces possibilités accrues, correspondent de plus grandes responsabilités. Maître de son avenir, l'homme en devient responsable, non plus devant une élite qui prétend représenter et exprimer les "valeurs" fondamentales, non plus devant des instances supérieures échappant à son contrôle, mais devant lui-même, c'est-à-dire devant ses semblables et la collectivité dont il fait partie et à laquelle il participe à part entière. Son effort individuel n'est d'ailleurs possible que dans l'effort général et sa félicité est liée à la félicité de tous. La collaboration se substitue à la subordination et chaque individu a, dans la collectivité, la responsabilité morale et sociale de ses actes.

C'est pour répondre à ces exigences nouvelles que la psychologie est devenue science du comportement et qu'elle étudie l'homme dans sa réalité vivante et agissante. La pensée elle-même est une forme d'action située au sommet d'une hiérarchie continue partant des formes élémentaires de réaction, comme le réflexe et l'habitude, pour aboutir au comportement original devant un problème d'adaptation qu'il faut résoudre. Un organisme est un être vivant structuré pour survivre. Le comportement, ce sont les efforts, les démarches faites pour dominer une situation; c'est ce que fait l'organisme, intérieurement et extérieurement, en actions immédiates ou en actions anticipées que sont les raisonnements, les sentiments, les idées où chacun exprime la totalité de sa "personne". L'environnement inclut tout ce qui a affecté ou affecte directement ou indirectement l'organisme et, dans chaque cas, le problème est l'environnement tel que le voit l'organisme. Par conséquent, la qualité des problèmes que veut résoudre l'organisme comme le niveau de la solution qu'il est désireux ou capable d'atteindre dépendent de la qualité de l'organisme lui-même, du niveau auquel, grâce à sa nature et aux influences qu'il a subies, se situe son désir de "vivre". Ce désir s'exprime dans le but, c'est-à-dire l'objectif précis que s'assigne l'individu. Et c'est ici qu'intervient l'éducation: elle a pour tâche d'amener l'individu à voir les véritables problèmes, c'est-à-dire à situer ses objectifs aussi haut que possible et de lui fournir les moyens de les résoudre avec un maximum d'efficacité. L'être répond en termes de ses préférences, donc de ses valeurs. Et c'est le rôle de l'éducation de créer en lui ces valeurs, de préciser et de hiérarchiser les objectifs que doit atteindre l'homme pour

répondre aux besoins d'un monde qui sera demain tel que nous aurons été capables de le faire.

Qu'il s'agisse de la sociabilité, de l'affectivité et de la sensibilité, de l'intelligence et de la volonté, c'est dans cette perspective que la psychologie éducationnelle doit déterminer les moyens dont elle usera pour réaliser une oeuvre éducative pertinente.

THE AIMS OF EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY

by ARNOULD CLAUSSE, Liège

Pedagogy aims at achieving maintaining and re-establishing mental health in the same way as it is the aim of the medical sciences to achieve, maintain and to re-establish physical health. One can therefore in a first approximation admit that psychology is to pedagogy what physiology is to the medical sciences.

As soon as you push this comparison further, however, the differences will come to the fore. In effect, the notion of physical health itself is defined by the objective laws of somatic functioning. It is not the same for mental health where the conception can vary considerably from one cultural context to another. Mental life has no existence of its own; it is relative because it is an adaptation, a reaction to a number of factors which constitute the milieu in the widest sense of the word. In order to simplify matters and to present them in a somewhat schematic antithesis, one might here confront the traditional world with the modern world. In a milieu of civilization which is characterized by its static nature, conformism, orthodoxy in all its forms, the clarity and the permanence of its social structures – the homoeostasis responds to the rigid demands of a narrowly conceived security; it includes the submission to and the acceptance of, recognized values; it rejects and condemns the critical spirit, the spirit of initiative and research, originality and individual differences because they would be traumatic for the community and for the individual. In a world of rapid and profound evolution, on the other hand, where social and functional hierarchies are continually dissolving and reshaping in the variety and lability of the functions, the rights and the duties of everyone, where change has been substituted for permanence as the essential value, – homoeostasis reacts inevitably to the demands of a dynamism which must be capable and desirous of encouraging and dominating, and it imposes, as a *sine qua non*, this tolerance of insecurity, which turns the spirit in the direction of the future, fruitful adventure, conquest and adaptability.

As a normative science, because it is an applied science, educational psychology must first define precisely the new aims that it must achieve as a response to the new needs of the contemporary world. The first step is a study, as exhaustive as possible, of the culture (in the Anglo-Saxon sense of the word), in the framework of which it acts. It goes without saying, that the knowledge and the instruments which psychology provides for us, must be chosen and used in the light of the aim which we have thus fixed. In the realm of intellectual education, social education, emotional development, it is, above all, important to know what kind of reaction the individual must have to adapt himself to the demands of the milieu in which he must achieve the development of a happy and effective personality.

DIE ZIELE DER ERZIEHUNGSPSYCHOLOGIE

VON ARNOULD CLAUSSE, Liège

Es ist das Ziel der Erziehungswissenschaft, geistige Gesundheit zu verwirklichen, zu erhalten und wiederherzustellen in derselben Weise, wie es das Ziel der medizinischen Wissenschaft ist, die körperliche Gesundheit zu verwirklichen, zu erhalten und wiederherzustellen. Man kann daher in einer ersten Annäherung feststellen, daß die Psychologie für die Erziehungswissenschaft das ist, was die Physiologie für die Medizin ist.

Sobald man den Vergleich weitertreibt, treten Unterschiede hervor. Tatsächlich ist der Begriff der physischen Gesundheit bestimmt durch objektive Gesetze der somatischen Funktion. Das gilt nicht für die geistige Gesundheit, wo der Begriff je nach dem kulturellen Rahmen erheblich wechseln kann. Das geistige Leben hat keine eigene Existenz; es ist relativ, weil es sich einer Menge von Faktoren anpaßt, die das Milieu im weitesten Sinne des Wortes bestimmen. Um die Dinge zu vereinfachen und sie in einer etwas schematischen Antithese darzustellen, kann man hier die traditionelle Welt der modernen Welt gegenüberstellen. In einem Kulturmilieu, das durch Statik, Konformismus, Orthodoxie in all ihren Formen, die Sauberkeit und Dauerhaftigkeit der Sozialstrukturen charakterisiert ist, bewirkt die Homöostase eine Befriedigung des Bedürfnisses nach einer engeren und in sich geschlossenen Sicherheit; sie umfaßt die Unterwerfung unter die anerkannten Werte; sie verwirft und verdammt den Geist der Kritik, der Initiative und der Forschung, die Originalität und individuelle Verschiedenheiten, da sie traumatisch wären für die Gemeinschaft und für das Individuum. Während in einer Welt schneller und tiefgreifender Wandlung, in der sich soziale und funktionale Hierarchien ständig auflösen und Neubilden in einer Vielfalt und Labilität der Funktionen, der Rechte und der Pflichten eines jeden, in der der Wechsel an die Stelle von Dauerhaftigkeit als wesentlicher Wert getreten ist –, reagiert die Homöostase unausweichlich auf die Forderungen eines Dynamismus, der fähig und begierig sein muß, zu ermutigen und zu dominieren –, und sie verlangt als ein *sine qua non* Duldung der Unsicherheit, die den Geist aufgeschlossen macht für die Zukunft und für das fruchtbare Abenteuer, für Eroberung und für Anpassung.

Als normative, weil angewandte, Wissenschaft muß die Erziehungspsychologie sofort die neuen Ziele definieren und präzisieren, die sie aufgrund der neuen Bedürfnisse in der Welt der Gegenwart aufgreifen muß. Der erste Schritt ist eine möglichst erschöpfende Studie der Kultur (im angelsächsischen Sinne des Wortes), in deren Rahmen sie in Aktion tritt. Es versteht sich von selbst, daß das Wissen und die Meßinstrumente, die uns von der Psychologie zur Verfügung gestellt werden, im Lichte des so festgesetzten Ziels ausgewählt und angewandt werden müssen. Auf dem Gebiet der Geistesbildung, der Sozialerziehung und der Entwicklung des Gefühlslebens kommt es in erster Linie darauf an zu wissen, welche Art von Reaktion der Einzelne zeigen muß, um sich den Erfordernissen der Umwelt anzupassen, in der er die Entfaltung einer glücklichen und wirkungsvollen Persönlichkeit erreichen soll.

READING DISABILITY AND REMEDIATION IN THE UNITED STATES

by DONALD L. BARNES, Muncie, Indiana (USA)

Any attempt to discuss reading disability within the brief span of ten or twelve pages is likely to result in an uncomfortable reliance upon generalization and oversimplification. Today's great volume of experimental studies and investigations can be traced back well into the 19th Century. Experimental designs have often differed, and investigations have, all-too-frequently, yielded inconsistent results. William S. Gray and Helen Robinson cited more than 550 separate studies in reviewing reading research during a brief five year period between 1955 and 1960, and many additional reading specialists have entered the arena in the past three years.

This tremendous effort to unearth new information reflects a deep concern for reading and a recognition of its importance in contemporary American society. Non-readers and disabled readers are finding an increasing number of hurdles separating them from effective citizenship and employment opportunities. In most cases they have difficulty securing driving licenses, filling out forms and following written directives. The number of unskilled job opportunities is declining, and the skilled positions presuppose a high degree of literacy. Business and industry are increasing demands for well-read, highly informed personnel. A recent survey reveals that more than 177 military, government and business agencies have initiated reading improvement programs.¹⁾ This clear and ubiquitous movement towards higher literacy requirements has had a disquieting effect upon persons at all levels who suffer from reading disabilities.

Complexity of the Reading Process

Reading is the third in a series of four steps a child must master as he learns to use his language. He first learns to listen and then to speak. He tackles speaking activities with a tremendous burst of enthusiasm. Studies indicate that the average four-year-old is verbally inactive less than nineteen minutes of his waking day.²⁾ Then comes reading – and the complexity of the task is often overwhelming! The simpler aspects of the

¹⁾ ACKER, RALPH S., Reading Improvement in Military, Government and Business Agencies, *Journal of Educational Research*, LIV, February, 1961 pp. 238–240.

²⁾ STRICKLAND, RUTH, Factors That Influence Language Growth, *Elementary English*, XXIV, December, 1952, pp. 474–480.

reading task alone require a host of skills involving visual and auditory discrimination, articulation and concepts of direction, sequence and size. Langman lists fourteen specific skills in visual perception which must be acquired by the beginning reader.¹⁾ Interpretation of reading involves additional skills and understandings – word knowledge, apprehension of the meaning in written passages and thoughtful reaction to the use or application of ideas read. Nor is reading a generalized skill that, once developed at the elementary level, may be used and applied in specialized fields. Specific reading concepts must be developed in many areas of human endeavor.²⁾ These more advanced skills embrace high levels of reasoning – drawing inferences, predicting outcomes, perceiving the structure in the presentation of ideas and deriving generalizations.³⁾

A great many factors affect reading comprehension. Characteristics of the reader frequently play a dominant role. The depth and scope of his vocabulary, his general level of intelligence, his background of experiences, his physical well-being and his interests in reading will help determine the satisfactions he derives from written materials. The training and experience of his teachers, the vitality of instructional and guidance programs, and the amount of reading required will also affect his comprehension skills. Still other factors inherent in learning materials – their readability and use of pictures and illustrations – will enhance or deter comprehension. It is this complexity of interrelationships among vital forces within the life space of the learner which makes analysis of reading and reading disability such a formidable task for the reading specialist.

English Orthography

Many persons as far back as Benjamin Franklin have pointed to the numerous inconsistencies of English orthography as a source of difficulty. George Bernard Shaw felt so keenly about the need to develop consistency within the language that he left a sizable sum of money for this purpose. A new and promising experiment is now in progress in the United Kingdom.

This unique program for beginning readers makes use of the Augmented Roman Alphabet – an almost completely phonetic method of letter notation. It is hoped that this new forty-three letter alphabet will

¹⁾ LANGMAN, MURIAL P., The reading Process: A descriptive Interdisciplinary Approach. *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, LXII, August, 1960, pp. 7-33.

²⁾ HUSBANDS, K. L. and SHORES, J. H., Measurement of Reading for Problem Solving: A Critical Review of the Literature. *Journal of Educational Research*, XLIII, March, 1950, pp. 453-465.

³⁾ LENNON, ROGER T., What Can Be Measured? *The Reading Teacher*, XV, No. 5, March, 1962, pp. 326-337.

contribute substantially to the efforts of children struggling with word identification and pronunciation.¹⁾

Irregularities within the English language may best be illustrated with the syllable "ough". By placing various letters before and after this syllable, nine different pronunciations for "ough" may be identified. In contrast to most languages, English is highly irregular. Comparisons may be seen as follows:

Italian uses 27 letters for 27 sounds
 Turkish uses 27 letters for 27 sounds
 German uses 38 symbols for 36 sounds
 Russian uses 36 symbols for 34 sounds
 English uses 250 symbols (letters or combinations of letters) to form 44 sounds

Frank Laubach, who has led the cause for world literacy, has pointed out that the teaching of a phonetically consistent language is infinitely easier than the teaching of English.²⁾ Those who seek to assist new members of our society with their adopted language will do well to remember the hurdles to English usage inherent in the language itself.

Reading Achievement Today

Numerous criticisms have been directed towards reading specialists and public school teachers in recent years, suggesting that reading skills have declined in the hands of reading instructors addicted to the "look-say" method of word attack. Fortunately, these ominous rumblings are not substantiated by the evidence available. Gray and Iverson conducted a comprehensive study of reading achievement past and present and concluded that "achievement in reading is at least as great as, and appears on the average to be somewhat greater than, it was several decades ago. Students read somewhat more rapidly, on the average, and understand what they read somewhat better".³⁾ According to Watts, national surveys have revealed that the purchase of books has increased at least 500 per cent since prewar TV-less days.⁴⁾ And studies conducted in various regions throughout the United States indicate that about 85 per

¹⁾ Information may be obtained from Sinclair Ustes, 39 Parker Street, London, WC.2, United Kingdom.

²⁾ LAUBACH, FRANK C., *Thirty years with the Silent Billion*, Westbrook, New Jersey: Fleming H. Revell 1960, 127 pp.

³⁾ GRAY, WILLIAM S. and IVERSON, WILLIAM J., What Should Be the Profession's Attitude Toward Lay Criticism of the Schools? *Elementary School Journal*, LIII, March, 1953, pp. 1-44.

⁴⁾ GILBERT, LUTHER, Reading: Psychology. *Review of Educational Research*, XXV, April, 1955, pp. 77-91.

cent of the children in the upper grades and junior high school enjoy reading as a leisure time pursuit.¹⁾

All of this evidence provides little consolation for the mother whose child is retarded in reading. Frequently she would prefer to believe that the fault or weakness lies not with her child, but with the basic ingredients of the reading program. This is a normal human reaction, and parents who resort to recrimination should not be judged too harshly. The unhappy plight of the retarded reader in today's world is serious and deserves sympathetic understanding.

Factors associated with Reading Disability

Research findings indicate that reading disability is the result of a constellation of inhibiting factors varying with individual students and different institutional environments. It is the relative importance of these diverse factors which has prompted much of the debate among modern day reading specialists. For purposes of discussion, these factors are identified under eight subheadings.

I. Mental Ability

Results of numerous studies supply clear evidence of a positive correlation between progress in reading and mental capacity. The correlations are much higher when based on the verbal rather than the non-verbal portions of intelligence tests. Studies by Burks and Bruce involving the use of various subtests on the Wechsler Intelligence Scale also secured evidence that ability to deal with abstractions is basic to the reading process.²⁾ In a sense, the question of mental ability and reading retardation is a problem of definition, for if a child reads at a level commensurate with his innate ability and progresses "normally" within the limitations set by his individual capacities, he may not be classified as a retarded reader. Reading retardation is most frequently defined as a measure of the discrepancy between innate capacity and performance. Children who read far below the levels of expectancy established for them individually by tests of language facility constitute the most likely candidates for remedial instruction.

II. School Practices

Since reading is the first skill subject to be systematically taught in the

¹⁾ ANDERSON, ESTHER M., A Study of Leisure-time Reading of Pupils in Junior High Schools. *Elementary School Journal*, XLVIII, April, 1948, pp. 258-262.

²⁾ BURKS, HAROLD F. and BRUCE, PAUL, The Characteristics of Poor and Good Readers As Disclosed by the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, XLVI, May, 1955, pp. 488-493.

school program, it becomes a natural stumbling block for many children. Failure to adjust instruction to the learner, and failure to identify and correct particular confusions when they arise, frequently lead to negative results in the early stages. Overemphasis on particular facets of what should be a balanced reading program, and failure to stress the meanings to be derived from written materials, often produce poor results at all grade levels.

III. Emotional Disturbances

Since reading requires application and sustained attention, emotional problems which prevent a child from concentrating and paying attention during reading lessons frequently prevent him from learning to read. Much evidence points to a close relationship between reading disabilities and emotional problems, but all attempts to discover a type of personality or kind of maladjustment characteristic of children with reading disabilities have failed. Stewart has demonstrated that either social or emotional immaturity or maladjustment may exist without producing reading retardation.¹⁾ The converse is also true. We sometimes find children with no apparent emotional problems among disabled readers. Unfortunately, those who experience severe reading disabilities frequently exhibit highly inhibited, neurotic or psychotic behavior.

Reading disability is not a unique entity. It is found in combination with many forms of maladjustment. An eye defect or directional confusion tends to heighten the anxiety of children who have already experienced strong feelings of insecurity. As learners advance through school, the symptoms of maladjustment are expressed differently. Spache has pointed out that gains in reading really reflect better adjustment to school.²⁾

Any child who discovers that he is falling behind his classmates in reading will be disturbed by his lack of progress. He may apply himself at first, but if his efforts do not bring success, he is likely to experience strong feelings of frustration. He generally develops a strong antipathy for reading and seeks to avoid it whenever possible. The child with normal sensitivity is very much aware of the opinions of others and easily hurt by the criticisms of parents, teachers and classmates.³⁾ Bitter

¹⁾ STEWART, ROBERT S., Personality Maladjustment of Retarded Achievers, *American Orthopsychiatry*, XX, 1950, pp. 410-417.

²⁾ SPACHE, GEORGE D., Personality Patterns of Retarded Readers. *Journal of Educational Research*, L, September, 1957, pp. 461-469.

³⁾ GREENBLAT, HELEN J., I Hate Reading. *Understanding the Child*, XXI, 1952, pp. 78-84.

resentment is likely to follow experiences with unsympathetic classmates and teachers.

Reading activities may prove to be only incidental to the development of certain behavior problems. Children who have become highly dependent upon parents during pre-school years may, consciously or unconsciously, attempt to avoid the responsibilities of growing up. When reading is perceived as a part of the new responsibilities thrust upon the child, he may reject attempts at learning – preferring his more comfortable sense of dependency. Or the child may associate reading with adults he dislikes and transfer his feelings of fear, anger and frustration to the reading lesson and related activities. The overambitious parent who desperately wants his child to excel may find that the child's resistance to pressure takes the form of a calculated disinterest in reading. If sibling rivalries exist, and a younger child resents the attention given to an older brother or sister who has excelled in reading, he may transfer his hostility to the reading lesson. Or a high degree of tension may develop an uncontrollable need for physical activity and disrupt the course of reading activities. Any or all of these outside disruptive influences may inhibit reading progress, not because of the nature of reading instruction, but simply because reading serves as a vehicle for their expression.¹⁾

Reading achievement is closely associated with peer acceptance. Porterfield and Schlighting found that in all but one of the peer relationships they studied at various socio-economic levels, reading achievement had a high correlation with social acceptance.²⁾ Bussell also found that severely retarded readers had a strong tendency to accept the lowest rung on the ladder of popularity.³⁾

This rejection by other members of a classroom group elicits a variety of responses from retarded readers who are seeking a sense of selfjustification. A few attempt to compensate for their feelings of failure by bluffing, boasting and exaggerating; some seek to gain recognition by excelling in other subject areas; still others attempt to make themselves as inconspicuous as possible. A few seek escape through imaginary illnesses – headaches, dizziness and vomiting – while some of their more hardy contemporaries effect a truculent, defiant stance, challenging anyone to make fun of their weakness.

¹⁾ HARRIS, ALBERT J., *How to Increase Reading Ability*. New York: Longmans, Green, 1961, pp. 265-268.

²⁾ PORTERFIELD, O. V. and SCHLIGHTING, HARRY F., Peer Status and Reading Achievement. *Journal of Educational Research*, April, 1961, pp. 233-235.

³⁾ BUSSELL, MARGARET M., The Relationship Between Social Structure of the Classroom and Academic Success. *Journal of Experimental Educations*, XXII, 1953, pp. 37-52.

There is some evidence to suggest that reading materials serve to help children better understand and overcome emotional problems. After reviewing a number of studies, Gray concluded that reading may and does influence the understandings, attitudes, interests, beliefs, morals, judgments and actions of readers.¹⁾ Furthermore, there is a definite tendency for children to select books which relate to their particular emotional disturbances when such books are made available to them. Numerous factors, however, determine the extent and character of these effects – especially the reader's background of experience.

IV. Visual Weaknesses

Studies concerned with the relationship between visual acuity and reading progress have been generally inconclusive. However, most investigators agree that nearsightedness tends to enhance reading growth. Poor eye coordination as measured by tests of phoria, ductions and binocular reading is also much more common among readers with pronounced disabilities.

Additional progress has been made towards developing a dependable, low-cost visual screening procedure. Several screening techniques have been employed in attempts to identify visual handicaps related to reading retardation. Teacher and nurse observations, the Snellen E Test, the Massachusetts Vision Kit, the Telebinocular Test and the Modified Clinical Procedure (an abbreviated professional examination) have been compared. Statistical analyses of the relative effectiveness of these screening devices suggest the Modified Clinical Procedure to be the most desirable in identifying visual disabilities. Problems of over and under referral and excessive costs are less likely to occur with the use of this procedure.²⁾

V. Hearing Impairments

Hearing loss seems to be a minor factor in reading retardation except in cases of severe and binaural impairment. High frequency losses among beginning readers may limit the development of phonetic skills. Higher correlations among hearing disabilities and reading progress have been recorded in countries where languages are more consistently phonetic. There is some evidence to suggest that hearing actually limits progress in spelling. Templin matched seventy-eight deaf pupils in grades 5–12 with

¹⁾ GRAY, WILLIAM S., The Social Effects of Reading. *School Review*, LV, 1947, pp. 269–277.

²⁾ BLUM, HENRIK L., PETERS, HENRY B. and BETTMAN, JEROME W., *Vision Screening for Elementary Schools*. Berkeley: University of California Press 1959, 146 pp.

seventy-eight hard-of-hearing and seventy-eight normal hearing pupils. The deaf students made about half as many spelling errors as the hard-of-hearing pupils and one-third as many as the normal hearing students in written composition.¹⁾

The audiometer continues to be the most accurate instrument used in the detection of hearing losses. A carefully constructed test of auditory discrimination has also been developed in recent years by Wepman.²⁾

VI. Dominance

Considerable disagreement concerning the relationship of dominance and reading disability is found in the literature. Some neurologists have attempted to show a relationship between reversals in reading and inconsistent hand, foot and eye preferences. At one time parents were much concerned with the question of left and right handedness. If dominance is a factor in reading disability, it is probably less important than other factors. Tests of laterality are usually used to determine dominance. Some investigators have also suggested that minimal brain damage may be associated with problems of dominance. To date, no highly effective procedures have been devised to detect minimal brain damage. But abnormalities during the prenatal period and premature births have been linked with reading disability.³⁾

VII. Speech Defects

An extensive study of speech defects and their relationship to reading disabilities was conducted by Eames in 1950. Results seemed to indicate that speech defects had little or no effect upon reading retardation. Eames suggested that many speech and reading deficiencies may arise from the same basic defect.⁴⁾

VIII. Social Influences

The value placed upon reading by parents, teachers and other persons with whom the child has contact seems to have a vital influence upon the development of reading disabilities. A pilot study by Schrock and Gross-

¹⁾ FITZGERALD, JAMES E., Research in Spelling and Handwriting. *Review of Educational Research*, XXII, April, 1952, pp. 89-94.

²⁾ WEPMAN, JOSEPH M., The Relationship Between Auditory Discrimination, Speech and Reading. *Elementary School Journal*, LX, March, 1960, pp. 325-333.

³⁾ KAWI, ALI A. and PASAMANICK, *Prenatal and Paranatal Factors in the Development of Childhood Reading Disorders*, Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development, XXIV, No. 4, Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University Child Development Publications, 1959, 80 pp.

⁴⁾ EAMES, THOMAS H., The Relationship of Reading and Speech Difficulties. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, XLI, 1950, pp. 51-55.

man has again demonstrated the great importance of providing encouragement in reading. These investigators paired two groups of children and gave encouragement and praise to members of the experimental group. The experimental group scored a gain of seven months progress in reading while the control group lost a month's growth.¹⁾

Boys have consistently fallen behind girls in reading throughout their early school careers. Twice as many boys are identified as retarded readers in the classroom, and 90 per cent of all patients admitted to reading clinics are boys. Present data suggest environmental rather than hereditary influences. It is very possible that more girls than boys pursue a kind of life in which more respect, more incentives and more opportunities for reading appear earlier and persist longer. Mazuriewicz has shown that reading is most frequently viewed by members of our society as a feminine activity.²⁾

Diagnosis and Remediation of Reading Disabilities

Remediation is needed whenever the progress of a learner is interrupted or blocked so that reading progress cannot develop normally within the limitations of the student's capacities. Reading progress may be interrupted at any developmental stage, but the initial phases seem to be particularly troublesome. As children attempt to build an initial sight vocabulary, they frequently learn to pronounce the words but fail to secure meaning. Some read so laboriously that the train of thought becomes spasmodic or lost altogether.

It is not unusual to find individuals needing clinical instruction because they have been unable to make associations between the printed words and their oral language equivalents. In situations where the problem has been one of helping children make and retain associations between oral and visual symbols, tactile and kinaesthetic techniques for word mastery have been most successful. Effective use of these techniques takes advantage of the child's oral language facility, his interests and basic concepts he has previously acquired. A child may have 10,000 words in his speaking vocabulary as he prepares for the introductory phases of reading instruction, and the task of developing a reading vocabulary of similar breadth is, indeed, challenging.

The individual learner's specific weaknesses and problems serve as the basis for planning remedial instruction. Comprehensive testing is usually

¹⁾ SCHROCK, RALPH E. and GROSSMAN, MILTON, Pilot Study: Motivation in Reading. *The Reading Teacher*. XV, No. 2, November, 1961, pp. 119-121.

²⁾ MAXURIEWICZ, ALBERT J., Social-Cultural Influences and Reading. *Journal of Developmental Reading*, III, Autumn, 1959, pp. 254-263.

combined with careful observation. Results of such diagnostic testing will reveal weaknesses in conceptualization and manipulation of ideas, depth of reading vocabulary, strengths and weaknesses in word analysis skills, immature reading habits, etc. Among the testing instruments used for this purpose are the following:

- Metropolitan Reading Readiness Test
- Gates Primary Reading Test
- Gates Reading Survey Test
- Lee-Clark Reading Readiness Test
- California Reading Test
- Dominion Group Test of Reading Readiness
- Cooperative Reading Test
- Pintner General Abilities Tests (verbal type)
- Durrell Reading Analysis Test

A simplified checklist of oral reading skills might appear as follows:

Word recognition errors

1. mispronunciations
2. omissions
3. substitutions
4. words completely missed

Fluency

1. word-by-word reading
2. inadequate phrasing
3. ignoring punctuation
4. repetitions

General Weaknesses

- | | |
|----------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. finger pointing | 4. poor posture |
| 2. strained voice | 5. awkward head movements |
| 3. marked insecurity | 6. general indifference |

Studies of patients admitted to reading clinics suggest that certain common traits prevail among those seeking assistance. Reversals in reading and writing, poorly developed word attack skills, poor spelling and a pronounced discrepancy between speaking and reading vocabularies are most prevalent. Disabled readers also dislike reading and have more difficulty with smaller words than larger words.¹⁾

Barbe, Williams and Ganaway have provided a detailed analysis of the incidence of specific reading disabilities among elementary children receiving correctional instruction. Fifty per cent or more of the patients were found to have the following problems: ²⁾

¹⁾ DELACATO, CARL H., *The Treatment and Prevention of Reading Problems: the Neuro-Psychological Approach*, Springfield, Illinois: Chas. C. Thomas, 122 pp.

²⁾ BARBE, WALTER, WILLIAMS, THELMA and GANAWAY, VIRGINIA, Types of Difficulties in Reading Encountered by Eighty Children Receiving Instruction at a Reading Clinic. *Journal of Educational Research*, LI, February, 1958, pp. 437-443.

Do not know sounds of letters – 95.4 per cent of primary and 61.5 per cent of upper elementary children

Do not know blends – 95.4 per cent of primary and 84.6 per cent of upper elementary children

Word by word reading – 72.7 per cent of primary and 69.2 per cent of upper elementary children

Whispering – 53.8 per cent of upper elementary children

Lip movements – 59.0 per cent of upper elementary children

Use of finger as pointer – 68.2 per cent of primary and 56.4 per cent of upper elementary children

Easily distracted – 59.5 per cent of primary children

Poor letter formation in writing – 59.5 per cent of primary and 61.5 per cent of upper elementary children.

The major problem in identifying and assisting retarded readers is the accurate assessment of learning capacities. A child can, of course, score no higher on a group intelligence test requiring reading than he can on a reading achievement test. When trained examiners are available, individual intelligence tests may be employed (the Stanford-Binet Tests of Intelligence or the Wechsler-Bellevue Intelligence Scale for Children). Where psychometrists are unavailable, reading capacities may be estimated through simple tests of listening comprehension. This practice is based upon an earlier finding of Gates. His investigations revealed that the single most important prognostic measure which may be used in predicting reading progress is the ability of a child to grasp the substance of a story as it is told to him.¹⁾

Bond has pointed out that reading retardation may be (a) simple (lacking in general maturity); (b) specific (deficient in a particular skill or ability); (c) limiting (deficient in most basic skills) or (d) complex (severely retarded with several complicating factors).²⁾ A brief assessment of the child's overall problem generally serves as a guide to the specific diagnostic procedures to be employed. Reading diagnoses may be broad or detailed. There are general diagnoses, analytical diagnoses and case-study diagnoses.

General diagnoses are frequently made by classroom teachers. General achievement tests with subtests for measuring reading comprehension are often employed for this purpose. More detailed instruments such as the Gates Reading Survey may also be utilized. This type of broad assessment of reading achievement yields general profile scores that may be compared with national norms, the achievement of the same class in other subject

¹⁾ GATES, ARTHUR I., *Manual of Directions for Gates' Readiness Tests*. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University.

²⁾ BOND, GUY L. and TINKER, MILES A., *Reading Difficulties: Their Diagnosis and Correction*. New York: Appleton, Crofts, 1957, 81 pp.

areas or the capacities of individual learners as determined through the use of other standardized testing instruments.

Analytical diagnoses require an understanding of specific reading problems. Weaknesses may be related to word analysis skills, word meaning, general comprehension, study skills, reading rate or reading interests. Since the child can make no progress at all until he successfully identifies words within written materials, word attack skills and range of sight vocabulary are generally checked first. Words may be identified in a number of different ways: (a) through the use of context clues and initial letter sounds; (b) through structural analysis (breaking the word into logical parts – usually syllables); (c) by means of phonetic analysis (identification of letter sounds and blends); (d) through picture clues which accompany the story; and (e) through the use of picture dictionaries or other references. A child need not master all of these word analysis skills before he can read successfully, but he must have some method of word attack. And he should be cognizant of the procedures he is using in identifying words.

If word recognition is adequate, knowledge of word meanings and comprehension should be assessed. Retarded readers who recognize words and their meanings may be unable to comprehend larger units. Comprehension involves the abilities to recognize words, group them into thought units and give proper emphasis to the thought units so that the sentences may be understood. The sentences must then be generalized into the meaning of the paragraph, and paragraph meanings must be related so that total meaning may be secured from written passages.

Readers first master the simple comprehension of literal meanings – details presented in stories, main ideas which are stated, cause and effect relationships which are described by the author and major points which are plainly outlined. More advanced levels of comprehension are concerned with implied meanings and interpretations – the tone, mood and intent of the writer.

Children who are experiencing reading difficulties in other subject areas may have an inadequate knowledge and understanding of reading-study skills. These skills are used in locating information, evaluating materials read, organizing information for specific purposes and securing the retention of important ideas. Children from the third grade on should be taught how to use tables of contents, chapter and sectional headings, the indexes and figures, maps and tables in the books they have available to them. They should also acquire skill in identifying topic sentences, skimming, summarizing and outlining. They must become familiar with the use of card files and standard references such as the almanac, the atlas

and the Reader's Guide. Unfortunately, many people in the reading public at large do not fully appreciate the complex galaxy of skills and understandings that must be acquired by the neophyte as he prepares to engage in even the simplest forms of research.

Case-study diagnoses, frequently reserved for the more severe cases of reading disability and those with emotional complications, require more detailed studies of innate capacities, interests, specific weaknesses and extraneous factors which appear to be interfering with reading progress. Appropriate tests are employed on the basis of reading attainment and areas of difficulty. The case-study diagnosis should help identify inhibiting factors and the stage at which reading instruction may begin in each skill area.

Emotional problems associated with reading disability frequently require the attention of a psychologist or psychiatrist. Professional clinicians often find that progress can be achieved only through the combined efforts of several persons working towards a common end. Osburn describes three methods of treating emotional blocks in reading; (a) the encasement method; (b) the cathartic method; and (c) the psychodrama.¹⁾ The encasement method involves the avoidance of a trouble center (such as reading) while the cathartic and psychodrama methods attempt to draw out deep-seated emotional tensions and allow them to be expressed in socially acceptable ways.

Mechanical Devices used in Reading Improvement Programs

A recent survey indicates the fifty-nine per cent of the members of the International Reading Association use mechanical devices or instruments of some kind. The most common instruments in use are tachistoscopes (AVR Eye-Span Trainer, Keystone Flashmeter, SVE Speedioscope, Stereo-Optical Tachitron, EDL Tach-X, Tachisto-Flasher), instruments for directional attack (EDL Controlled Reader, PDL Perceptoscope) and accelerators (SRA Accelerator, AVR Rateometer, Psychotechnics Shadowscope, Stereo-Optical Reading Rate Controller). These instruments are used in prompting students to enlarge eye spans, increase reading speed and reduce fixations. They are helpful with these problems, but they cannot work magic. The burden of the program rests upon the shoulders of the trained clinicians who systematically identify and correct reading deficiencies.

¹⁾ OSBURN, WORTH, Emotional Blocks in Reading. *Elementary School Journal*, LII, September, 1951, pp. 23-30.

A Look to the Future

Much has been done and is being done to assist children throughout the country with reading problems. Work in reading clinics has encouraged us to hope that early intervention by well-trained language therapists may permit children with primary retardation to develop at least functional reading competence. Major needs are for early diagnosis and the provision of intensive remedial programs in the public schools. At present there are very few school systems where clinical facilities are available. The services of school and clinical psychologists are being increasingly utilized, and closer working relationships are being established among members of the medical profession, educators, vision specialists and audiologists. We may hope that embryonic plans today will yield a full measure of badly needed assistance during this decade.

In our concern with reading techniques and reading methods we must not overlook the fact that reading rests first of all upon our ability to think critically. Our ability to think is limited primarily by our personal experiences and the uses we make of these experiences in problem solving, abstracting, generalizing, judging and drawing conclusions. From the available evidence it appears that children who have not learned to think, far outnumber those who have not learned phonic skills.¹⁾

LESEUNFÄHIGKEIT UND IHRE HEILUNG IN DEN VEREINIGTEN STAATEN

VON DONALD L. BARNES, Muncie, Indiana (U.S.A.)

Große und anhaltende Bemühungen um Information über Lesen und Leseunfähigkeit zeigen an, wieviel Sorge man sich um deren Bedeutung in der gegenwärtigen amerikanischen Gesellschaft macht. Lesebehinderte finden sich vor eine steigende Anzahl von Hindernissen gestellt, die sie von der tatkräftigen Betätigung als Staatsbürger und als Berufstätige trennen. Das Lesen ist eine sehr komplexe Fertigkeit, die nicht nur das Erkennen von Wörtern, sondern auch das Ziehen von Schlüssen, das Vorhersagen von Ergebnissen, das Erfassen von Strukturen und das Verallgemeinern fordert. Unglücklicherweise können Lesefertigkeiten auf einem dieser Gebiete nicht immer auf andere Gebiete übertragen werden.

Tausende von Untersuchungen sind angestellt worden, um die Beziehungen zwischen Leseunfähigkeit und anderen Faktoren zu ermitteln. Probleme der englischen Orthographie und der geistigen Fähigkeit des Individuums, – insbesondere, was seinen Wortschatz anbelangt, – sind mit Leseproblemen verknüpft worden. Viele Tatsachen deuten auch auf eine enge Verbindung zwischen Leseversagen und emotionalen Störungen hin. Aber alle Versuche, einen Typus von

1) BETTS, EMMETT A., Reading Is Thinking. *The Reading Teacher*, XV, No. 3, December, 1961, pp. 179–184.

Persönlichkeit oder eine bestimmte Art von mangelhafter Anpassung zu finden, die charakteristisch sind für Kinder mit Leseschwierigkeiten, sind bislang fehlgeschlagen. Leseunfähigkeit ist nicht eine in sich geschlossene Einheit. Man findet sie vielmehr in Verbindung mit manchen Formen der Anpassungsschwierigkeit, und bei Schülern verändern sich im Laufe der Schuljahre die Symptome der mangelhaften Anpassung. Gesellschaftliche Einflüsse, besonders die Anerkennung durch Altersgenossen und das Interesse der Eltern, stehen in enger Beziehung zur Leseleistung. Sehschwäche, Hörbehinderung und Sprachfehler sind nicht eindeutig mit Leseproblemen verknüpft. Der Fortschritt im Lesen kann auf allen Entwicklungsstufen unterbrochen werden, jedoch scheinen die Anfangsphasen besonders viel Mühe zu machen.

In der Therapie dienen die besonderen Schwächen und Probleme des Lernenden als Ausgangspunkt für das Planen von Nachhilfeunterricht. Gewöhnlich wird umfassendes Testen mit sorgfältiger Beobachtung verbunden. Die Ergebnisse solcher diagnostischen Tests zeigen Schwächen auf in der Begriffsbildung und in der Handhabung von Ideen, den Umfang des Lesevokabulars, Stärken und Schwächen in der Fertigkeit, Worte zu analysieren, unreife Lesegewohnheiten und andere Faktoren. Die Arbeit in Lesekliniken hat uns zu der Hoffnung ermutigt, daß viele Kinder mit anfänglicher Verzögerung bei frühem Eingreifen durch gut ausgebildete Sprachheilkundige wenigstens eine funktionale Lesefertigkeit erlangen können.

INCAPACITE DE LECTURE ET SES REMEDES AUX ETATS-UNIS

par DONALD L. BARNES, Muncie, Indiana (E.U.A.)

Un grand et continu effort pour découvrir des informations sur la lecture et l'incapacité dans la lecture démontre son importance dans la société américaine contemporaine. Les personnes incapables de lire se heurtent à des obstacles de plus en plus nombreux qui entravent une citoyenneté effective et leurs possibilités d'emploi. La lecture est une capacité très complexe qui ne constitue pas seulement une capacité d'identifier des mots, mais aussi entraîne des conclusions, des prévisions de résultats et la perception de la structure et de la généralisation. Malheureusement les aptitudes à la lecture qui se développent dans une région ne peuvent pas toujours être transférées dans d'autres domaines spécialisés.

Des milliers d'investigations ont été faites pour déterminer la relation qui existe entre l'incapacité dans la lecture et les autres facteurs. Des problèmes d'orthographe anglaise et l'habileté mentale individuelle (capacité verbale particulière) ont été rapprochés de problèmes de lecture. Il paraît évident qu'il y a une relation étroite entre les échecs en lecture et les problèmes émotionnels, mais tous les essais faits pour découvrir un type de personnalité ou un genre de défaut caractéristique chez l'enfant qui soit en rapport avec les problèmes de lecture échouèrent. L'incapacité dans la lecture n'est pas une entité unique. Elle apparaît combinée à de nombreuses autres formes de défauts et au fur et à mesure que les élèves avancent dans leurs études, les symptômes des défauts changent. Les influences sociales, et particulièrement la disposition favorable soutenue et l'intérêt des parents, sont étroitement liées aux résultats en lecture. La faiblesse visuelle, l'affaiblissement auditif et les défauts d'élocution ne sont pas clairement associés aux problèmes de la lecture. Le progrès dans la lecture peut être interrompu à n'importe quel niveau

du développement, mais les stades initiaux semblent être particulièrement difficiles.

Pour y pallier les faiblesses et problèmes spécifiques des élèves servent de base au planning de l'instruction corrective. Un testing complet est généralement combiné avec une observation soigneuse. Les résultats d'un tel testing de diagnostic révéleront une faiblesse dans la conception et l'emploi des idées, l'ampleur du vocabulaire de lecture, les forces et faiblesses dans la capacité d'analyse des mots, les mauvaises habitudes de lecture et d'autres facteurs.

Des travaux dans des cliniques de lecture nous encouragent à espérer que l'intervention rapide de thérapeutes du langage bien formés permettra à de nombreux enfants retardataires de développer au moins la maîtrise d'une lecture fonctionnelle.

CONFERENCES – KONGRESSE – CONGRÈS

EDUCATION IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Rotterdam, 18 – 20 Nov. 1963

reported by PETER A. CORNELISSE and JAN VERSLUIS

Introduction

Recently, the study of education has been more and more attracting the attention of people from outside the educational sector. This may sound very reasonable, since education is a many-sided subject influencing such diverse facets of human life as, for example, the social and cultural structure, the level of economic development etc. This, however, makes it all the more surprising that it took so long before education was recognised as such. Whatever the reason may be for this long-lasting neglect, the situation has undergone a radical change. Scholars from many disciplines have given their views and, in doing so, have contributed to a broad approach to this new subject resulting in a sometimes remarkable progress in a few years. When so many people are involved in tackling a problem, differences of opinion are inevitable, especially when the problem has as many aspects as education has. Putting emphasis on this aspect rather than that, may lead to entirely different conclusions and as differences in emphasis occur among people of different branches of study, as well as among people of the same discipline, agreement is often lacking even among the latter.

It is generally accepted nowadays that the level of education of the labour force has a direct bearing on the total production of a country. This explains the relation between the educational system as the supplier of knowledge on the one hand and economic growth on the other. The underdeveloped countries being for obvious reasons very interested in economic growth, press urgently for conclusions in the present debate. Their overwhelming needs compared to their small resources force them to try to find an optimal scheme for their allocation of resources including the costs of the educational system. Consequently, there is at least one good reason why the theoretical discussions about education must soon evolve into practical devices for policy decisions and their implementation. The Congress on *Education in Developing Countries* organised by the *Rotterdamsch Studenten Corps* ¹⁾ in honour of the 50th anniversary of the

¹ Financial assistance was granted by the Ministry of Education, the Municipality of Rotterdam, Stichting Nederlandse Organisatie voor Internationale Bijstand, Prins Bernhard Fonds, Koninklijke Nederlandsche Hoogovens en Staalfabrieken N.V. and Unilever N.V.

Netherlands School of Economics had been designed to serve that purpose.

In his concluding remarks as chairman, *Dr. Tinbergen* described the Congress as a meeting of people from different disciplines contributing to the discussions from different points of view. It was a meeting of economists and educationalists but also of people stressing the quantitative aspects and of those who concentrated on the qualitative aspects of the problem. At the same time it was a meeting place of representatives of the partial and of the general approach and finally of people who are in a hurry and of those who are warning against hurrying too much.

Prof. J. Tinbergen acted as chairman of the meetings during which lectures were given by Prof. Ph. H. Coombs (Director of the International Institute for Educational Planning of UNESCO), Prof. K. Romaniuk (Director of the School for Planning and Statistics in Warsaw) and Mr. J. R. Gass (Deputy to the Director for Scientific Affairs of OECD).

Four experts had been invited to comment on the lectures. They were: Mr. H. C. Bos (The Netherlands Economic Institute), Prof. W. Brand (University of Leyden), Mr. L. Cerych (The Atlantic Institute) and Dr. H. Feiner (Head of the Education and Training Department of the N.V. Philips Telecommunicatie Industrie). Participants in the general discussion were: Prof. J. van Baal (University of Amsterdam), Prof. P. A. Blijdorp (Agricultural University Wageningen), Prof. L. H. Janssen S.J. (Catholic University Tilburg), Prof. G. H. van der Kolff (University of Amsterdam), Mr. J. H. Kraak (Netherlands Institute for Industrial Education), Prof. M. J. Langeveld (University of Utrecht), Prof. H. Nieuwenhuis (University of Groningen), Mr. H. G. Quik (Netherlands Universities Foundation for International Cooperation), Prof. W. Schermerhorn (Technical University Delft), Prof. E. de Vries (Director of the Institute of Social Studies).

I. THE ADJUSTMENT OF THE EDUCATIONAL STRUCTURE TO THE REQUIREMENTS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

by PHILIP H. COOMBS, Paris

(a) *The Present Situation*

Strictly speaking, of course, educational planning, and the idea that education contributes to a society's form and growth, are not new. They are as old as civilization's earliest efforts to instruct the young. Plato and Aristotle dealt with these notions with conspicuous effect, as did the great teachers and philosophers of other ancient societies. Over the centuries those responsible for managing school systems or universities, or even individual classrooms, have practised educational planning of a sort, if only to get the next day's lesson ready or to provide enough seats for the students. Such practical educators, I suppose, would be surprised to learn that they were planners, just as the man who discovered to his amazement that he had been talking prose all his life.

There are some quite new things about educational planning as we conceive of it today, compared to the past. For one, it takes a much broader view, embracing a nation's entire educational establishment, not merely an individual school or university or some particular slice of the educational enterprise.

Also new is the conscious effort to make education a major force and an integral part of economic and social development. Thus, educational planning, seen in this broader frame, embraces both the *internal* affairs of education and its *external* relationships to the rest of society and the economy.

One further new feature is that educational planning and development has lately become a respectable and challenging subject for scholarly research and analysis. This past summer, for example, there were some half dozen European conferences on the economics of education, including one sponsored by the International Economic Association. This would have been inconceivable only five years ago.

One does not have to look far to explain this heightened interest in educational planning. It reflects the fact that virtually all nations today – regardless of their age, stage of development or type of social system – are preoccupied with economic growth and social improvement, not only for themselves, but in many cases, for others as well.

To a great extent this new interest of economists and others in development was a response to the actions of political leaders, rather than the reverse. After World War II, public policy in this area stole a march on

scholarship and theory. Such measures as the Marshall Plan, Point Four, and the Colombo Plan, launched by statesmen and practical politicians, prompted professional economists to turn their attention to the processes of development. Since then a substantial new literature on development has flourished. At first it focussed largely upon the *physical* components of development – industrial plants, power dams, railroads and the like – which have an obviously important role in a modern economy's growth. It also focussed upon the Gross National Product as the main yardstick of development progress.

As practical experience was gained with the complex realities of the development process, however, two further important insights emerged. One was that the development of a viable modern society involves much more than *economic* factors, important as these are. It involves also a host of social, administrative, political and psychological factors. Therefore, terms such as "infra-structure" and "social development" crept into the language of scholars and development practitioners alike. At the same time the gross national product, though admittedly a handy yardstick of economic growth, came to be seen as an incomplete and inadequate measure of the goals and progress of societies. Faced with these realities, some economists became interested in sociology, political science and social psychology in order to have a better understanding of the development process *as a whole* and to discover ways to break stubborn bottlenecks.

The second insight involved recognition of the fact that the *human factor* in development – as distinct from physical plant and physical resources – played a more central role than had earlier been appreciated. Educational deficiencies and the resulting shortages of qualified manpower came to be seen as major obstacles to economic and social development. Accordingly, more and more economists turned their attention to education.

Only a few years ago the "conventional wisdom" of economists held that education was a *consumption* expenditure, whereas *investment* expenditures were obviously the prime movers of economic growth. In these circumstances, education budgets were at a competitive disadvantage. Rather suddenly economists forsook this conventional wisdom and agreed that education, in addition to being a consumption good, was an indispensable *investment* in national growth. It should be so regarded, they felt, in national accounting and in national investment decisions. This, in my experience, was an important turning point in economic thought. Conventional wisdom and the theory of economic development have never been quite the same since.

In the ensuing years many important changes have occurred, both in theory and in practice. International and bilateral aid programmes, for example, have given greater emphasis to the development of human resources. The United Nations Special Fund is today investing a large fraction of its pre-investment funds in education and training. Unesco has lately been doing a land-office business in sending educational planning missions to less-developed Member States at their urgent request. And what would have been unthinkable only a few years ago, the World Bank has adopted a policy of making IDA "soft loans" available to educational projects and, more recently, World Bank "hard loans" as well. To sum up, *education is the new girl in town*, as the President of the Carnegie Corporation, Dr. John Gardner, put it, *and all the old boys are eager to dance with her*.

Professional educators, whose girl she was in the first place, have been somewhat bewildered by all this new attention. Their reactions have been somewhat mixed, a fact which deserves brief comment here in the interest of mutual understanding. Educators naturally welcomed the added support provided by their newfound allies. The economists' fresh arguments were especially useful at budget time for persuading reluctant finance ministers and legislatures of the virtue of larger educational expenditures, now that they were an "investment". On the other hand, these new allies, the economists, are, after all, a very materialistic group, always talking about increased production, efficiency, higher incomes and that sort of thing. These are strange words in education circles, though certainly educators would be the last to deny the importance of higher incomes. But higher incomes and greater material affluence, they insist, are not the only stuff of which the "good life" is made. From Aristotle onward, educators have been devoted also to non-material values, which, even though they are hard to measure, seem no less important than the gross national product. There was thus a fear among some educators that the economists might pervert the educational enterprise to simply an instrument of economic growth.

Educators, moreover, are deeply interested in people as *individuals*, not simply as manpower statistics. Thus they tend to be nervous about such impersonal aggregates, used by the economist, as the "labour force" and "human resources". Equally alarming has been the economist's talk of education as an "industry" – just as if producing educated people were the same as producing steel or fertilizer. Some educationists, even now, bristle with rage when such coldblooded terms as "efficiency", "waste" and "productivity" are applied to education. Others, however, have come to see the relevance and usefulness of such concepts, applied to education.

In all fairness, it should be noted that the economists, too, have had their troubles understanding the educators' specialized concepts and semantics. Economists become especially frustrated when they try to get educators to define just what "product" it is that they were trying to produce, in sufficiently specific terms to be able to determine whether in fact they are producing it, and if so how much. To the horror of economists, it seems that educators are inclined to assess their output mainly by the inputs – things such as the pupil-teacher ratio, expenditures per pupil, or the number of hours a student spends in a classroom, rather than by the performance of the product. How, asks the economist, can one appraise the efficiency of resource use or compare the advantages of alternative systems of production under such circumstances? These two sub-cultures – economics and pedagogy – having lived apart for a long time, naturally have found some initial difficulty learning to live together, as the pressures of history have now obliged them to do. As one who has dwelt happily for some years in both sub-cultures, however, I am convinced that their differences are not irreconcilable. Indeed, educators and economists, as their recent dialogues have demonstrated, have much to teach each other, and once each has learned they make an agreeable and powerful team.

All this recent talk about education being a good investment in economic growth has, in any event, now reached epidemic proportions, all over the world. Seldom in history have the ideas of scholars been so quickly reflected in public policy and action. Last year, in a world survey of educational planning, conducted by the International Bureau of Education, 45 per cent of the 75 responding governments said they were engaged in *general* educational planning (though not surprisingly their responses implied quite different definitions of educational planning). Had the same question been asked ten years ago, it would surely have brought far fewer positive answers, and if asked a year from now it would reveal a still larger number of nations attempting to apply educational planning.

By now the majority of less developed nations are taking at least the preliminary steps toward orderly and comprehensive education planning. And increasingly the advanced countries are doing the same, however reluctantly. The recent report of the Robbins Commission on the future of higher education in the United Kingdom is a notable case in point.

This new enthusiasm for educational planning and human resources development, however, has brought in its wake some serious problems and challenges, to which the scholarly world must now respond. The rapid shift of public policy toward educational planning has outdistanced

the supply of knowledge and of qualified experts in this field. Indeed, at the moment, there still remains confusion among the experts themselves as to just what educational planning means. Much remains to be learned, and much of it can only be learned through systematic research into the processes of educational, economic and social development, and the role which planning can play in accelerating such development.

But what specific research topics, we must then ask, are most urgently in need of attention? In other words, where, intellectually, should the field of educational planning go from here? The answer depends upon how one conceives educational planning, narrowly or broadly. Let us turn to this matter briefly.

(b) *A Broad View of Educational Planning*

There are, if I may oversimplify slightly to make the point, two extremely different conceptions of educational planning in vogue today.

One is very narrow. It sees planning as ending in a model of the future, on paper. It focuses upon the analytical techniques and methodologies involved in designing such a model, with heavy emphasis on the quantitative dimensions. The educational planner – the architect of this model – is seen as a specialist who possesses special techniques, largely statistical and mathematical in character, which are mysterious to most mortals. In the extreme the planner is viewed as a new kind of medicine man, a worker of miracles – at least until the miracles fail to materialize (in which case he can always blame the politicians).

The other conception is as broad as the first is narrow. It sees educational planning as a *total* process, in which the “plan” on paper is but one stage. The accent here is on *action* and *results*, and planning is seen as an instrument for getting the *best* results possible in the circumstances; there is really no such thing under this view as *the* “educational planner”, for everyone involved in the total process along the way must in some measure participate in planning and thus be a planner, if the effect is to succeed.

Both these views have obvious merit, but if educational planning is to come of age they must be harmonized. I should say that the first – the manpower concept – must be subsumed within the larger one and certainly not abandoned. And it is inevitable that this will happen.

Anyone sharing responsibility for shaping his nation's educational future will certainly be well served by rigorous analytical concepts, tools and methods, such as those associated with mathematical models, for which the Netherlands Economic Institute is so justly renowned. The exercise of formulating such models has the obvious virtue of bringing

many relevant variables into clearer focus, of calling attention to the alternatives and choices available, forcing hidden assumptions into the open, and providing a visible test of the economic feasibility and internal consistency of any given set of proposed targets and actions.

But statistical methods and mathematical models also have their limitations. They cannot, for one thing, take adequately into account the qualitative factors and the curriculum changes required to advance education. Moreover, they must necessarily abstract from many earthy realities which, though often immeasurable, unpredictable and sometimes even unmentionable, are important determinants of any plan's success or failure.

No one, of course, knows these limitations better than the builder of a model. The trouble comes when he or others forget that the model is, inevitably, a gross oversimplification of reality. But if it ignores too much of reality and is taken seriously, the model can do more harm than good. Miracles may be expected that never occur, and in their stead frustration and disillusion proliferate.

It is quite evident, I think, from the varied experience which numerous countries have had in recent years with educational planning and development, that those responsible for such matters, up and down the line – call them planners, administrators, policy-makers, politicians or what you will – must constantly view the whole landscape through a wide-angle lens. What they will see will differ greatly, of course, from one country to another, or at different periods in the same country. Each nation must shape its educational goals, and the means and strategy for achieving them, to fit its own peculiar conditions. There is no one formula to fit them all, and only those who have never left home would dare to think that there is.

Taking this broad approach to educational planning, and recognizing the differences between countries, one can still identify a few basic guidelines that would serve all countries well that turn to educational planning.

First, as far as possible educational planning should try to view the educational system *as a whole*, from bottom to top, and laterally as well, to include those important training and educational activities which go on outside the formal educational structure. Only with such a broad view can rational choices be made in allocating available educational resources to different parts of the whole system.

If wasteful imbalances are to be avoided, then, for example, higher education must be planned with a careful eye to the secondary schools that supply their students and to whom higher education must supply

teachers and intellectual content. Likewise, enthusiasm for achieving universal primary education must not be allowed to obscure the fact that, without adequate teachers supplied by secondary schools and colleges, hundreds of new elementary school buildings can prove to be a hollow educational mockery.

A second guideline is that if education is to make a maximum contribution to society, its own development must be well integrated with economic and social development generally. Attention must be given, for example, to future manpower requirements and to other priority needs, both economic and non-economic. Likewise attention must be given to the nation's economic limitations, to what is feasible and what is not. One has the uneasy feeling that many of the educational expansion targets that have been boldly proclaimed in recent years, in the name of educational planning, may be economically and politically impossible of attainment, at least in the time allotted. This would have to be called not planning but misplanning. Education is no more exempt than any other enterprise from the obstinate constraints imposed by a nation's economic resource limits.

There is wide agreement in principle today on the importance of integrating educational planning with overall development, but, of course, it is far easier said than done. This is one of the many practical areas requiring more analysis and research, and more experience.

The third suggested guideline is that educational planning should look well beyond the purely *quantitative* dimensions of educational development. Without criticism of those who have pioneered courageously in this field, it must be said that the overwhelming emphasis of most educational plans to date, judging from those I have seen, has been upon expanding the educational *status quo* into substantially a large version of itself.

This early emphasis on quantitative expansion is understandable. There has yet been time and skill for little else. But it would be a dangerous illusion to assume that any developing nation, or any advanced one for that matter, can successfully meet its long range educational needs simply to do what it is already doing educationally but on a larger scale. Virtually every educational system in the world, I dare say, needs internal *change* and improvement fully as much as it needs expansion — changes in structure, content, and what I would broadly call the technology of education itself. Even if it were economically feasible to achieve a vast and rapid expansion of the educational *status quo* (which it usually is not), this still would fail to meet today's and especially tomorrow's educational needs. We must face the fact candidly that today's educational systems

are in many important respects seriously obsolete. Education must run fast at this stage of history even to stand still, relative to fast changing needs and conditions, and almost nowhere has it run that fast. It is not too much to say, I believe, that education is as much in need of an internal revolution of methods as industry and agriculture were fifty years ago.

Here again, of course, there are no easy short cuts. These changes are far easier to advocate than to attain. Not only are educational systems all over the world notoriously resistant to innovation, but education lacks sufficiently strong and creative internal institutional mechanisms to provide a continuing critical appraisal of its prevailing processes and products, and to invent and foster new and better ones. The pioneer educators who approach their work with a scientific spirit – who are not afraid of constructive criticism and new ideas – constantly complain of being frustrated by a deep-rooted and stubborn folklore. Educational planning must pave the way and provide support for these pioneers and innovators.

Finally, it seems increasingly evident that educational planners must be at least as concerned with the *implementation* of a plan as with designing it in the first place. Indeed, for maximum success, the feasibility and strategy of implementation must be considered from the outset, in the very process by which a plan is produced, so that those who must play a role in carrying it out have a voice in formulating it. In short, a “good” educational plan – if by that one means, among other things, that it has a reasonable chance of success – is one which contains the seeds of its own implementation. What is possible in one situation will not be in another. But educational planning can be of significant use in virtually *all* situations, provided it is regarded as being, like politics, the art of the possible, not a counsel of perfection.

If the practical constraints in any given country – the hard economic, administrative, political, psychological and sociological facts of life which inevitably define the limits of feasibility – are not kept in view by educational planners, they run the risk of becoming not only frustrated but discredited. Most of these constraints cannot be easily measured, diagnosed, or predicted. And most of them lie beyond the normal professional competence of both educators and economists. Therefore other social scientists, as well as practical administrators, statesmen and politicians, must be looked to for guidance on these matters. Though their arithmetic may seem poor, their intuition is often good. They are perhaps as important to the planning team's success as the skilled statistician, economic

analyst, or the educator himself. Each has a special and important contribution to make, but somehow they must make it jointly.

(c) *Illustrative Research Needs*

If one accepts this broad and flexible view of educational planning, it is evident that important research needs exist today across a wide spectrum of very practical and intellectually challenging problems. Indeed, the urgent current needs for research in this field exceed the world-wide research capabilities to meet them. There is more than enough work for all of us, and a great need exists to build a stronger international research community on this subject, fortified by better communication and collaboration. Likewise there is need for closer co-operation between the "producers" and the "consumers" of research. And while such research is most imperatively needed by the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the benefits would also be great, I suspect, for the more advanced countries, for they too, without exception, are in need of educational reform and advancement.

From the preliminary interchange which our new International Institute for Educational Planning has had with various producers and consumers of research in this field, a great variety of useful suggestions for future research have already emerged. Some concern the *external* relations of education – its linkages with economy and growth, for example – while others concern the *internal* affairs of education. Many relate to the techniques and implementation of educational planning and development, while some especially important ones involve its international aspects. Let me mention just a few to illustrate the variety and scope of what is needed, cutting across a number of academic disciplines and professions.

(i) One of the more basic needs initially is for a series of systematic case studies which would reveal how a cross-section of nations have fared with educational planning and development efforts to date. This would make possible a comparative analysis of typical problems encountered, though in different forms, in various countries, to see how they have been dealt with in each, and with what success. Such a systematic inventory of practical experience would build a valuable foundation for more research endeavours and for advancing the body of theory. It would also provide excellent practice in interdisciplinary field research. Since the task is a very large one, it would be desirable, and a good means of welding together a stronger research community, if several research institutions (universities and others), capable of team research, could

co-operate in carrying out this series of case studies on a comparable basis.

(ii) A second category of research required relates to the methodological techniques of formulating educational plans. It would be useful, for example, to review the experience of various countries that have sought to use manpower projections and statistical models, to appraise their practical feasibility, their values and their limitations. One likely conclusion would be, I suspect, that the degree of sophistication of the techniques which are appropriate to use, varies enormously from country to country, depending upon their stage of development and a variety of other factors. While this generalization is no doubt valid, it would be of greater practical value if someone would sort out more specifically the kinds of techniques most appropriate to different classes of situations.

A related question needing study is just what, in practice, it means to integrate educational and economic planning and development. What are the main points of linkage between the two and how in practice can these linkages be forged? Two of them, obviously, are manpower requirements and educational financing. A third, and the real nexus between education and society's needs, is the curriculum itself. In my judgement, the most crucial and yet most difficult issue of all, is how to define the *learning objectives* of an education development plan, as distinct from *quantitative objectives* of education, at each level, in sufficiently specific terms and with sufficient selectivity and priority, to provide practical criteria for curriculum choices. Despite all the talk of fitting education to the needs and priorities of the individual and society, the curriculum continues to be made much more by tradition and prejudice than by rigorous analysis of real needs.

It is not enough to proclaim curriculum goals in such broad terms that they are little more than slogans – such as “we want to produce good citizens” or we want to produce “modern men for a free society”. Educators with the help of others must peel off these easy outer layers and define much more precisely the specific characteristics and capabilities the schools and universities should seek to develop in individuals, if there is to be any rational basis for formulating a curriculum and for evaluating its effectiveness.

Until further progress is made in tailoring the curriculum to priority needs and in appraising its results, educators and economists will be seriously handicapped in trying to discover the relationship (and efficiency) between educational inputs and outputs, or in judging the relative merits of alternative systems of instruction. Meanwhile also, a good many important problems will continue to be swept under the rug.

Another question much on the mind of responsible development officials today is how to select specific priority projects within the general context of a well conceived educational plan. It is one thing to determine, for example, that 40,000 additional secondary teachers will be needed annually by 1970, but it is yet another to determine precisely how and where they are to be produced. And it is a still different matter to get the action required and to bring the projects to reality. The planner who calculates targets cannot ignore the means for achieving them. The criteria and techniques of project selection, and for determining their practical feasibility, are among the most urgent problems facing educational development today.

Turning to still another question of planning technique, one of the fatal weaknesses of many recent educational plans – preoccupied as they have been with setting quantitative expansion targets, such as the proportion of the youth population that should be attending elementary or secondary school by 1975 – is that they have not considered the financial feasibility of carrying out the plan or, worse still, the feasibility of obtaining a sufficient supply of teachers and administrators. Such plans are often so unrealistic as to constitute little more than dreams. There are, of course, sophisticated techniques of constructing plans which take account of all this, but it is often not possible to apply them in practice. What is needed is some relatively simple, self-administered techniques for testing the economic and manpower feasibility of plans devised under relatively rudimentary circumstances, and for testing likewise whether the programme proposed is internally consistent and provides for the balanced development and mutual reinforcement of the different sectors and levels of education.

Another important question in the area of planning techniques concerns making choices among alternative ways of investing limited educational resources. What should be the division of effort, for example, between elementary, secondary and higher education, or between technical and general education at the secondary level, and how much should be earmarked for out-of-school education? While one can construct an elaborate cost-benefit theory for treating these questions, such theories are impossible to apply in most practical situations. If research is to have practical value, it must provide simpler techniques which practising educational developers can apply on the spot with the hope of achieving considerably better results than are likely to be obtained otherwise, even though they may fall considerably short of theoretical perfection.

(iii) From the problems of planning techniques, let us turn briefly to a third category of research question relating to the *implementation* of

plans. The first could be put this way: what are the pre-conditions for effective planning? Some nations, convinced that planning is important, have adopted the forms and rituals of planning with no discernible results. What was missing in these situations? And in other cases where successful action flowed from planning, what were the conditions that made this action possible? Research is needed which will enable individual countries to diagnose their general situations to determine whether they are really ready for effective planning and if so what kind? Such factors as the state of popular attitudes toward planning, of political leadership and the level of priority given to education, the strengths and weaknesses of the administrative infra-structure, the availability of essential information needed even for the most rudimentary forms of planning, and the possibility of achieving clarification and a reasonable consensus on educational objectives – all these are among the practical constraints which a country should assess before it embarks seriously on a planning effort. But we know too little about how to assess them, and how to create the conditions conducive to successful planning. An examination of the actual experience of a number of nations would shed useful light on the matter.

In this matter of implementation there is need also for fuller study of the organizational and administrative conditions which assist or frustrate implementation, and of the *process* by which plans can be evolved so as to give them the best chance of success. Here again a wealth of practical experience is waiting to be examined.

(iv) A fourth research category covers a fascinating variety of major special problems confronting most nations in the realm of educational development. One concerns the educational and economic aspects of reforming the curriculum and introducing structural and methodological innovations. What kinds of *institutional* innovations are needed to create these other innovations, to develop and test them out, and then to get them incorporated on a large scale? What are the most effective strategies for inducing change in education? It might be most profitable to examine on a comparative basis a variety of past cases in which educational changes were attempted, both successfully and unsuccessfully. I suspect that a study of innovations in agriculture – where resistance to change has also been notoriously strong – might provide some useful clues for educational innovators.

Another special topic that deserves intensive investigation is education's own manpower problem, which is usually the heart of the problem of any educational expansion plan. There should be comparative studies in several countries, by manpower economists and educators, of the factors affecting teacher supply and utilization, including the whole range of

incentives and dis-incentives, with resulting suggestions for policies and programme alternatives to meet the situation more adequately.

Research needs should be directed also at the often ignored matter of meeting out-of-school training and educational requirements. It is important to break down the very vague and general concept of "adult education" into more specific groups with specific needs, and to examine the best ways of meeting these needs, including their economic feasibility.

A closely related problem, affecting the large majority of people in developing regions, is that of rural education, integrated with comprehensive rural development. The needs in rural areas are typically much different than in urban areas, though often school programmes largely ignore these differences. In hundreds of thousands of villages in Asia, Africa and Latin America, it will be many years before there are conventional schools and teachers. Yet the educational needs are urgent. Therefore, unconventional but economically feasible means must be sought to meet them. This is a challenging area for research and development which could, if successful, make it possible to include much more ambitious provisions for rural education in educational plans.

Another special problem for virtually all developing areas lies in technical training, particularly at the secondary level. There has been a strong tendency to import technical school patterns from more advanced countries, but these are often a poor fit, both for meeting the peculiar needs of the country and its resource limitations. It is patently absurd to start with a fancy and expensive imported model which cannot be duplicated on a large scale, and should not be even if it could. There is the question, too, of how much and what kinds of training can best and most economically be done in formal schools, and of what can be better done outside – on the job, for example. Satisfactory educational plans need satisfactory answers to these questions.

Finally, there are two extremely important special topics for research having to do with the international aspects. One is how foreign aid can more effectively be fitted into a receiving country's educational development plan, to reinforce it rather than to push it off the track. What are the criteria for selecting forms of foreign aid that will give it maximum leverage, even though foreign aid will be at best only a small fraction of the developing country's total educational outlay? And to what extent can educational planning serve to coordinate and harmonize the efforts of numerous external aid agencies, all seemingly "going it alone" in different directions in a given country? What changes of policy and practice would be required in order for these aid agencies to make their aid more effective.

The other international problem concerns the bewildering flow of

people from less advanced to more advanced countries for education and training. Overseas study is unquestionably of great importance and is doing much good. Even so, great wastes are also involved in the present situation. Too often the wrong student goes, or the right one goes to the wrong country, or to the wrong institution, or studies the wrong thing in terms of what can help him and his country most. Too many students whose talents are needed at home fail to return, or if they do return they fail to find a position which utilizes their newly acquired knowledge. This whole flow and recycling of manpower across national lines need to be examined, in the large and close up, in search of ways in which improvements can be made.

These are some of the very practical topics for research which today are troubling those concerned with educational planning and development, and to which the research community will hopefully give greatly increased attention in the immediate future.

Two points should be stressed in conclusion:

First, if educational planning, integrated with economic planning, is to be a genuinely useful instrument of development, as I am convinced it can, then it must not only involve rigorous analytical methods and concepts but it must also take a very comprehensive view of education itself, of the processes of implementation, and of the whole living context in which educational development must take place.

Second, to be effective, educational planning must be realistic. It must aim to do the possible, not the impossible. In each country the techniques of planning employed, and the targets and means adopted, must be fitted to the conditions which prevail. If this is done, there should be no grounds for anyone to claim, as many do today, that educational planning is too vague, too theoretical and too impractical. And if this is done, even though imperfectly, it will be better than flying blind.

Finally, it is abundantly clear that this field is still in its infancy, and to mature it must have the concerted attention of competent research scholars in a wide range of disciplines, working hand in glove with practising educational developers. I know of no field that holds greater challenge and opportunity for young people of high intellectual ability and an equally high desire to serve mankind.

Mr. H. C. Bos, the first of two participants who had been officially invited to discuss the paper, gave a brief survey of the research work in this field that has been undertaken by the Netherlands Economic Institute. This work has concentrated on two subjects: the development of mathematical models for educational planning and empirical research on the relations between educational variables on the one hand and economic variables on the other.

The main characteristics of the mathematical models are the following:

- (i) The models are concerned with the quantitative aspects of the problem: numbers of people needed having a certain level of education, numbers of students etc. To some extent, though certainly not completely, qualitative elements are neglected.
- (ii) The models are in the first place planning models designed for planning in the narrow sense: the determination of the desired structure of education.
- (iii) The type of planning on which the models concentrate is mainly long-term planning.

The most important elements distinguished in the equations are:

- (i) Every national economy needs a certain stock of manpower of different educational levels.
- (ii) There are a number of processes of education, which are inter-dependent, e.g. the number of students in tertiary education is related to the number of graduates of secondary education some time before.
- (iii) The models also include the possibility of importing manpower and of study abroad.

In the models unknown factors and given coefficients play a role. Some of the coefficients describe qualitative elements e.g. teacher-pupil ratios, drop-out rates, the time structure of the system. The other coefficients describe the quantitative aspects, e.g. the productivity of manpower.

The main problem that can be tackled with the aid of the models is that of planning the adaptation of education to the required economic development. In the first place the balanced structure of education needed can be determined. In case of acceleration of economic growth the necessary adaptation of the system can be derived. The adaptation can take place with or without foreign aid through temporary changes in coefficients. Another problem which can be dealt with is the so-called *indianization* problem, a newspeak generalization of Africanization, Indianization etc., i.e. the problem of substitution of local manpower for expatriates. An interesting result obtained in this field is that the best

solution in many cases may be to start importing extra foreign manpower to train local people which in due time will replace the foreigners. This illustrates how a well known phenomenon in economic problems, the acceleration principle, also plays a role in the field of education.

The results obtained so far by the Netherlands Economic Institute, have been published in a recent paper by OECD ¹⁾, in which elaborated examples of the practical use of the models have also been presented, namely exercises on Spain, Greece and Turkey.

The crucial equations in the models are the relations between economic variables and manpower stocks. In this field also empirical work has been done and is still under way. The simplest form of the equations conceivable is that of a proportionality between manpower stocks and national product. A more complicated approach is that in which a breakdown of stocks with regard to fields of study is used, the simplest example being one where only two fields are taken into consideration: humanities versus science and technology.

The present work of the Institute is the core of the integration of educational planning into economic planning generally. The main difficulty is to find the appropriate data. An international comparison has been made from which a relation was estimated between, on the one hand, the stock of third level educated manpower and on the other hand two economic variables, i.e. the level of national product and the per capita national income. This relationship, the parameters of which were based on data from developed as well as developing countries, appeared to be reasonably stable. This stability might provide at least part of the answer to those who do not believe in quantitative methods in this field. Of course the critics of quantitative methods are to a certain extent right in saying that the methods are insufficiently refined. The main bottleneck, however, in making the models more realistic is the availability of statistical data. One of the most urgent needs of research in education is that of the adjustment of statistics to the problems dealt with. In the meantime opinions on the use of models should be based on the availability of other methods indicating the quantitative aspects of the problems.

Mr. L. Cerych, the second person who had been invited to comment on Mr. Coombs's lecture, concentrated on three points:

- (i) If the term "educational planning" is used in the very broad sense

¹⁾ *Planning Models of Educational Requirements for Economic Development*, by J. Tinbergen, L. Emmerij, J. Blum and G. Williams, Directorate for Scientific Affairs, Training Course for Human Resource Specialists, Hotel Mont Parnes, Athens, Greece, 1st-28th September, 1963.

as Mr. Coombs indicated, the terminology does not seem very appropriate. We had rather speak of global, or comprehensive educational policy. "Planning" is one of those words which we cannot use anymore without explicitly stating what is understood by it.

Although education may have expanded very much in quantitative terms, the situation in many countries is far from satisfactory, as is for instance the case in Latin America. Although quantitative methods are useful and even necessary, much attention should also be paid to the qualitative aspects.

(ii) Although 45% of the countries admit that they practise some type of educational planning, this planning in many cases is in a very preliminary stage. Here is one of the vicious circles, which one so often comes across in the problems of economic development. External aid is sometimes provided only under the condition that the country which receives the aid executes a consistent planning in the field of education. But how can one expect implementation of planning in a country where everything needed for that purpose is missing as, for example, statistics, a stable political structure, the necessary traditions etc. Moreover, we cannot require a country like Nigeria or Senegal to implement a type of planning which does not even exist in the developed countries themselves.

A way out of this vicious circle must be looked for. Very much of the educational "planning" in the less developed countries can be done by means of intermediary methods, through a partial approach.

(iii) One of the points already mentioned by Mr. Coombs must be stressed very strongly. There is a need for better communication among research institutions working on problems in the field of education.

The general discussion dealt mainly with the qualitative sides of the problem. The point which many participants in the discussion were worried about was the difficulty of transferring our educational systems to countries with a completely different culture. Acculturation cannot be imposed as a government measure. What is needed most is a complete change in people's approach. Another point which was stressed in the discussion was the necessity of an equilibrium between cultural and pragmatic education. Some kind of "functional" culture must be aimed at. Some of the speakers expressed rather serious doubts about the quantitative methods Mr. Bos had spoken about. The result of the empirical work is a coefficient which represents an average. The reliability of this average when applied to an individual country may be questioned, because the countries - the data on which the coefficient is calculated from, are in a different stage of development from those countries which the figure is applied to. Examples were given in the discussion of how international cooperation in the field of education already takes place. Small teams of experts are making considerable contributions in practical teaching in the underdeveloped countries. Private enterprises can do important work in training outside the formal education system.

Mr. Coombs in his answer agreed on many of the points put forward in the discussion. The most urgent problem we are faced with is that of bringing about changes in the educational system itself. We had better change things now than wait too long, the situation is urgent enough. There should be concrete alternatives with respect to educational systems. It is clear that we know how to handle models in order to avoid imbalance; the quantitative experts this way can give the clue to decide among the alternatives. For the time being in many countries very much can be done by means of simple steps, methods which are appropriate for the situation in those countries.

Mr. Bos in answering the contributors to the discussion pointed out that the long-term solution to the statistical problems is to convince statisticians to collect the data needed. The short-term solution, however, must be found in the use of the available material. If for some countries the necessary data do not exist, figures from other, comparable countries must be used. International studies can be used also. Although a cross-section analysis deals with the status quo it can nevertheless be useful. The cross-section analysis presented by the Netherlands Economic Institute was based on data from developed as well as developing countries. Another mathematical technique that has also been applied, viz. in the *ization* problems, is that of linear programming. It is certainly worthwhile investigating whether other statistical techniques than regression analysis are applicable.

The studies made so far were more ambitious than aiming at the level of research only. The models are planning models, specifying how to arrive at such targets as national income and the structure of production. Incentives that might be used are the building of schools, or teachers' salaries, or fellowships. Before one is able to implement the policy, planning has to be done. At that stage mathematical models are necessary. The best procedure with regard to the coefficients is to get the information from the country itself. The use of data from other countries is the second-best solution.

Mr. Cerych in his answer added to *Mr. Bos'* last remark the approach followed by some research institutes, viz. a subdivision into more or less homogeneous groups of countries (Africa, Latin America). This leads to a typology of countries. Quantitative analysis has not failed as was suggested in the discussion; on the contrary, it has been extremely useful, because it gave a consciousness of orders of magnitude. If some models are not correct, this leads to an urge to improve them.

Mr. Coombs again pointed out that education is both consumption and investment at the same time. This doubles the argument for spending money on it; you get it back twice. Adding again to the list of suggestions for further research *Mr. Coombs* explained that education is the only industry for which no research on development takes place. Suppose 1% of the expenditure on education were used for research in development, and suppose this led to a 1% increase in productivity of the system per year, what would this do to the projections? There is in this respect a large similarity between the industry of agriculture and that of education. It might be useful if agriculturists and educationalists would go and sit together investigating what it was that brought about the tremendous rise in productivity in agriculture and which of those elements could also play a role in the educational sector.

II. THE OPTIMAL LOCATION OF VARIOUS TYPES OF EDUCATION FOR DEVELOPMENT

by KAZIMIERZ ROMANIUK, Warsaw

1. Target model of the educational system

The scope and structure of the educational system are predetermined by the existing economic and cultural needs of each country and by the urgency and degree of importance of these needs. The location¹⁾ of various types of education should also be determined by these needs.

When building up its own system of education each nation should, of course, utilise the experience and achievements of the more advanced countries, adapting them for its purposes.

The experience collected in the country involved, and abroad, taken in conjunction with the prevailing views regarding the future development of education, should yield a model of the educational system which would reflect in the most adequate way the current and future needs of the country in question. It should embrace the whole set of schools on primary secondary and university level.

a) Primary education should be both open to everybody and universal in the subjects taught. In the case of the developing countries it would seem advisable to introduce at primary-school level some elements of vocational training, e.g. basic agricultural information in farming regions and basic technical information in industrial regions.

b) In the developing countries, the educational system at secondary-school level should include general as well as vocational schools; amongst the latter, priority should be given to those training primary-school teachers. The structure of vocational schooling should be so conceived as to meet the economic and cultural needs of the country. Vocational education at secondary-school level might be divided according to the following branches of the national economy: agriculture and forestry, building, transport, commerce, finance, education, health service, and administration; these could be further subdivided into agrotechnical, zootechnical and forestry schools, mining schools, metallurgical schools, etc. We would recommend the rule that a graduation certificate issued by any secondary school, be it general or vocational, should be sufficient to qualify a young man or woman for applying to a college or university.

c) With regard to institutions of higher learning, it is desirable to teach the complete range of human knowledge systematized by the following branches: exact sciences (e.g. mathematics, physics, chemistry), natural

¹⁾ In speaking of "location," the speaker had in mind geographical location as well as location by subject.

sciences (e.g. biology, geology), humanities (e.g. philosophy, sociology, history, pedagogys), various departments of engineering, agricultural sciences, economic sciences, medical sciences, fine arts.

d) In many developing countries there is also a need for adult education. Literacy campaigns should call upon the services of as many educated people as possible.

From the point of view of effectiveness of the educational system, a major function of the institutions of higher learning is to prepare teachers for general and vocational schools at secondary level.

The structure of education must be flexible and dynamic. While meeting the current needs, it must remain in line with the economic, social and cultural changes occurring in the country and be adjusted to its development prospects. Primary schools should be distributed as evenly as possible throughout the country. Secondary schools of general-education type, also to be distributed all over the country, should be located mostly in urban centres of the administrative or economic life in the provinces. The location of secondary vocational schools should depend on the existing or expected needs of the region under consideration. Institutions of higher learning should be located in the main centres of the cultural, economic and political life of the country.

2. Stages in the realisation of the model

The rule to be accepted is that the educational system should be as comprehensive as possible and that a complete realisation of the model is a high-priority task. It is recommended, however, that the task be approached realistically. Naturally, it would be desirable to have all sectors within the educational system set in motion at the same time and to the full extent. In practice this is impossible; hence, the task should be tackled item by item, in accordance with the existing possibilities, emphasis being laid upon the key sectors. In the developing countries, universities or institutions of higher learning are certainly a sector of key importance, for they are responsible for preparing teachers for general and vocational schools at secondary level; amongst vocational schools, in turn, the ones of key importance are those that train primary-school instructors.

At the initial stage of the realization of the educational system in the developing countries it is advisable to introduce stepped-up studies and on-the-spot vocational training; but the reduction of the schooling period must remain within reasonable limits. After the most pressing needs are satisfied, it will be possible for universities and vocational schools to resume the standard duration of studies accepted in the more advanced countries.

3. *International co-operation as a factor accelerating the realization of the model*

In the case of countries suffering from a shortage of higher-education facilities and university teachers, international co-operation provides important assistance. One way of putting such co-operation to good use is to invite foreign visiting professors to teach in universities or even, if necessary, in secondary vocational schools. If a developing country wishes to speed up the rate of spreading higher learning among its citizens it might also send gifted secondary-school graduates to foreign universities. Should the network of general and vocational schools in a given country prove insufficient, it might even be desirable to send students to secondary schools abroad. However, this would involve large expenditure and considerable time. The general rule should be that scholarships in foreign countries are offered to the most talented young men and women whose further training would, at the moment, be impossible in their home country.

To afford all possible assistance to the developing countries is the obvious duty of the more advanced countries; large-scale assistance in respect of education may be expected from Western and Eastern Europe, America (particularly North America), some countries of Africa (e.g. Egypt), Asia (e.g. India, China, Japan, Israel), Australia and New Zealand.

One cannot overestimate the value of postgraduate courses for the training of experts in various fields. Free access to postgraduate courses should be opened to persons from the developing countries. It is desirable that postgraduate studies for foreign students be held in one of the world-known languages. Courses organised in the advanced countries for students from the developing countries should not last too long; it seems advisable to place more stress on the preparation for a given profession than on theoretical deliberations.

* * *

Dr. H. Feiner opened the discussion by giving a description of a micro activity in education in developing countries. Education in industry can play an important role – through improving technological knowledge. The example *Dr. Feiner* gave was that of the work done in this field by the N.V. Philips' Telecommunicatie Industrie, Hilversum.

As industry increases its commercial activities in the developing countries, the greater its task of educating and training becomes. This is the case when – to mention only one example –, with a view to improving the infra-structure of a country, a telecommunication authority

decides to set up a large telecommunication network. This concerns a typically professional sector of industry in which a considerable task of educating and training telecommunication personnel of the developing country has to be undertaken, because the local administration is far from possessing the personnel it needs.

To elucidate this example, Dr. Feiner explained how the job of educating and training is carried out in such a practical case. This particular telecommunication-project comprises a micro-wave link network with some 20 towers, 8 automatic telephone exchanges, radio-transmitters etc. An administration of the kind considered here needs an extensive lower cadre of technicians distributed over the entire network and charged with the executive task of supervising equipment, while graduate technologists at a higher level are responsible for ensuring that those tasks are performed and will provide certain services concerned with the operation, maintenance and expansion of the network.

The training of one cadre therefore differs greatly from that of the other and reflects how the general aim mentioned above is realised in practice. The training of the lower cadre takes place in the developing country. In accordance with previous undertakings, 50 technicians for the Postal and Telecommunications authorities are taught in an existing Telecommunications Engineering School. These are young men of 20–25 years of age who have finished secondary school and have been chosen from a large number of applicants by a very thorough selection process. A psychologist was sent out and undertook the selection on the spot by means of aptitude tests.

The course they receive at the school takes a total period of 18 months. First, they are all given several months of basic instruction, after which differentiation is gradually introduced, so that three groups are finally formed, each of which will later be put to work on a special technical aspect of the telecommunication network. This training is combined with practical lessons in a proportion of 50–50. In addition, at the end of this 18-month period, the pupils are divided into installation teams in which they can acquire ample practical experience for a year or longer, while actual installation work is going on. The idea, in fact, is that when the installation period is over, the company should be able to recall the installers leaving further maintenance in the hands of the technicians who have just completed their training. This training is given in an existing school, a good distance from the capital and the students are accommodated in modern students' homes in a kind of campus. The 50 students receive their instruction from 4 instructors, sent out for this task. These specialists therefore live with their families in the developing country.

It should also be noted that, before these instructors go abroad, the entire programme, the time-table, the syllabus and the text-books had to be prepared and that the documentation, demonstration equipment, audio and visual teaching aids, training-equipment, such as an electronic trainer, closed-circuit T.V., test equipment, tools and materials for the practical lessons and a great deal more had to be prepared and shipped to the school.

While the lower cadre is thus trained in the developing country itself, the training of engineers is arranged to take place in the company's Training Centre in Hilversum. The higher cadre cannot receive the necessary specialised technical training in their own country, because – even if higher technical institutes exist there – specialised modern technology is not taught. For this sort of training there are two advantages to be noted in favour of giving the training in the headquarters of the contracting firm in the training centre already mentioned. First, the availability of a higher number of specialists, and second the fact that the practical part of the training requires equipment and installation that cannot be made available elsewhere than in the laboratories and test departments of the factories. This, therefore, is one of the cases where it is preferable to depart from the principle of education in the students' home country.

The engineers concerned, aged 30 to 40, have already received a proper technical education, and years of experience in a particular technical field have made them experts. Some, too, will have previously studied abroad, but despite their expert knowledge they have still to become familiar with the specialised equipment which is used in the systems to be supplied and embodies advanced techniques. The engineers forming this higher cadre may be maintenance engineers and planning engineers, but will generally also include some teaching staff, so that at some future date the latter may impart the necessary special knowledge to lower personnel. These engineers follow a course lasting 9 months which give them the necessary knowledge of equipment, systems and maintenance problems but in which differentiation is also made, not only according to their technical branch but also according to the functions which they will have to perform later in their own organization. For example, engineers who will eventually have the job of dealing with problems of organization and planning etc. will receive part of their instruction and training in the Netherlands Postal and Telecommunication Service departments which have furthermore agreed to cooperate in providing facilities for practical experience in installing, testing and servicing telephone exchanges.

Other students obtain a grounding in the problems of rate-fixing and accounting organization by engaging them on a temporary, unpaid, basis in various telephone zones of the Netherlands P. & T. Service. For engineers who are "earmarked" for teaching duties on return to their homeland, the course includes a subject called "Teaching Methods", which is intended to familiarise them with the problems and practical aspects of teaching.

As all the 22 engineers who have to attend courses in Holland cannot be spared from their own tasks at the same time, only small groups can come each year, with the result that these courses are organized for several years ahead. Special care and thought are devoted to the question of the social welfare of trainees who stay in our country for their studies. Since the surroundings are strange to these men, a special official is appointed for the purpose of helping them to solve their personal problems. To facilitate and promote contact between the trainees and a number of members of our staff, a so-called "Teleclub" was founded where regular social meetings are held. At set times joint excursions are organized for the trainees, during which technology and sight-seeing are pleasantly combined.

One of the points in the *general discussion* was the impact of rapid industrialization. Urbanization must be kept in hand and the transformation into a market economy be carried out carefully, it was argued.

More and more it is agreed that the problem is not so much one of choice but rather of a change within the existing system, viz. in such a way that general secondary schools get a more technical character. This does not provide technically trained specialists but technically trainable people. Another example was given, by Mr. Van den Brink, of the work private industry can perform in the micro field. The Philips concern is experimenting in a small scale pilot plant with production processes which are especially adapted to the availability of production factors and the special type of market in the less developed countries. Small series are being produced with the aid of labour-intensive methods.

With regard to the choice of the geographical location of schools and universities it was argued that economic criteria should be adapted. The demand for students in different branches of study and especially the cost of training should be taken into consideration. The optimum size of a university in terms of cost per student must be determined. The outcome of this calculation will probably be that it is not efficient to have full range universities in all countries. The best solution will be one with an international division of labour in the form of regional cooperation between countries. Although the general rule may be that as much as possible of the education must take place in the countries themselves, at least for specialization people will have to go abroad.

Prof. Romaniuk in his answer drew attention to the fact that, apart from economic factors, imponderabilia play a role in the choice of location for education. These imponderabilia must also be taken into consideration. Mr. Feiner agreed to the point that was made about international cooperation especially because all the countries involved are young.

III. SCIENCE AND SCIENCE EDUCATION IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

by J. RONALD GASS, Paris

As a sociologist mixed up with economics and education, I have been struck by the fact that the explanations of economic growth have in the main been one-legged. The explanations so far given were either economic, or social, or technical etc. A really general approach is very rare, although of course in theory and in practice, a balanced study in which the interactions among the different aspects of growth has been worked out, may turn out to be useful. It can be observed for instance that rapid economic development very often goes together with a social change. The latter is not only the consequence of the former but it is also the other way round: a social change may cause or speed up economic development and a lack of social change may hold a country back in its economic progress – the United Kingdom may perhaps serve as an example.

Education is among the factors creating social change and, consequently opportunities for economic development. However, educationalists – as well as scientists – seem to be rather conservative. They are for that reason not the most appropriate people to help a country gathering momentum for an economic take-off. Economists, on the contrary, tend to be progressive. They, generally speaking, desire growth and accept change and this may be one of the explanations of their present interest in education. How can we arrive at a more dynamic concept of the role of education and science in development? We may turn to the experience of the OECD Mediterranean Regional Programme on "Education and Economic Development" to answer this question. Several years ago the OECD had discussed with Greece, Italy, Yugoslavia, Portugal, Spain and Turkey the possibility that their long-term economic development would suffer if more resources were not put into the development of education. At that time the notion that education should be considered as an "investment" was somewhat unheard of in the economic planning groups of many of these countries. Teams were established by each of these countries in cooperation with the OECD, to examine the skills needed to meet long-term economic development objectives, and the development of education to provide these skills. This confrontation of economic and educational needs had led to quite new appreciations of the importance of education in development. Education would soon be an important feature of the Development Plans of all these countries, and the resources devoted to education were rising rapidly. No sensible person

would argue that education should be developed for economic purposes alone, but it is equally false to view the cultural aspirations of a people as divorced from and in conflict with their economic and occupational ambitions. Of course there still remain many problems. First, how must the available financial means be distributed over the different levels of the educational system: pre-primary schools, primary schools, secondary schools and universities and next how to distribute the funds devoted to the two higher levels of education over the different branches of study? Here a conflict may arise between economic needs on the one hand and the social demand on the other. The policy maker has to find a compromise taking into consideration the requirements for economic growth and the preferences of the people in relation to the set-up of the educational system. Which considerations can be mentioned in favour of a rigorous expansion of education in science and technology?

Historical perspective would probably justify the broad statement that the underdeveloped countries are those at the literate but pre-scientific stage of cultural development. This suggests the great potentiality of science as a dynamic force in cultural change in the underdeveloped world. It implies that these countries have not been exposed to the most profound and rapidly accelerating cultural change of the modern world – that which has resulted from the power to control the environment by rationally based operations.

This conclusion is, of course, reinforced by an analysis of the manpower needed for the accelerated development of a poor economy (see, for example, the Ashby Report on the development of Nigerian education). For both reasons, investment in scientific and technical education is likely to be one of the most rewarding that a developing country can make. It is in consequence somewhat of a surprise to note that, in general, the developing countries appear to devote to science and technology a smaller part of the resources allocated to higher education than in the advanced countries. One would expect the opposite, for a relatively high proportion of graduates in the humanities and the social sciences mainly reflects the professionalisation of the tertiary sectors (which are typical of an advanced but not an underdeveloped economy), and may be viewed as an adornment of the affluent society. Such an interpretation seems to hold true for the major scientific/economic regions of the world: in descending order of national wealth, in the United States, about 1 in 4 graduates are scientists and engineers, in Europe 1 in 3 and in the Soviet Union 1 in 2.

Table I sets out the picture in 1957/58 for the major underdeveloped regions as far as science and engineering students are concerned: 1 in 7

TABLE I¹⁾

Total number of science and technology student in 1957/58
(in thousands)

	Total Number of Students (all faculties)	Number of Students Natural Sciences	Agri- cultural Sciences	Tech- nology	Total Science and Technology =	Number of science and technology students per mln. of population
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Africa (a)	129.9	9.1	7.1	9.5	25.7	180
Latin America (b)	490.1	18.0	9.8	51.6	79.4	445
Asia, excl. India (c)	632.6	54.1	25.2	69.7	149.0	410
India	833.4	218.4	9.6	28.3	256.3	645
Europe (d)	706.1	130.6	14.7	92.5	237.8	1,170

(a) Algeria, Basutoland, Chad, Ghana, Kenya, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Senegal, Sudan Rep., Morocco, Nigeria, Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Tunisia, Uganda, United Arab Republic, Mauritius.

(b) Costa Rica, Dom. Republic, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Barbados, Jamaica, Trinidad, Tobago, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Columbia, Ecuador, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, Venezuela.

(c) Afghanistan, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Rep. of China, Hongkong, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Rep. of Korea, Lebanon, Malaya and Singapore, Pakistan, Philippines, Ryukyu Islands, Thailand, Turkey.

(d) Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Fed. Rep. of Germany, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom.

Source: Basic Facts and Figures, UNESCO 1960.

for Africa, 1 in 6 for Latin America, 1 in 4 for Asia (excluding India) and 1 in 3½ for India. Thus, in terms of the allocation of their educational resources, the poorer nations tend to be more prodigal than the affluent countries. Particular points of note are the very weak position of Africa as far as students of science and technology are concerned, and the relatively low priority given to the agricultural sciences in view of the great importance of agriculture in most underdeveloped economies.

It is manifest that the picture outlined above must be radically changed if the developing countries are to achieve more rapid economic and social progress. The Netherlands Economic Institute has made a broad assessment of future needs by 1970 for students of science and technology in the developing countries based on assumptions about the ratio of such students to total population, demographic trends, and the

¹⁾ Taken from: "The Global Demand for Education in the Underdeveloped Countries", by J. Tinbergen, paper to be presented to O.E.C.D. Policy Conference on Economic Growth and Investment in Education, Washington, October 1961.

output of the secondary school level in these countries. The targets proposed are:

TABLE II
Students: Natural sciences, Technology, Agricultural sciences
(nearest thousand)

	1957/58	1970	
Africa	26	97	(+ 71)
Latin America	79	215	(+ 136)
Asia (excl. India)	149	381	(+ 232)
India	256	650	(+ 394)
Totals	510	1,343	(+ 833)

These figures give some measure of the staggering task facing the underdeveloped areas in the development of their higher scientific and technical education. For such expansion of higher education cannot proceed without parallel expansion of science teaching at the secondary school level nor, for reasons of social and political necessity, to the complete exclusion of introducing quantitative and scientific notions at the primary level. Since, however, the education budget cannot go on advancing at the present pace it becomes a pressing need to make the educational system as efficient as possible. Far from aiming at a reasonably adequate treatment for which considerably more time would be needed let me make a number of brief references to some problems of research:

i) When the numbers of students required for a rapid economic growth of the developing countries are taken into account it may be expected that the major bottleneck will be in the supply of teachers. An impressive teacher training program will be needed to cope with this problem. Especially in the rural areas, however, it will turn out to be very difficult to attract a sufficient number of teachers. An additional difficulty in this profession is the very low mobility between the various levels. Altogether it seems that this approach cannot do the trick alone. Thus, what is needed is a radically new approach to *teaching systems*, in which the teacher, the technology and the curriculum are defined in relation to one another, bearing in mind the feasible teaching objective, the available resources, and the particular learning characteristics of the children. Such systems should, of course, be based on current attempts, both in the United States and Europe, to filtrate the curricula so as to eliminate unnecessary material. They should also be based on an assessment of the possibilities and relative costs of film, television, radio, tape and records as a teaching medium.

ii) In the field of effective resource allocation the economics of school construction is undoubtedly also of very great interest since it is apparent that the next 10 years will see very big capital expenditures on university development in the developing countries. An approximate figure of \$ 8 billion over 10 years has been suggested as giving the order of magnitude for *new* building in Asia, (excluding Communist China), Africa and South America.¹

During this period the pattern of university facilities for the underdeveloped world will be settled. It is important that it should:

- (a) reflect the structure of needs for high-level scientific and technical manpower of the economy, because there is already a tendency to overproduce lawyers and similar categories;
- (b) be achieved with the most economic use of resources, because there are now many examples of the waste of resources on misconceived university projects;
- (c) encourage the trend towards regional facilities, particularly in science and technology, so as to avoid duplication, and to foster cultural and political co-operation between underdeveloped countries in the several continents.

iii) The imbalance with respect to disciplines in higher education will not be an easy problem to solve. First it must be decided which distribution is desirable taking the current views into consideration and then the measures must be found to reach the targets set.

iv) Great care should also be devoted to the geographical distribution of the system. Although earlier discussions have already elaborated on this problem, I want to stress once more the importance of it and particularly of the favourable consequence of the establishment of a university on the development of a depressed area. At least in one instance the experts of OECD have been led by this consideration when they proposed to build a university outside the commercial and cultural centres.

Now that the level of training of the total active labour force has been recognised as one of the factors determining the state of economic development a country has reached, more and more attention is given to the problem of the assessment of the number of people with a certain level of education required for a rapid or increased rate of economic growth. A comparison of these estimates with the real figures together with allowances for death and retirement will then give the numbers of

¹) Based on an estimate that the number of students will rise from 500,000 (1958) to 800,000 (1970), with total new capital expenditure (replacement not included) of the order of \$ 10,000 to \$ 15,000 per student.

graduates which the educational system should supply. The estimates of the manpower needed seem to be made very often under the assumption that technology will remain static. But technological change, as has been set out above, is much too important to be neglected. It has been said there that technology – in the broad sense – can effect economic progress. The introduction of new techniques in developing countries as a continuous process which it already is in the economically developed parts of the world is therefore highly desirable.

It will be clear – and history provides many examples – that innovations may lead to a sometimes very rapid change in the need for the various types of skills. If only to prevent bottlenecks in those professions for which serious shortages can be foreseen, educational planning, essentially a long term affair, should go hand in hand with technological planning i.e. the analysis of the way in which applied science and technology affect economic growth.

Access to technical change has so far been mainly open to developed countries. This implies, of course, that developing countries can tap an already existing, vast pool of technical and scientific knowledge to promote their own development. Unfortunately enough, however, the techniques used in the economically advanced countries cannot always be readily copied in developing countries since they are based on an entirely different cost structure. Hence, any further research undertaken in a developing country should be guided by the characteristics of that country among which the elements of the basic resource potential are of particular importance. Institutional development providing the scientific background can be an effective force in research promotion.

Should a country go beyond this kind of research? In the first place, the answer will depend on the level of development, and especially the degree of industrialisation. A country such as Yugoslavia, which in the current 1959–65 Plan proposes to develop the mechanical, chemical and electrical engineering sectors of its economy, cannot do so without a certain amount of basic and applied research activity in these fields. For the output of modern science and technology in these areas cannot be effectively assimilated except through a corps of people active as research and engineering scientists. The reason for this is that, under conditions of modern scientific and technological progress, the frontiers between basic research, applied research and development have somewhat broken down. It is difficult to have a foot in at one stage without having a foot in the other.

A second qualification is that some countries which are economically underdeveloped have inherited a considerable infra-structure of higher

education (India, for example). The question is not whether this infrastructure should be there, but what national purposes it should serve. Even in the case of countries only now developing their university structure, there can be no doubt that considerable effort should be put into scientific and technical education, and such education cannot flourish without some university-based research effort.

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Dr. Brand, invited to discuss Mr. Gass's lecture, said that it was very important to keep in mind that applied science and not science as such is giving drive to economic development. The educational system provides a nation with a potential labour force of which the most effective use should be made.

Furthermore he thought that the proposed changes in the educational system and their consequences had not been fully elaborated in Mr. Gass's lecture. He also did not agree with the main conclusion that had been put forward, namely the great need for university trained scientists and engineers. According to Dr. Brand the need for graduates from vocational schools is much more urgent, since economic progress depends more heavily on people with lower-level training than on engineers. An example was given to illustrate this statement: for every engineer, there are in the Netherlands 4.7 graduates from intermediate technical schools and about 50 graduates from lower technical and vocational schools. Some 80 per cent of all Dutch industrial enterprises produce on such a small scale that they will have hardly any need for university trained engineers. In underdeveloped countries, where small-scale production is generally even more pronounced, the demand for technical manpower of the highest level, in relation to that of the lower levels, will accordingly be smaller.

And, Dr. Brand said, if only these countries had a sufficient number of intermediate and lower level technicians most advanced technical processes could be applied there. As an example of a successful attempt to produce leather products with only very little technical knowledge Dr. Brand mentioned a project executed under the auspices of F.A.O. in India where three Dutch experts, one in knackery, one in leather production and one in shoe-making taught about 300 people of the lowest caste what use could be made of dead cows. This project had a very low capital-output ratio whereas the experts themselves had passed no higher than intermediate vocational schools.

Concluding his comments Dr. Brand said that, first, too much emphasis

has been laid by OECD on university training whereas more attention should be paid to the "optimal product mix" of the educational structure and, second, that for each university student in science and technology sent abroad, 5 students should be trained at the intermediate, and 50 at the lower level in his mother country.

In the *general discussion* both Mr. Gass's and Dr. Brand's contributions were commented upon. The social change needed sometimes in developing countries was one of the subjects elaborated further by the participants in the discussion. Some of them felt that it would be very difficult to achieve a sufficient degree of acculturation so as to promote or at least facilitate economic growth. And, before the promotion of education in science and technology can have its favourable effect on a developing society as Mr. Gass expects, the means must be found to make people take an interest in these subjects. Others, however, thought that this opinion was too pessimistic and had already lasted too long. In his concluding remarks Dr. Tinbergen stressed that one must not be discouraged although the amount of work to be done cannot easily be overestimated. Research into the dynamics of culture, i.e. the study of culture as an activating process will have fruitful results and may show that human adaptability is in many cases greater than some people believe. In particular, the attitude towards technical innovations in the developing countries seems to be encouraging.

Mr. Gass's generalisation about the conservatism of scientists and educationalists and the supposed progressiveness of economists was criticised. Some participants in the discussion said that practical experience had given them a different opinion. Dr. Brand was also thought to have generalised too much when he required a composition of the technical education structure according to his 1 : 5 : 50 rule. It was thought that the composition would have to be in conformity with the needs of a country, which might show a pattern diverging widely from Dr. Brand's standard.

THE UNESCO ASSOCIATED SCHOOLS PROJECT

A review of the work of ten years

Sèvres, 9-20 December 1963

reported by TERENCE LAWSON, London

It was in November 1953 that the representatives of fifteen Member States met in Paris to plan certain experiments in education which had been called for in a resolution adopted at the seventh session of the General Conference of Unesco. They came together, in the words of the resolution, "to encourage the development of education in the aims and activities of the United Nations and its Specialised Agencies, and in the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights".

In its effects, this meeting in 1953 was a cause of some significance. From it ensued – in the course of the next ten years – intense activity in nearly 300 educational institutions in 43 countries; numerous national seminars; five regional seminars; and, most recently, an International Meeting of Representatives of Associated Schools which was held at the Centre international d'études pédagogiques at Sèvres. Participants from 37 Member States of Unesco, with observers from 4 other countries, convened to review the achievements of ten years' work in this particular field of education for international understanding, and to consider what paths of further development should be followed, if the progress already recorded was such as to justify new and additional efforts.

This International Meeting was organised by the French National Commission for Unesco, with assistance from Unesco. The principal working documents had been written by two Consultants to the Meeting. One, the document first discussed, (EA/Sèvres/6) had been prepared by the writer of this article, and presented a "history" of the Project during its first ten years, offered a critical analysis of its achievements, and submitted certain suggestions for future development. The other, (EA/Sèvres/7), made a review of previous Unesco seminars on education for international understanding, and was the work of M. Louis François, Inspecteur Général de l'Instruction publique. Both documents had been distributed in advance of the meeting.

Readers of this Review will probably be familiar with the intended nature of the work to be fostered by Unesco's Associated Schools Project.¹ Broadly this may be stated as an endeavour to develop and inculcate in young people greater knowledge of the world society of which they are a

¹ See conference reports in this Review vol. II, 1956, No. 3, page 373, and vol. IV, 1958, No. 4, page 496.

part, and sympathetic attitudes to those people who share with them in this society. At the commencement of the Project in 1953 it was agreed that work should be developed within one of three main "themes" – a study of the rights of women; a study of other countries; a study of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It was further agreed that whichever one of these themes a participating school selected it should also include some work which involved a certain amount of teaching about the United Nations. (This last, incidentally, steadily received more and more attention and eventually became a "theme" in its own right).

The reason for introducing some common element into whatever work was undertaken – a "minimum experiment" as it was called – was clear and simple. It was felt necessary to attempt some sort of evaluation of results achieved with pupils in both increase of knowledge and changes in attitudes, and to make this attempt on a comparative basis, if possible, wherever work was being conducted and however it was prosecuted.

At the International Meeting at Sèvres the principal detailed discussion was conducted through eight working groups, and it seems appropriate to this article to report and examine the findings of these in order, and then to attempt to formulate some general conclusions arrived at by the Meeting. Before doing so there is one general observation which it is appropriate to make. From the very beginning the Associated Schools Project has been developed and carried out by practising teachers fully conversant with the class-room situation. It has not been the work of long-haired educational theorists with no, or little, knowledge of the realities of the day-to-day conduct of a school, and remote from any personal contact with young people. This professional integrity was maintained at Sèvres. All participants – and all had been nominated to attend by the National Commissions or Ministries of Education of the Member States represented – were practising educationists. Many were class-room teachers; others were heads of schools, inspectors or educational administrators; all were people with current experience of education. In consequence their views demand and deserve respect. (An indication of the experience of those present at Sèvres is given by the names and positions of the chairmen and rapporteurs of the various working groups included with the comments which follow).

Adapting the Curriculum

(Chairman: Mlle. L. J. Lacombe, Directrice, Colegio Jacobina, Rio de Janeiro. Rapporteur: Professor C. Kohn, Professor of Geography, Iowa State University).

Unesco's Associated Schools Project has been conducted through both

curricular and extra-curricular activities. As its title implies, this working group was concerned with considering the ways in which the development of the Project could be further implemented within the curriculum, and with examining the needs for improved and new materials for class-room use.

History, said the Working Group, should be taught in such a way as to lead the child from his own country to an understanding of world history. At the secondary school level, the group urged that a study of contemporary world problems should not be shirked by the teacher, even though the demands of objectivity which this imposed upon the individual teacher were clearly recognised,

Geography was recognised as the subject through which, increasingly, education for international understanding was being developed. It was suggested that the traditional use of continents as a unit of study should be progressively replaced by a study of areas with similar conditions and cultures.

The increasing pleas for the introduction of Civics, or Current Affairs, as a special subject within the curriculum were considered. Wisely, in the opinion of the writer, the group felt that more research into methods and materials was needed, even though it was seen that the subject presented a field of active enquiry into the modern world. The places of the sciences and mathematics, foreign languages and the arts were discussed; and emphatic attention was directed to the opportunities for education for international understanding provided by the teaching and use of the mother tongue.

In warning that care must be exercised in adapting teaching for international understanding to the age and phase of development of the pupil, the working group clearly had in mind their implicit feeling that Unesco's Associated Schools Project should be extended to the primary level of education. This suggestion was borne in mind by the group when it examined the present inadequacy of class-room materials, and will be referred to later in this article.

Subjects and Themes

(Chairman: Miss Saulat Rehman, Secretary, National Commission for Co-operation with Unesco, India; Rapporteur: Mrs. S. C. Laya, Division Supervisor of Social Studies, Manila). This group examined the results of the work conducted over the last ten years within the three main themes originally adopted. It was decided that these had proved flexible, workable and rewarding, and that they should continue to provide the basis for future work. In urging that the Project should be

extended to the primary sector of education, each of the approved themes was examined from the point of view of the method of its presentation to younger pupils. Particular emphasis was placed by this group upon what it referred to as the "innocence" of the child which, they said, must at all stages be protected against the projection of adult prejudices; and the importance of this was seen by the group as such as to be referred to constantly, explicitly or implicitly, in the examination it devoted to the treatment of all the principal themes of the Project. The draft report of the Group concluded, in fact, with these words: -

"...through all these themes, teachers should strive consciously to create in the mind of the child an attitude which will enable him to approach all peoples and all human relationships with understanding and compassion. It is not sufficient to aim only at mutual understanding between peoples of different countries. This is valueless unless the child is equipped to approach relationships with his immediate neighbour, or with people of another region of his own country, in love and understanding".

Methods and Materials in Teacher-Training Institutions

(Chairman: Mme. Jakowa, Inspector-general of the Polish Ministry of Education; Rapporteur: Mlle. E.V. Picasso, Principal de l'Ecole Normale d'Application, Buenos Aires). This group called for the inclusion in the curricula of all teacher-training colleges of a special course on the general principles and work of the United Nations and its Agencies. Until such recognised and systematic training was introduced, outline model lessons upon the three themes of the Associated Schools Project should be prepared for the assistance of teachers as yet unfamiliar with the work involved; the responsibility of National Commissions for Unesco for the dissemination of such lessons, and for the production and distribution of materials of all kinds, was stressed.

Methods and Materials in the Secondary School

(Also presided over by Mme. Jakowa; Rapporteur: Mr. Carl Tscherning, Senior Master, Birkerød Statsskole, Denmark). This group, too, placed responsibility for the increased production of better materials upon National Commissions; and, in particular, recommended that National Commissions should give priority to the production of material - to be presented, perhaps, in book form - describing their own countries. These books should be made available to other countries - where necessary in translation.

Research and Evaluation of Results

(Chairman: Mr. Mohamed El-Nahas, Under-Secretary of State, Ministry of Education, Cairo; Rapporteur: Mme. M. Verdière-de Vits, Directrice des Ecoles Normales de l'Etat, Brussels). This group repeated the careful reserve and objectivity which Unesco itself had, during the entire period of the Project, shown towards tests of knowledge and attitudes. The Group considered the criticisms and doubts regularly expressed when such tests are discussed – to which the representatives from Japan contributed especially useful information and comment – and recognised that the evaluation of results represented a difficult and complex task which should be undertaken with the utmost caution. In particular the Group drew attention to the real danger of creating in the minds of pupils, through the tests themselves, new stereotypes and fresh prejudices.

Nevertheless, the Group advocated the continuance of testing, and further research by both Unesco and National Commissions in this important field, and in the instruction of teachers in training in the use of evaluation techniques. Further, the end of tests should not be seen solely as an evaluation of results achieved; tests should be used to encourage teachers in their efforts to foster international understanding and to help them to assess the value of their teaching; and such encouragement and help should be arrived at in ways suited to the varying methods and approaches of different countries.

Evaluation, said the Group, was to be regarded as an instrument of education in the broad sense of the term. Not only should it serve as a means of assessing results, but it should also be of value to pupils in making them aware of their own changing attitudes. But caution, care and patience were commended. "Hasty evaluation of progress in international understanding might do serious damage to the cause."

Extra-Curricular Activities, Clubs, Youth Organisations, etc.

(Chairman: M. J-L. Pagé, Sous-ministre de la Jeunesse de la province de Québec; Rapporteur: M. Roucaute, Professeur d'histoire et géographie, Lycée mixte de Seyssinet).

Several of the other Working Groups had emphasized the importance of developing "activity methods" of teaching in the context of education for international understanding. The Group on Extra-Curricular Activities felt that school societies, clubs etc., provided especially promising opportunities for the development of such methods in that they relied, to a considerable extent, upon the initiative of the young people themselves who composed them; and that this very fact added to the whole enterprise valuable development of a sense of personal and group responsibility.

Such groups lent themselves to closer international co-operation than was possible with schools themselves; the Group envisaged the possible creation of an "International Confederation" of associations and groups created for the purpose of continued study and activity in the cause of international understanding.

Future Development of the Associated Schools Project

(Chairman: Miss S. Rehman, India; Rapporteur: M. Tibor Kalocsay, Inspecteur de l'enseignement de la langue française, Budapest).

This Group unanimously recommended the extension of the Project to primary schools "in countries which consider this desirable". In doing so, however, it drew attention to the pilot project currently being undertaken by the International Federation of Teachers Associations with the assistance of Unesco, and urged that careful attention be paid to the experience it is hoped will result from this.

Equally strongly the Group recognised the cardinal importance of teacher training for the successful extension of the Project, and recommended that the Project should be gradually extended to all teacher-training institutions and intensified in those in which it had already been introduced. Most importantly, the Group pointed to the need for Member States to ensure the extension of the Project at a national level by undertaking a specific and discernible programme within their own systems of education. In recommending such activity the Group called upon Member States to recognise quite clearly their particular responsibility for co-ordinating the activities of their own Associated Schools, and for distributing and disseminating information about them on the widest possible scale. The Group also urged States not yet participating in the Project to do so, and called for renewed efforts by Unesco to this end.

Suggestions for Further Unesco Action in Education for International Understanding

(Chairman: Mr. M. El-Nahas, United Arab Republic; Rapporteur: Dr. Günter Krebber, German Commission for Unesco).

The call for the extension of the Project to primary schools was repeated, and to this was added its extension to vocational and technical schools. Unesco was charged with special responsibility for stimulating the production of materials for use in primary schools. Unesco was also asked to initiate expert research into various fields having relation to education for international understanding; but, in particular, the Group called for special research into three projects.

The first of these was to be concerned with a study of the roots of

prejudice. It was seen by the group as of value for itself and as a basis for the refinement of the tests of evaluation considered by Group V. Initially, Member States should conduct such a study themselves. International action could be later co-ordinated by Unesco.

Secondly the Group recommended special investigation into the contribution to international understanding of certain subjects in the curriculum: the mother tongue; foreign languages; art and music. Thirdly it was held strongly that careful and expert enquiry was needed into the influence of the mass media on education for international understanding.

Support was found in this Group for suggestions designed to improve the value of Unesco's Fellowship Programme; and, in addition, it was suggested that experienced teachers from Associated Schools might be seconded for brief periods to other schools in their own countries, or abroad, to offer advice and practical assistance. These same teachers might be used to organise short courses in training colleges, thus helping towards some sort of continuity. And the Group strongly commended a proposal which had been supported by other Groups during the Meeting, viz., that Member States be recommended to appoint a Consultant, to serve both the Ministry of Education and the schools, in close contact and collaboration with Unesco.

* * *

The fore-going is a very bare outline of the principal comments and suggestions which emerged from eleven days of hard and concentrated discussion concerning many aspects of education for international understanding. That the record of results achieved during the previous ten years justified an expansion of the Associated Schools Project, was unanimously agreed; and precise recommendations were made to ensure this.

The most important was the decision to recommend the extension of the Project to primary schools. In the speech with which he opened the International Meeting, the Director-General of Unesco, M. René Maheu, had indicated Unesco's willingness to consider such a recommendation: "It might also be advisable for the Associated Schools Project to lean more heavily on the primary school, the traditional starting point for all individual learning and education in citizenship". As has been indicated, the International Meeting considered such an extension with the greatest care, but, in recommending it, emphasised the need for careful accompanying research into methods and materials suited to varying age groups against equally varying backgrounds.

The other especially important suggestion made was that which urged upon Member States the initiation of significant national programmes which would proclaim official interest in, and support for, the Project and its aims. In ten years, the number of Member States involved in the Project has increased from 15 to 43; the number of participating educational institutions from 35 to nearly 300; and this progress is not unimpressive. But, as the participants in the International Meeting said repeatedly, viewed against Unesco's present total of 113 Member States, and the enormous educational activity and development which has occurred in these over the same period, the work developed by the Project becomes almost infinitesimal. It is no longer sufficient to rely upon the dedication and enthusiasm of individual educationists who transmit the "infection" of their enthusiasm to others; the need is too urgent, the challenge too immediate, for this. Activity similar to that already undertaken by India - to which frequent reference was made during the International Meeting - is called for from others. India was the first country to apply to Unesco, a year ago, for the services of an adviser in education for international understanding. This resulted, amongst other activities, in a stimulating programme of regional workshops which provided in-service training for teachers already working, and laid a foundation for the introduction of similar training into the work of teacher-training institutions.

The International Meeting was less explicitly demanding in the recommendation it advanced concerning the general issue of teacher-training and education for international understanding. Properly and realistically the participants recognised the considerable problems involved at a time when, in many countries, the training of teachers is constantly under review and subject to adjustment and change. At the same time the prime importance of this sector of the educational field was fully realised; and some attention was given to the possibility of ensuring that, at least, education for international understanding should be clearly proclaimed as a professional task and duty of the teacher. This might be achieved, it was felt, through the inclusion of suitable questions in examinations, or through some other formal and official device for integrating it into national educational policy and content.

The International Meeting never lost sight of the fact that, whatever it recommended, the implementation of its recommendations was, finally, in the hands of the individual teacher; and that the individual teacher must have adequate tools for his trade in the form of materials suitable in quality, quantity and variety. Reference has been made to the division of responsibility in this field suggested by the International

Meeting as between Unesco and Member States; but, clearly, the work of the commercial publishers of text books is of great importance in this context; so that the surveys of history and geography text books stimulated by Unesco, and the exchanges of text books between experts in various Member States (for critical examination and comment) should be quickened and expanded.

But what was most satisfying in the International Meeting was the total outlook upon their subject of the participants. At no time did they regard Unesco's Associated Schools Project as an end in itself; they saw it as a means of reaching towards a still distant objective – the acceptance by all of the educational aims proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. They saw it as their task to make a contribution to the adaptation of educational practice in order to attain those aims; and one observer, at least, saw the contribution they made as substantial.

FUNCTIONALISM IN COMPARATIVE EDUCATION

Since Professor J. Lauwerys dubbed me an 'idealist' in *Bildung und Erziehung* I have been referred to by that name in the English, French and German languages. I do not object to being called an idealist. The Russian scientist P. F. Lesgaft, a well-known educational pioneer, said in 1908: "The striving towards ideas is quite natural and should be appreciated. In a time of ruthless arbitrary action . . . when sensual and material advantage seems to be the main purpose of life, everything that reminds us of the service to an idea is highly necessary and desirable". I fully agree with that saying, especially in our transitional times. Yet it does not mean that I belong to the German school of idealistic philosophy. I owe many ideas to Kant, for he was not only a philosopher, but also a scientist and a precursor of UNO. For instance his distinction of morality and legality is accepted by me. But I do not share his idea of the *Ding an sich* or his moral foundation of theism. German idealism as developed by Fichte, Schelling and Hegel, is foreign to me as is the German materialism of Marx and Engels. The Hegelian or Marxist dialectics I would accept as a method of research, but I would not make it into a dogma, which controls human history or is a proof of inevitable scientific evolution. I do not believe that history is subject to laws similar to scientific laws of physics and chemistry. I have developed my interpretation of history in the number of this journal dedicated to Pedro Rosselló. Comparative education is based on history and should be dealt with functionally, which is another way of saying historically.

What I mean by functionalism in Comparative Education is the comparison of functions of educational institutions as they were historically evolved in each country. The usual statistical comparisons, although very valuable as source material, cannot show the degree of influence of their institutions in answering the needs of their communities. The countries differ in many ways besides statistics. The number of teachers, schools or pupils can change the social structure of a nation only in so far as their functional activities answer the national requirements of a country. B. Malinowski speaking of anthropology purposely omitted quantitative measurements. He demanded a functional approach. He said (*Sex, Culture and Myth*, p. 197): "It is clear that wherever phenomena amenable to counting and measuring are considered, the scientific approach would demand this type of operation". But "The general complexity of a subject matter makes it, as a rule, less amenable to quantitative treatment. In all such treatment, grave errors are introduced and increased in any algebraic manipulations whenever entities are counted or computed that are not really identical". Comparative Education is as complex as anthropology, and Malinowski's stricture is fully applicable to this discipline. For instance to advocate universal literacy as a kind of panacea of all human ills is simply factually untrue. The more literary the nations have become the more liable they were to the influence of governmental propaganda, which often was not at all enlightened. The examples of Nazi Germany, Communist Russia, Fascist Italy or Imperial Japan are sufficient proofs of this statement. The ability of reading and writing does not mean political or technical maturity. It is well known that the Inca civilisation of America did not possess an alphabet and therefore was "illiterate". But their political and technical knowledge was highly developed. It does not mean that universal literacy should not be aimed at. But it certainly means that "literacy" should embrace not

only grammar, but politics and technology (i.e. elementary knowledge of tools). It also means that instruction in all three fields should be adapted to national needs and fulfil the functions required by the country.

To make the problem confronting Comparative Education more clear I would like to discuss some examples.

First of all let us compare England and France. What are the functions of education in these two countries? It is evident from recent publications that both countries are in need of technical personnel to implement the changes of production introduced by the second industrial revolution. So far the needs are identical. Technical education is going to be promoted in both countries. Both countries are Western democracies and both have to use democratic legislation. But although the functional needs and fundamental political structures are the same, the methods of approach vary and the difference is apparent. In England the right of an individual citizen to independence is a tradition acknowledged by law. The needs of technical advance of the whole community are adapted to the needs of individual citizens. This resulted in decentralisation of authority and freedom of private initiative. The English tradition thus emphasises the 'liberal' or general education as the only basis of such freedom. The recent report of the Robbins Committee recommended the acquisition of university status by Technical Colleges. In practice it means that Technical Colleges will demand a general secondary education for admission and will administer their curricula independently of the Government. Although the function of technical adaptation was started by the government, in future it will be left to the discretion of academic circles.

In France the formation of the 'élite' was for centuries a function of the government. That means centralisation of education in the public sector. Both countries allow private schools. But whilst in England they were gradually included in the public system, in France they became rivals and antagonists of Government schools. In England since the 18th century private initiative has gradually introduced technical reforms and new curricula into post-primary schools. In France the rigid structure of the public educational system demanded from state legislation an adaptation to the traditional division into primary and secondary schools. Whereas in England it was comparatively easy to effect a change to a division by age, ability and aptitude, in France the old dichotomy of 'liberal' and 'technical' education is hardly surmounted. As a result of this difference the social composition of French students, even now after all the reforms, shows the old predominance of the upper classes, fed by public classical lycées or private Catholic secondary schools. In England, on the contrary, after the 1944 Act, the university students are mainly from poor, working class homes. Thus the functional solution of the same problem in the two countries had to adapt itself to the historical past, which means that comparison of functions has to include national traditions.

Another example I shall draw from outside Europe, from Japan. Here the aim was to modernise the country through imitation of European-American industrialisation. The centralised French system was well adapted to Japanese tradition and thus the reforms of the Meiji revolution were initiated by the central government. The task of the government was to train new personnel of technicians and engineers who would be able to handle European machines. But the first problem was to educate the Japanese nation in elementary knowledge and thus to prepare the foundation for intended technological advance. Universal compulsory education was the first step undertaken by the Japanese government. When the standard

of the whole nation was raised, only then the second step of training of the technical personnel could be achieved. This happened only recently after the second world war. The goal was identical to that of England and France, but the tempo was different.

Whereas in Europe the first step of primary education of the whole nation was gradually accomplished, almost unconsciously, during the 19th century, in Japan it was introduced consciously after the Meiji revolution and was achieved in a short period of time. With the same conscious purpose the government promoted technical education after the war, and when the war damage was successfully repaired, the government acted. As a result the number of engineers during the last ten years was doubled.

The same task of industrialising the originally agricultural populations was faced by the governments of the U.S.A., of the U.S.S.R. and in Asia by India and China. The historical past of these countries determined the methods employed by them in solving the same problem.

In America the present industrial power was built gradually without changing the social structure of the country by revolutionary methods. The industrialisation was achieved by the efforts of the whole population, white or coloured, Protestant or Catholic, American born or European immigrants. In this respect their background is as important as their technological achievements. Whether Puritanism is the source of capitalistic enterprise is debatable, but the dominant Puritan tradition of the U.S.A. was certainly important in the American change. Industrialisation, urbanisation and general growth of educational facilities was achieved within the frame of individualism of Anglo-Saxon tradition of capitalistic growth.

In Russia, on the contrary, the present communist economy was only possible because the government monopolised both the economic and educational fields and could plan both sides in mutual adaptation. It was built both by communist atheists and orthodox believers. In that respect the orthodox tradition of community decisions played an important part. In the most revolutionary change of agricultural Russia the historical part is as important as the Marxian doctrine.

In the Indian peninsula the influences of Hinduism and Islam are still strong obstacles to modernisation and socialisation of this subcontinent. The problem of the governments of India and Pakistan is how to combine European industrialisation with the native heritage, so that Pakistanis and Indians should not become dark Europeans. The rivalry of the two successors of British India and the struggle for Kashmir is another obstacle for successful industrialisation.

In China the imposition of Communism on the older tradition of family and clan organisations was so feasible because both subordinated the individual citizen to social aims. Western-Christian individualism appealed only to a small fraction of the enormous population of China. In the past all the reforms of social life were initiated by the Imperial government and the Chinese were accustomed to centralised power. The present industrialisation is conducted from the centre and is possible because the millions of Chinese workers and farmers willingly submit to the party guidance and supply their manual labour to replace the lacking machines. In contrast to Japan, the raising of the standard of literacy among the peasantry has encountered an additional difficulty in the absence of national speech.

In all these countries the identical goal of industrialisation was treated differently. The needs of national communities had to be met in accordance with prevalent conditions. Thus the comparison of their industrialisation should not be limited to

quantitative measurements and mathematical calculations. Their national differences must be taken into account. Their different religious traditions resulted in different attitudes to modernisation of the country. Their classical heritage and variation of languages provided a background which has to be considered. Comparative Education by evaluating seemingly identical functions should compare also the historical past, which is a part of the present.

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EDUCATION IN OKINAWA

The situation in which Okinawa is now placed seems to be very strange. It is neither a part of America nor a part of Japan. Nor is it an independent country. Japan retains residual sovereignty in this island, but as a matter of fact it is under the administration of the United States. America keeps this island chiefly for military purposes. This small island between Formosa and the mainland of Japan, on which severest battles were fought desperately day and night during the Pacific War, is now the most important military base of the United States in the Orient. More than twelve percent of the island is occupied for military use. Many thousands of American soldiers and marines are stationed there. The American General in Command is also the High Commissioner. His ordinances work as law in Okinawa. He appoints the chief executive of the government. All measures passed by the Okinawan legislature are subject to his approval. Though Okinawan people enjoy much liberty today as the American authorities do not interfere with their daily life, unless it is against American military purposes, they naturally would like to live under Japanese administration. They suffered from the greatest damage during the War, and they think they were made victims of the Peace Treaties after the War. They seem to think it regrettable that the Japanese people in the mainland are so indifferent to them. They all want "Okinawa's Return to the Mother Country". Their love for Japan is much stronger than is that of the Japanese in the mainland. Perhaps the present abnormal situation in which they are placed makes this feeling so strong. When an election occurs, all the candidates and all the parties uphold the watchword mentioned above as their urgent policy. If they did not do so, they could never appeal to the voters.

This feeling is reflected in the education in Okinawa. At the beginning of the *Bill Concerning the Basic Code of Education in Okinawa* you will find the following words:—

"We, as Japanese people, must contribute to world peace and to the welfare of humanity by building a democratic and cultural state and society, based upon the universal principle of mankind. The realization of this ideal shall depend fundamentally on the power of education".

Needless to say, these are in imitation of the opening words of the *Japanese Bill Concerning the Basic Code of Education*, which says,

"We, lately confirming the Constitution of Japan, have shown our determination to contribute to world peace and to the welfare of humanity by building a democratic and cultural state and society. The realization of this ideal shall depend fundamentally on the power of education".

We must give our attention to the words in the former, "as Japanese people". They say it took them three years' struggle to get the permission to insert these words in the Bill. Okinawan people are strongly conscious of their being Japanese, and so they believe firmly that they must educate boys and girls to be good Japa-

nese people. This firm belief, combined with the inferiority complex which they have kept since before the War because of the backwardness of Okinawa, and the feeling of restlessness which has grown out of their present situation, makes education in Okinawa nothing but an imitation of Japanese education. Everything in the Japanese system of education is imitated without criticism. All laws and rules on education in Japan are imported and practiced in Okinawa. The school system, teachers' certificates, curriculum, text-books, etc. are almost the same as in Japan. An observer from Japan may be disappointed at the lack of characteristics in the education of Okinawa as compared with that of Japan, but Okinawan teachers and principals are quite satisfied to hear that. They do their best to give the same education as in Japan. That is why they like to invite Japanese professors to hear lectures or teachers' consultants to receive actual instruction, or to send Okinawan teachers to Japanese schools to receive in-service education. They thank the present Director of the Education Department at the Office of the High Commissioner for his generous and sympathetic policy.

However, in spite of their sincere endeavor, Okinawan boys and girls seem to be somewhat inferior to those in Japan. See the average results of the achievement test of social studies and science which was administered in 1960 (1). What a big difference between Okinawa and Japan.

		Social Studies	Science
Primary School	Japan	44.5	51.7
	Okinawa	24.5	38.2
Junior High School	Japan	41.2	47.7
	Okinawa	26.0	35.8
Senior High School	Japan	54.0	37.6
	Okinawa	38.3	32.1

Not only in learning but also in physical development, pupils in Okinawa are inferior to those in Japan. The author who had been surprised at the big boys and girls in America must now confess that he was surprised at the small pupils in Okinawa. The following lists show the average height and weight of boys and girls from 6 to 18 in Okinawa and Japan. (2)

Average Height in centimeters (1959)

Years	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
Boys	Japan	111.3	116.6	121.6	126.5	131.2	135.9	141.0	147.9	154.3	160.6	163.2	164.5
	Okinawa	108.7	113.6	118.4	122.9	127.3	131.8	136.6	142.5	148.8	157.0	159.3	160.7
Girls	Japan	110.3	115.6	120.8	126.0	131.5	137.6	143.1	147.6	150.3	152.6	153.3	153.6
	Okinawa	107.7	112.7	117.7	122.6	127.6	133.2	138.9	143.4	146.4	148.8	149.1	150.0

Average Weight in kilograms (1959)

Years	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
Boys	Japan	18.8	20.9	23.1	25.4	27.8	30.5	34.3	39.4	45.0	50.6	53.8	55.9
	Okinawa	18.4	20.3	22.2	24.2	26.3	28.7	32.0	36.6	41.5	48.7	51.1	53.8
Girls	Japan	18.4	20.4	22.5	25.1	28.0	31.9	36.5	41.4	45.1	47.8	49.5	50.4
	Okinawa	18.0	19.7	21.6	23.9	26.4	29.6	33.9	38.4	42.4	45.5	47.1	48.0

Disorder after the War lasted longer in Okinawa than in Japan. Education in Okinawa has only just begun its promising start. In some schools an old shanty stands side by side with a new fine building to be used as class rooms. In some schools every room is overcrowded. Naturally we cannot expect good facilities and equipments in Okinawan schools. Fortunately, however, there is no teacher shortage in Okinawa. Though there is no pension for teachers as there is in Japan, teaching is considered a good vocation in this island. We must be content to find that pupils are making considerable progress in both learning and physical development; their average height and weight have increased much after the War, and the result of the achievement test in 1960 shows some progress over that of the one in 1957. (3). The author will now show you the number of schools, teachers, and pupils in Okinawa and Japan in the following table and then proceed to the discussion of higher education (4). Readers will notice in the list that there are very few private schools in Okinawa and that senior high school pupils in Okinawa are less than one percent of those in Japan, while pupils of compulsory education are more than one percent of those in Japan. These facts may be another proof of the backwardness of Okinawan education.

		Number of Schools		Number of Teachers		Number of Pupils	
		Public	Private	Male	Female	Male	Female
Primary School	Japan	26757	159	202771	165306	6825386	6549314
	Okinawa	143	1	1348	2587	84160	81208
Junior High	Japan	12540	595	148359	40407	2634043	2546266
	Okinawa	70	1	1524	520	31264	29973
Senior High	Japan	4944	1162	106169	22225	1758356	1457796
	Okinawa	40	2	1050	181	13785	10253

The only institution of higher education in Okinawa before the War was the Okinawa Normal School. Today Okinawa has one Government University (the University of the Ryukyus), one private college and two private junior colleges. The first one is the largest and most important of the four. Others are very small and poor. So it will be appropriate to describe only the University in detail. The University of the Ryukyus is unique in many respects. Its establishment was at first decided in 1948 by the American military authorities. The site was selected where old Shuri Castle once stood. In 1950 the University was opened, and 482 freshmen and 80 sophomores were admitted. Next year an ordinance which outlined the basic rules governing the operation of the University was issued by the Deputy Governor of the United States Civil Administration. That same year the Michigan State University Mission, consisting of five professors, was invited by the Department of the Army to render advice and guidance in the development of the University. All the expenses of the University were at first paid from the aid of the U.S. Civil Administration, and today some financial aid is still given. It is quite natural that the organization of the University resembles an American University very much. Though the University is a Government University it has a Governing Board of its own. No government University in Japan has such a Board. The Governing Board consists of seven members, six of whom are appointed by the Chief Executive of the Government with the approval of the High Commissioner. The Director of the Education Bureau of the Government serves as a member ex-

officio. The President is appointed by the Board of course. At first there were six divisions in the University; English, Education, Sociology, Science, Agriculture and Liberal Arts. During the past ten years many changes have been made, and now the University has three divisions including about 150 staff members and 2300 students. The following list will show you the names of the division and department and the number of the staff members and the students (5).

Division	Department	Staff			Students	
		Professors	Ass. Professors	Lecturers	Male	Female
Literature & Science	Japanese Literature	2	4		61	36
	English	6	3	10	159	22
	History	2	2	1	48	12
	Geography	1	1	2	34	
	Law & Political Science	2	5		130	5
	Sociology		2	2	33	6
	Economics	1	3		105	3
	Business Administration			5	68	6
	Mathematics	1	1	3	47	1
	Physics	1	2	4	49	1
	Chemistry		4	2	53	7
	Geology	2	3	4	51	8
	Fine Arts		5	1	34	4
Education	Education	} 2	} 7	} 4	30	12
	Elementary Education				194	384
	Vocational Education				28	1
	Music Education		1	1	18	32
	Physical Education	1	4	1	69	26
Agriculture & Home Economics	Agriculture	4	3	1	112	2
	Animal Husbandry	1	3	1	58	0
	Forestry	1	3	1	55	
	Vocational Agriculture		1	1	26	
	Home Economics	1	1	5		133
	Mechanical Engineering			3	60	
	Civil Engineering		1		53	
	Electric Engineering		1	4	61	

As you see there are many departments which have not enough staff members. As a supplement for the vacancy, some Japanese professors are invited temporarily for a few months every year to the University to give lessons to the students. According to the professors invited, both staff and students of the University are not so excellent as those in Japan. Though every department has several times as many applicants as the number to be admitted, the students seem to be not so intelligent. It is said that the ablest boys and girls usually enter Japanese Universities. Every year seventy pupils are selected and sent to Japan by the Government. The Japanese Ministry of Education distributes them to Universities and colleges in Japan. It is very fortunate for them, because if they took the entrance examination in Japan many of them might fail. Moreover, half of them are awarded scholarships by the Japanese Government. Bright students who are below them in ability seem to go to America to study. Students who belong to the third class usually enter the University of the Ryukyus. Most graduates of the Literature & Science Division as well as of the Education Division become teachers. As a result there is no teacher shortage in Okinawa. The University of the Ryukyus is at present nothing but a teacher training college. Though teachers' salaries in Okinawa are not so good, teaching seems to be a good occupation as is usual in a backward country.

Now we must discuss the school-board system in Okinawa. Every town and village has a school-board of its own. It is called *local board*. Board members are

elected from among the inhabitants. In Japan they are now appointed by the mayor. Several towns and villages are united to establish a united school-board. The senior high school was formally established by the united school-board, but now it belongs to the central Government. Each local school-board sends a member to the united school-board to become a member of this board. The united school-board appoints a superintendent, who serves in addition as the superintendent of each local school-board. There is no such system in Japan. Now there is a third school-board – the Central School Board. Its members are all elected. The Central Board has no superintendent but gives advice to the Chief Executive of the Government concerning the appointment of the Director of the Education Bureau of the Government who is to serve as the executive of the Board. The Education Bureau may be considered to correspond to the Japanese Ministry of Education, though there is no Central School Board in Japan. On the other hand the Central School Board may be considered to correspond to the prefectural school-board in Japan. Okinawa is as small as the smallest of Japanese prefectures and yet it has a government of its own. Therefore, the educational administrative system in Okinawa has the character of both the Ministry of Education and the prefectural school-board. Incidentally the author thinks that the Japanese people as well as the Okinawan people have misinterpreted or given some modification to the American school-board system. The essence of the American system is decentralization, and the superintendent must be an educational leader of the district. But a Japanese school-board is not so independent and the superintendent is not an educational leader nor a scholar; he is only an official. We must discuss the matter a little more in detail. In Japan the Ministry of Education sees to everything; subjects to be taught at school, hours to be given to each subject, number of pupils in each class, number of teachers in schools of various scales, teachers' salaries, etc. These are either decided by law, the preparation of which belongs to the Ministry, or ordered by the Ministry itself, or given as suggestions to prefectural school-boards, and from these to local school-boards. The superintendent does not need to know much about them. He has only to transmit what is made known to him to the school. The Japanese school-board does not seem to be an independent agency but, to use an extreme expression, a transit office. The superintendent has some knowledge of education, but what is most necessary to him is rather a political and administrative skill. He is not and need not to be an educational leader as an American superintendent is. He has deep interest in and much power over personnel matters only, that is to adopt or change teachers. This character of a Japanese superintendent and school-board is best reflected in the educational system in Okinawa. As has been mentioned above, the superintendent of the united school-board in Okinawa is in addition the superintendent of each local school-board. According to the author's point of view, this system is possible and convenient as each board is not so independent and the superintendent is only an official. Now there is a very strange provision in the School Law in Okinawa, which we do not find in Japan, nor in America. It stipulates that a principal cannot serve for more than five years in the same school, and ten years in the same area of the united school-board (6). Why does such a strange provision exist in Okinawa? They say it sometimes happened that the local school-board did not want to lose the principal they had and so refused to accept the new principal whom the superintendent recommended to them; perhaps the superintendent was more the official of the united school-board than that of the local board, and as such the latter opposed him. It was considered necessary to prevent the

outbreak of such an occurrence by some means. That is why the strange provision was established by the Ordinance. However, there was another cause. Able men as a rule became teachers in Okinawa, as they could rarely find a better occupation there. Therefore a principal might rise in popularity and power if he stayed in the same position for a long time. If he ran for election he might be victorious. Conservative politicians and American authorities did not like it perhaps, as he might belong to the socialist party. This might have been one reason why the Legislature decided to keep the provision when it established the School Law. Abolition of this strange provision is now being heatedly discussed throughout the islands. But some principals in far-off small islands are opposing the abolition as they expect to be transferred to the city.

One important characteristic of the Okinawan school-board is that it has financial independence to some degree; it can collect educational taxes as in America. In Japan the school-board has no such power. However, people in Okinawa are too poor to pay high taxes. Therefore it is necessary for the government to give a large amount of assistance to the local school-board. Teachers' salaries and building expenses in compulsory education are all paid by the governmental aid. And yet the taxes are not enough to cover other expenses of the local school-board; it must depend upon the governmental aid for that purpose, too. It is very natural that the budget of the Education Bureau occupied as much as 34% of all the government budget in 1961 (7).

Total amount of the Governmental expenditure budget	Amount of the expenditure budget of the Education Bureau	Percentage
27,348,305 dollars	9,537,938 dollars	34.88%

The following list shows the percentage of governmental aid, prefectural expenditure and local expenditure in education in Okinawa and Japan in 1959 (8).

Okinawa	Governmental aid 81.6%		Local expenditure 10.65%	Other
Japan	Governmental aid 23%	Prefectural expenditure 44.8%	Local expenditure 23.8%	Other ex.

Even if we consider the situation from the point of educational finance alone, it would be quite clear that the Okinawan Government, namely the Government of the Ryukyus, would run into a serious financial difficulty, had it not been for the aid from Japan as well as from America.

References

1. Education Bureau of the Government of the Ryukyus, General Survey of Education in 1961, P. 89.
2. *ibid.*, P. 150.
3. *ibid.*, P. 69.
4. *ibid.*, P. 36.
5. Educational Statistics of Japanese Ministry of education in 1961, P. 5.
6. *ibid.*, PP. 122, 123, 125.
7. School Law in Okinawa, Article 8.
8. General Survey of Education in 1961 in the Ryukyus, P. 26.
9. *ibid.*, P. 28.

MAMORU OSHIBA, Humeji, Hyogoken (Japan)

STUDENT GUIDANCE IN ASIA

Much has been written about the difficulties of using culturally determined intelligence tests for guidance of students whose pattern of life has been different from that of the group for which the test was standardised.

Among the obvious difficulties are those based on information such as a nationally important event as distinct from an internationally important one, place locations and such things. Suitable modifications of these items should not prove too inconvenient without undue distortion of the reliability. (I may point out that I am referring to individual tests such as the Revised Stanford Binet and the Bellevue-Wechsler for Adults and Children).

Language differences might also be resolved more or less satisfactorily and performance tests or non-verbal items emphasised so that a reasonably satisfactory estimate of ability can be made. When this is set in the context of the client's developmental history, and the social environment in which he lives is familiar to the guidance worker attempting to help him, accepted Western methods can be profitably used in diverse communities.

The writer has experience of carrying out guidance functions in Singapore and Hong Kong sequential to extended experience in Australia. It is on this basis that concern is felt over some of the more subtle difficulties which arise when (standardised) tests are administered to students whose social and emotional relationships have been developed with different emphases. These aspects may be especially confusing when the student speaks English well and has reached a good standard of attainment in school.

Personal information

The first difficulties occur when, as a prelude to the administration of an individual test, information is sought regarding the student's age, family relationships and vocational goals.

Age. In Asia there has not been the importance attaching to precise age that there has been in sophisticated Western countries. Not only is it common for an average or bright child to be vague about his or her age and birthday; even an adolescent or young adult might be uncertain. If he does give an age in years this might be a year older than he would appear to be by Western standards on account of the Chinese assumption that a child is one year old when he is born. Also, "everybody's birthday" is on the seventh day of the first month by Chinese calendar. Therefore as much as two years might be added to the actual period since birth.

For children who were born during a time of major disturbance like war and its aftermath, their exact date of birth might be unascertainable even if the country is one in which registration of births is normally compulsory.

As for knowing the ages of siblings, even when a family has not a large number of children, approximations are usually the best that an enquirer can expect to learn. However, in Hong Kong a sharper awareness of age calculated in Western style is being encouraged by the present school entry system. A birth certificate is required by the better Primary Schools when they are selecting new entrants.

Family relationships. Paternal cousins may be counted as brothers and sisters especially if they live wholly or partly with the family. Half-siblings and step-brothers or sisters are not always acknowledged as different from brothers and sisters of the same two parents. If the father has more than one wife, all may be

regarded as "mother" by any particular child. Therefore, if a family seems large in terms of children it is useful to ask: "Have you more than one mother?" According to the student's feeling about the questioner's acceptance of a polygamous system, he may answer frankly or not. There is no doubt that a student who has grown up accustomed to having two or more mothers, feels nothing odd about it and may not necessarily be primarily attached to his natural mother. Realisation of this cultural difference might be of importance to a guidance officer trying to help an Asian student who has gone abroad.

Vocational goals. Perhaps for Chinese students more than for some other Asians it is usual for parents to designate the vocational aims of their children. Father, or even paternal grandfather might decide upon the occupations to be followed especially by male descendants. Many sons accept this without question even though they might be legally adult when they leave school.

Dependence

Deference to parents might, in effect, be indistinguishable from dependence on them, psychologically as well as economically. Associated with this, there might be a lack of concern with objects and events outside the family which, being a lifelong habit, leads to a lack of awareness of common situations. For example, many a school boy or girl in Hong Kong has never gone to school unescorted by parent or servant. Driving the children to school and collecting them, is an important task for most car-owning parents. Even if a family has no car, there might be a group-hiring of a cheap-rate taxi so that the children will not have the hazards of trying to travel on heavily crowded trams and buses.

It follows then, that learning to be responsible with money does not come early in the experience of this type of student. The servants do the shopping as they do the housework; mother may do the more important branches of buying for the family. But in a middle class or wealthy family the children's main responsibility is likely to be successful studies. For the poor, of course, experience is different, but these notes are mainly concerned with Asian students who are likely to be the concern of Western trained psychologists and teachers.

Rapport

The net result of this different field of life experience may have a depressing effect on the rapport so essential to the administration of an individual intelligence test as well as upon the orientation to situations depicted in the test.

Among the latter, for example, although Hong Kong is a cosmopolitan city, a horse is never seen except at the racecourse; hats are not worn except by humble workers, and then they tend to be of straw, or rather battered felt ones. Many children have never seen a cow at close quarters nor are they familiar with the origin of textile fibres and metals.

Perhaps an inevitable corollary of a socially stratified urban community is the diversity of experience between the children of the better-off and the children of the poor. Not only are the former apt to have a prolonged dependence while the latter are prematurely forced by circumstances into basic responsibilities but the pastimes of the former may be limited to sophisticated accompanying of adults instead of playing with peers. There is still a marked aversion on the part of many parents to allowing their children to have friends outside the family. Nor is play

considered a valuable activity for young persons. Even its use as part of treatment in the Child Guidance Centre may be viewed with disbelief.

The Chinese term for studying is "learning books" and this pursuit is held in the highest regard by all dutiful sons and daughters in Hong Kong. It is such a laudable activity that it ranks second only to deference and respect to one's seniors. This perhaps adds to the lack of concern (among students) with learning from practical situations.

Attitude towards the English language

Towards English as the learned language linked to modernism and vocational opportunity, there may be an ambivalent emotional attitude even when it seems to have been mastered well. In the writer's view this is of special importance with persons whose mother tongue is Chinese of one dialect or another. The force and age of Chinese culture evokes intensely strong loyalty, enhanced rather than diminished by the political problems besetting those who are severed from the ancestral soil. Chinese students in Hong Kong have at times volunteered that their use of English was confined to rather formal purposes; that they never thought of using it to express their feelings. With older students it is not uncommon to find fluency in the learned language more or less confined to the field of their studies and including a ready use of technical terms. Unawareness of such compartmentalised familiarity with English might confuse a foreign interviewer. Connected with this would seem to be the acknowledgement of a social settling-in period as an essential preliminary to normal progress in school or University. It is possible that some satisfying personal relationships must accompany the emotional incorporation of the learned language.

This might prove an interesting area for research, difficult though the definition of the field would be. There is some evidence that students whose strengths lie in the technological subjects are most affected by this pseudo-familiarity with the learned language; but it has been observed quite strikingly in at least one senior research worker in Economics who had taken a degree in an English speaking country.

Individual initiative

Finally, it is well to bear in mind that individual initiative among young persons is not encouraged in the majority of Asian families. Only the children of parents with a modern education themselves will be likely to approximate to Western children in this experience. Reassurance from those in authority, even in late adolescence, may be much more anxiously sought than a Western orientated counsellor would expect. At the same time the student might be placed in a serious conflict which he is unable to express, if he finds that coming to terms with what his foreign mentors seem to wish, involves a departure from his family's expectations. Inexperience in making decisions for himself is likely to cause a student to be at a loss not only in dealing with practical test situations but in his use of leisure, choice of friends and exercising his rights in an acceptable way.

It is scarcely necessary to add that, desirable though it is for foreign students to adapt to the standards of behaviour and aspiration of their host country, a wise counsellor will also help them to remain aware of the social patterns of their home country. The social security to be derived from the carrying out of traditional patterns of behaviour and thereby meriting the approval of parents and even more revered ancestors is a kind of comfort some modern Westerners might well envy.

BERYL WRIGHT, Hong Kong

BOOKREVIEWS – BUCHBESPRECHUNGEN – ANALYSES BIBLIOGRAPHIQUES

The International Year Book of Education – Vol. XXIV. Geneva/Paris: B.I.E./Unesco 1962. Publ. No. 249. xxiv + 544 pp. FS 20.—, FF 22.50, \$ 6.50.

This is, of course, primarily a reference book and as such it is invaluable; although the student who turns to it for reference must be careful to distinguish between expressed hopes and achieved realities.

Nevertheless, although few will treat it in this way, it is possible by glancing through the entries from comparable countries to get at least a superficial view of what have been the main trends of interest and development in 1962. In Western European countries it is easy to see at least three very widespread trends. There is much reform of administration going on. This has been imposed partly by the very rapid expansion in the number of school pupils, the phenomenon christened in France *l'explosion scolaire* and identified in England as the *bulge* and the *trend*, and partly by growing recognition of the importance of technical education. Perhaps for the same reasons there is an almost universal trend both to lengthen the period of secondary education and to postpone the age of commitment to specialised or segregated courses. Finally there is the recurrent reference to the shortage of teachers, particularly of Mathematics teachers.

This shortage still appears to be almost universal and underlines the seriousness of statements from some developing countries that they expect to rely for some years to come on teachers from overseas. Educational aid clearly plays an important part in the programmes of these countries but this type of aid may be very difficult to supply. Aid in school building is presumably easier and though there are a number of omissions in the national reports from South America several of them refer to aid of this type provided through the *Alliance for Progress*. It is significant of this contradiction that the report from Mali should state, that the immediate problem in teacher supply is to meet the shortage produced by the pace of school building.

A. D. C. PETERSON, Oxford

Educational Planning. Geneva/Paris: B.I.E./Unesco 1962. Publ. No. 242. pp. 193, Fs 9.—, FF 10.50, \$ 3.—.

Recommendations 1934–1960. Geneva/Paris: B.I.E./Unesco 1962. Publ. No. 222. FS. 8.—.

The International Bureau of Education has a distinguished record of achievement in the field of comparative education. Established in Geneva, its first International Conference on Public education was held in 1934. Similar conferences were held until 1939 when the war interrupted this aspect of its work. The first post-war conference was held in March 1946, and from 1947 on, Unesco and the I.B.E. have been jointly responsible for convening annual conferences attended by duly authorized delegates of many governments. From the start the International Bureau of Education was conceived as a fact-gathering agency of the kind envisaged by Jullien de Paris early in the nineteenth century. The dissemination of this infor-

mation in reports of annual conferences, in its International Yearbooks, bibliographies and numerous other publications, largely it should be said under the inspiration of its Deputy Director Pedro Rosselló, has been of immense value to workers in comparative and international education. The fact that *Recommendations 1934-1960* and *Educational Planning* are numbered respectively 222 and 242 in the list of the Bureau's publications testifies to the volume of the Bureau's work.

The first is a fascinating document. It gives direct support to the view sometimes advanced that it takes at least thirty years for an idea in education to find practical expression in the schools. So many of the proposals made in the thirties are only now being formulated in national legislation. Indeed the pendulum has had time to swing not only a long way in the direction of the proposals made but back again to a more central position. There is no doubt that the recommendations presented to Ministries of Education throughout the world as "practicable suggestions for educational advance" (page 7) represent the aspirations and intentions of forward-looking educationists. Doubtless, as Professor J. Piaget the Director of I.B.E. writes in his introduction, they "constitute a kind of international charter or code of public education" (page 7) in which the high ideals of educational polity are stated in their most general terms. They represent then a pattern of aims on which policy should be based rather than detailed statements which could be in practical terms applied directly to any national system of education. Indeed there was specific recognition of the fact that "the diversity of circumstances imposes a different organization in different countries" (page 20) as early as 1935. Usually the recommendations to ministries are preceded by an analysis in very general terms of the conditions which make a review of policy necessary. Thus the selection of topics reflects very much the on-going climate of opinion and debate in informed circles. Broad distinctions can be made between the following aspects of education: (a) the stages of education - pre-school, primary, and secondary, and the organization of each stage; (b) curricular organization; (c) methods of teaching selected subjects; (d) aspects of teacher training, recruitment, salary and certification; and (e) inspection. No doubt each reader will turn to those aspects of educational policy which interest him most, but of very general importance in the advance of education are those recommendations which deal with the prolongation of compulsory education (no. 1 and 32), equality of opportunity for secondary education (no. 19) and teacher training (nos 4, 5, 36, 38, 45, 49).

If each aspect is taken in turn, several important uses may be made of the *Recommendations*. It shows the consensus about intentions; it reveals changes of opinion after the war compared with pre-war views, and it reveals the different foci of interest over the years.

The recommendations should be seen in relationship to the comparative studies associated with the annual conferences. These attempt to draw together from many countries data relevant to the topic in question. Usually the information is acquired by sending out a questionnaire to Ministries of education. The replies are put together in a systematic way both in terms of aspects of the topic and country by country so that the comparisons can be made without judgements being made on the values involved.

Educational Planning represents one such comparative study. The data were obtained from the replies of 75 Ministries of education to the questionnaire sent out to them by the International Bureau of Education. It was divided into various

parts designed to elicit information about: — 1. types of planning, 2. agencies responsible for educational planning, 3. the preparation, implementation and evaluation of plans, 4. the training of staff to carry out planning, 5. the benefits derived from international action, and 6. future plans. The general synoptic and comparative study is presented under slightly different headings revealing the degree to which different countries have special agencies for educational planning and the way in which plans are formulated, adopted and implemented. This survey makes a few generalisations possible and provides evidence to show that the obstacles to realistic planning are to be found in the lack of funds, experience and qualified staff (page XLIX) and in addition in "a lack of the statistical data and documentary material necessary for reliable forecasting and future provision" (page XLIX). There is revealed also a psychological reluctance in many countries to accept the notion of planning as desirable. Undoubtedly some of the prejudices against planning are due to terminological differences of interpretation but some of the objections are to processes which as yet have been less precisely analysed than is desirable. Within the framework of policy formulation, adoption, and implementation there is need for many more analytical studies concerning the processes involved in planning and the skills and data needed if they are to succeed. *Educational Planning* demonstrates that whilst the problem is recognized in most countries and many governments have set up agencies through which planning can be attempted, there is throughout the world a shortage of trained personnel and a lack of qualified and specialised staff. The great need is for inter-disciplinary teams of experts who can consider the problems of planning in societies committed to democratic procedures.

In fine, there is much value in bringing together the recommendations of people concerned with educational policy. A very clear picture is, in fact, gained of the general intentions of progressive educators over the years. In particular, in *Recommendations* attention might be drawn to No. 40 — the financing of education, No. 42 — school inspection, No. 50 — preparation and issuing of general secondary school curricula, Nos 37 and 38 — the status of teachers, No. 36 and 38 — the training of teachers, and No. 32 — compulsory education and its prolongation. These touch upon aspects of policy which are of central importance to most educators and can be regarded as general policy statements which will undoubtedly find expression in a practical way in many countries in the fairly near future. *Educational Planning*, on the other hand, tends to reveal the nature and difficulties of the problem associated with the rational development of education, and can be seen as complementary to the *Recommendations* in so far as it deals with the organizations and institutions through which nations are at the moment attempting to meet present-day demands in education.

BRIAN HOLMES, London

SCHNEIDER, CHRISTIAN W., *Neue Erziehung und Schulwesen in Frankreich*, Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer 1963, pp. 167. DM 18.—.

Voir clair dans le maquis des réformes pédagogiques françaises, de 1930 à nos jours, n'est pas chose aisée. D'une part, le concept "éducation nouvelle" est ambigu car il ne prend sa signification véritable que dans le contexte de la philosophie

éducationnelle de ses défenseurs. D'autre part, les mouvements pédagogiques ne se succèdent pas en un ordre scrupuleux, attendant pour naître que le précédent s'éteigne; ils se chevauchent, s'influencent, se combattent pour des motifs avoués qui sont presque toujours faux. Car, dans le débat, la science de l'éducation joue un rôle bien modeste — quand il n'est pas nul — à côté des autres forces agissantes. Il suffit de rappeler, à titre d'exemple, l'importance et les vicissitudes du Plan Langevin-Wallon.

On saura donc gré à C. W. Schneider de s'être fait l'historien de ces 30 dernières années de la pédagogie française. Etranger, il a disposé d'un détachement suffisant pour parler des idées sans passion, et d'un éloignement assez grand pour percevoir les lignes de charpente.

Après avoir fait le point de la situation pédagogique aux environs de 1930, l'auteur envisage d'abord la période 1930-1940. Pendant cette décennie — qui connut 25 gouvernements différents — les efforts de réformes institutionnelles se soldent par un bilan assez maigre. Mais les grandes idées qui prendront corps de 1940 à 1947, la période de la Résistance et de la rénovation nationale, sont en gestation. Quand finit la dernière guerre mondiale, il semble que la France va réaliser la véritable démocratisation de l'enseignement et la réforme complète des structures scolaires, et donner à la pédagogie scientifique la place qui lui revient.

On sait que bien des espoirs furent déçus par la suite. Aussi C. W. Schneider doit-il s'attacher, pour la période 1947-1959, à une série de phénomènes qui se présentent surtout comme des maillons détachés de la chaîne forgée pendant la guerre, mais n'en restent pas moins des gages de progrès et de rénovation.

L'auteur a limité son étude à l'enseignement général, se réservant d'envisager les autres aspects dans un travail ultérieur. Nous comprenons très bien les raisons qui l'ont poussé à agir ainsi.

Mais nous le suivons moins volontiers quand il se refuse à considérer les influences qui s'exercent de l'extérieur du pays sur la pédagogie française (p. 23). Ceci entraîne, à mon avis, un appauvrissement regrettable et une schématisation qui ne rend pas assez justice à l'effort de réflexion et d'adaptation de tant d'enseignants français, surtout pendant les années 1930-1940. Sans sous-estimer l'importance de R. Cousinet, de B. Profit et de Freinet, il semble toutefois indispensable d'étudier la pénétration et l'influence des idées de J. Dewey, de Claparède, de Decroly et de tant d'autres qui, parfois sans laisser de signature nette, ont cependant exercé une action considérable sur toute la pensée pédagogique française.

Néanmoins, et bien qu'il s'adresse au premier chef à des lecteurs allemands, le livre de C. W. Schneider intéressera aussi tous ceux qui désirent retrouver, retracés sous forme concise, les heurs et les malheurs de trois décennies de lutte pour une éducation meilleure en France.

G. DE LANDSHEERE, Liège

HAUSMANN, GOTTFRIED et al., *Internationale pädagogische Kontakte*, Heidelberg: Quelle und Meyer 1963, pp. 169. DM 14.—.

Ce cinquième volume de la série que L. Froese, G. Hausmann, H. Röhrs et W. Schultze consacrent à l'éducation comparée et à la pédagogie étrangère n'est en fait que la publication des mélanges offerts au Professeur Walther Merck pour son 70^e anniversaire.

On sait combien il est difficile de rendre brièvement compte de tels ouvrages, surtout s'ils ne sont pas strictement centrés sur la même idée-pivot. C'est une fois de plus le cas, car sous la couverture de ces "Contacts internationaux", on rencontre à la fois de l'éducation comparée, de la théorie pédagogique et de la technique d'assistance éducationnelle. Le nom des collaborateurs permettra cependant de deviner la richesse de ces mélanges: K. W. Bigelow, *American Responses to African Educational Needs: With Consideration of some Problems of International Aid*; Fritz Bohnsack, *Die pädagogische Bedeutung des Spiels in A. S. Makarenkos Kollektiv*; Hans Espe, *Die Aufgaben der Vergleichenden Erziehungswissenschaft bei der Neugestaltung des technischen Bildungswesens*; Leonhard Froese, *Vom Anfang der Pädagogik*; Roger Gal, *Incidences des Méthodes Actives sur les programmes, les examens, les horaires, le matériel didactique et la formation des maîtres*; Nicholas Hans, *Nationalism and Education in non-European Countries*; Gottfried Hausmann, *Anfänge Vergleichender Erziehungswissenschaft*; Isaac L. Kandel, *Equality of Educational Opportunity and its Problems*; M. J. Langeveld, *School and Education in an Affluent Society*; Hermann Röhrs, *Die internationale Verständigung als pädagogisches Problem*; Friedrich Schneider, *Historische Pädagogik und Vergleichende Erziehungswissenschaft*; Walter Schultze, *Hochschulprobleme in Entwicklungsländern, dargestellt am Beispiel der Universität Kabul*; et Hans Wenke, *Das Studium der Ausländer in Deutschland*.

G. DE LANDSHEERE, Liège

JOHNSTON, HERBART, *A Philosophy of Education*. New York: McGraw-Hill 1963. pp. 362. \$ 6.50.

Zufällig lag die soeben erschienene unveränderte zweite Auflage von William H. Kilpatrick, *Philosophy of Education*, (Mac Millan 1951, 1963) zusammen mit Johnstons Philosophie der Erziehung auf meinem Schreibtisch. Wer hätte da der Versuchung widerstehen können, diese Vertreter fundamental entgegengesetzter Lebensanschauungen miteinander prinzipiell zu konfrontieren. Beide Bücher stimmen darin überein, dass in einem einleitenden Kapitel die Grundlagen einer Lebensphilosophie, eines „Outlook upon Life“ entwickelt werden. Auch wenden beide sich an dasselbe Publikum: Lehrer, Erzieher, Studenten der Pädagogik. Dann aber hört die Übereinstimmung auf. Denn ein schärferer Kontrast als zwischen Johnstons und Kilpatricks Erziehungsphilosophie ist kaum denkbar. Wie radikal der Kontrast ist, wird deutlich an der Behauptung Kilpatricks (S. 16): „Die wissenschaftliche induktive Bewegung, die mit Galileo einen Anfang nimmt, schließt definitiv das vor-wissenschaftliche Zeitalter ab. Wir meinen, daß diese wissenschaftliche Methode für das Erzielen zuverlässiger Schlüsse unumstritten die beste ist, sodaß wir es schwer finden, das typische Denken der vor-wissenschaftlichen Zeit zu begreifen. Das Experiment auf dem Turm von Pisa hat die Welt neu erschaffen, nicht nur auf dem Gebiet der Physik, sondern in Hinblick auf alles, einschließlich der Auffassung, die der Mensch von sich selbst hatte“.

Dieses Zitat aus dem Buche eines Jüngers John Deweys ist sehr geeignet, dem Johnston-Buch ein spezifisches Relief zu verleihen. Denn nach dem Denken Johnstons hat jener Augenblick in Pisa die Anthropologie des Menschen überhaupt nicht berührt. In seinem Buch liegt uns ein musterhaftes Beispiel „vor-wissenschaft-

lichen Denkens" vor, ein Beispiel von deduktiver Argumentation auf Grund von an sich evidenten Prinzipien, wie sie von Aristoteles zu einer geschlossenen logischen und metaphysischen Totalität zusammengefaßt und von Thomas Aquinas theologisch-christlich umgebaut sind. Besagt dies nun, daß man dieses Buch als Antiquität einfach beiseite legen kann?

Im Gegenteil, es wird jeden Pädagogen fesseln, der mit der Frage ringt, ob, und wenn ja, auf welche Weise die Direktiven der Erziehungspraxis aus der wissenschaftlichen Theorie hervorgehen. Johnston läßt über seinen weltanschaulichen Standort keinen Zweifel und entwickelt auf dieser Grundlage alsdann eine musterhafte Systematik, die es psychologisch begreiflich macht, daß jahrhundertlang, von Aristoteles bis Newton und darüber hinaus, die deduktive Methode intellektuell die größten Denker befriedigen konnte.

Es gibt in diesem Buch Aussprüche, mit denen der Leser, der den theologisch-anthropologischen Standort des Verfassers nicht teilt, sich nicht identifizieren kann. Sie werden hier kurz zusammengefaßt: Das Lebensziel ist die Kenntnis Gottes. Die Erziehung ist der Prozeß, der dieses Ziel mit Hilfe der Kirche anstrebt. Auf Grund seiner aristotelischen und thomistischen Anschauungen betrachtet der Verfasser die Entwicklung der intellektuellen Tugenden als die primäre Aufgabe der Schule. Da die *sacra doctrina* die höchste übernatürliche Wahrheit einschließt, sind konfessionelle Schulen aus intellektuellen Gründen vorzuziehen. Denn die Wahrheit ist nur aus der Kenntnis der letzten Ursache völlig verständlich.

Das erste Kapitel *The Nature of Philosophy of Education* gibt eine ausgezeichnete Einführung in die Aufgabe der Erziehungsphilosophie, ihre Relation zu den empirischen Wissenschaften, und ihre Stelle in der Hierarchie der Wissenschaften. Sie wird als ein Teil der sozialen Ethik gesehen, und ist als solche eine praktische Wissenschaft.

Im vierten Kapitel unterscheidet der Autor vier Bedeutungen des Wortes *education* und behandelt hauptsächlich die dritte und vierte Bedeutung: die Erziehung in der Schule und im Klassenzimmer.

Der Standpunkt des Autors betr. vom Staat unterstützter konfessioneller Schulen wird in den U.S.A., wo man an einer absoluten Scheidung von Kirche und Staat festzuhalten pflegt, scharfe Kritik auslösen. Es ist zu bedauern, daß der Autor die Lösungen nicht kennt, jedenfalls nicht nennt, die man in den verschiedenen europäischen Ländern anstrebt. Besonders Holland hat eine Lösung gefunden, die jeden, der demokratisch denkt, befriedigt, und die als gerecht empfunden wird nicht nur in Hinsicht auf jede Gesinnung, sondern auch für alle, die nicht Verfechter einer konfessionellen Schule sind. Die niederländische Situation ist gegründet auf dem Prinzip, daß die primäre Erziehungspflicht bei den Eltern liegt und der Staat hier dienend und ausführend ist. Das ist auch Johnstons Auffassung, die, wie die niederländische Situation nachweist, auch von Nicht-Katholiken unterschrieben werden kann.

Der Rahmen dieser Besprechung läßt es nicht zu, tiefer auf andere durch den Autor angerührte wichtige Themen einzugehen: wie z.B. die Ausbreitungs-Notwendigkeit der *liberal education* in einem technologischen Jahrhundert, die Zielsetzung des Unterrichts und des Lehrplans, den Prozeß des Lernens und des Unterrichtens, die Funktion des Lehrers.

Die Auseinandersetzung mit Erziehungsphilosophien anderer Herkunft im neunten Kapitel scheint mir nicht völlig befriedigend. Eine prinzipielle Auseinandersetzung mit Deweys Philosophie wäre notwendig, der Autor hält sie aber im

Rahmen seines Buches nicht für ausführbar. Er hat sich daher beschränkt auf R. Ulich, I. Scheffler, F. C. Gruber, H. Broudy u.a.

Daß Jonhston in J. Brubachers Terminologie zu den *essentialists* gehört, ist außer Frage. Daß durch ein solches Etikett die Lektüre dieses Buches für den, der sich nicht so nennt, keine stimulierenden Gesichtspunkte bietet, könnte man bestimmt nicht behaupten.

HELENA W. F. STELLWAG, Amsterdam

SUCHODOLSKI, BOGDAN, *Grundlagen der marxistischen Erziehungstheorie*. Berlin: VEB Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften-Państwowe wydawnictwo naukowe. Warszawa 1961, pp. 567.

Der international bekannte polnische Pädagoge Bogdan Suchodolski unternimmt es in seinem zwischen 1950 und 1957 entstandenen Buch, die – wie er bemerkt – bisher "ganz in Dunkel gehüllte bahnbrechende Bedeutung der Lehren von Marx und Engels auf dem Gebiet der Pädagogik" in ausführlicher historischer und systematischer Untersuchung herauszustellen, um damit gleichzeitig der gegenwärtigen Theorie der Erziehung in den sozialistischen Ländern eine feste Grundlage zu liefern. In dreifachem Ansatz werden 1) die pädagogisch relevanten Aussagen von Marx und Engels in ihrer historischen Entwicklung dargelegt, 2) bestimmte Grundprobleme der marxistischen Philosophie und Revolutionstheorie im Hinblick auf ihre pädagogischen Auswirkungen untersucht, sowie 3) von dieser Basis aus die Positionen einer marxistischen Kulturtheorie, Anthropologie und Psychologie unter pädagogischem Aspekt ausführlich entwickelt. Das Buch soll gleichzeitig dem „Kampf gegen die bürgerliche Pädagogik“ dienen und die prinzipielle Überlegenheit des Marxismus auf pädagogischem Gebiet nachweisen.

Suchodolskis Buch stellt zweifellos den bisher bedeutendsten Versuch dar, eine marxistische Theorie der Erziehung aus den Gedanken von Marx und Engels nicht nur zu deduzieren, sondern wirklich philosophisch zu begründen. So entsteht ein Werk von imponierender Geschlossenheit, das geeignet erscheint, eine wirklich bis an die Prinzipien vordringende und nicht bloß an der Oberfläche haftende Diskussion anzuregen. Bei der Vielzahl der aufgeworfenen Probleme kann sich eine kritische Rezension nur auf einige wenige Fragen beschränken. Suchodolski stellt mit Recht den *dialektischen* Charakter der Marxschen Erziehungsauffassung heraus, der lange Zeit hindurch von der im nachmarxistischen Sozialismus dominierenden Milieutheorie verkannt wurde. Von da aus gelangt er zu einer scharfen Abgrenzung einmal gegenüber einer idealistischen „Bewußtseinspädagogik“, zum anderen gegenüber einer soziologischen Anpassungslehre. Als den Fundamentalbegriff der marxistischen Pädagogik hebt der Verfasser die „revolutionäre Praxis“ hervor, d.h. „ein Handeln, in dem sich das Bewußtwerden der gesellschaftlichen Entwicklungsgesetze mit der Energie und dem Willen aktiver Teilnahme an der Gestaltung der Entwicklung verbindet“. Für die Erziehung erwachse daraus „die Verpflichtung, mit der revolutionären Praxis der Arbeiterbewegung ein Bündnis einzugehen“, da dies den „einzigen Weg zur wirklichen Heranbildung neuer Menschen“ darstelle. Als Hauptproblem der sittlichen Erziehung des einzelnen wird daher auch das „Problem der Teilnahme der Menschen am Kampf um den geschichtlichen Fortschritt“ angesehen, da „die wesentlichsten Erziehungsprobleme des Individuums,

einschließlich seiner streng privaten Angelegenheiten, nur durch eine bewußte und verantwortungsvolle Teilnahme am gesellschaftlichen Leben gelöst werden können".

An dieser Stelle wird sichtbar, wie der dialektische Erziehungsprozeß als Wechselwirkung von individuellen und gesellschaftlichen Kräften in der marxistischen Erziehungstheorie unter dem Einfluß der *kollektiven Dominante* letztlich doch zu nichts anderem führt als zu einer Unterordnung der Pädagogik unter angebliche „objektive Notwendigkeiten“ der gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung. Die Zweideutigkeit der Ansprüche der Gesellschaft an die Erziehung tritt von hier aus gar nicht in das Blickfeld der Pädagogik. Suchodolskis Auseinandersetzung mit den verschiedenen Richtungen der „bürgerlichen“ Pädagogik, die neben bedenkenswerten kritischen Bemerkungen auch manche unzulässige Vereinfachungen enthält, hätte an Überzeugungskraft gewonnen, wenn sie denselben Maßstab der Kritik auch gegenüber den eigenen, marxistischen Positionen angewendet hätte, anstatt hier eine ein für allemal gültige Wahrheit zu postulieren. Der für die Pädagogik eminent fruchtbare Ansatz von Marx, den das Buch des Warschauer Pädagogen herausstellt, verliert nämlich in dem Maße an Wert, wie er zu einem Dogma erstarrt.

OSKAR ANWEILER, Hamburg

VAN PRAAG, H., *Pedagogiek. In Theorie en in Praktijk*. Zeist: De Haan-Standaard Boekhandel 1960. pp. 158. (Phoenix pockets).

En retraçant l'histoire et les problèmes de l'éducation, H. van Praag souligne que de tous temps, l'éducation fut considérée comme une tâche d'amour, de patience et de sagesse.

Cependant, les voies suivies pour conduire l'enfant à la maturité et faire de lui un adulte équilibré, sont souvent très différentes et les méthodes appliquées varieront en fonction du temps, de l'âge de l'enfant, des nécessités sociales et des idéologies.

Très souvent critiquée, l'éducation naturelle préconisée par Rousseau n'en a pas moins inspiré de grands pédagogues comme Fröbel, Montessori et Decroly qui, voulant éduquer les enfants dans leur milieu, imaginèrent la création de jardins d'enfants.

Le sentiment que les périodes sensibles du développement psychologique ne peuvent être séparées de l'arrière-plan culturel, conduisit à l'éducation existentielle qui commence à la maison et se conforme aux besoins du temps.

L'auteur en arrive à comparer l'éducation familiale à l'éducation scolaire. La première forme le sentiment; la seconde l'intellect. Mais on constate qu'à la suite de certains impératifs de la vie moderne, l'école reprend de plus en plus en mains certaines tâches du foyer quoiqu'elle ne pourra jamais s'y substituer entièrement. L'auteur attire d'ailleurs l'attention sur le besoin d'amour maternel et le rôle du père dans le développement spirituel de l'enfant.

En entrant à l'école, l'enfant quitte le monde du sentiment et de la fantaisie pour pénétrer dans celui de la mémoire et de l'intelligence. Il sera désormais initié à la tradition des cultures et sera préparé au grand monde.

Examinant la situation actuelle de la pédagogie, un chapitre est consacré à la *pédagogie différentielle*. Celle-ci s'occupe de l'éducation des différentes facultés ou valeurs humaines telles que l'éducation intellectuelle, l'éducation esthétique,

éthique, sociale, sexuelle, religieuse et technique. Ne pouvant traiter tous ces sujets, l'auteur se limite à deux sujets complexes qui donnent une idée des divers aspects de la pédagogie différentielle notamment *le renouveau de l'enseignement et l'éducation dans l'esprit européen*.

L'école doit évoluer en fonction du temps et des besoins de la société. Actuellement, les éducateurs attachent de plus en plus d'importance à l'environnement extérieur et intérieur de l'école.

En outre, les élèves prennent de plus en plus part à l'organisation de l'école et collaborent au programme et à la vie communautaire.

L'auteur attire l'attention sur *l'éducation dans l'esprit européen*. La culture européenne est née de la fusion des civilisations gréco-romaine, judéo-chrétienne, humanitaire et technique qui ont dans chaque pays une évolution propre. L'Europe doit réaliser son programme d'éducation culturelle en tenant compte des exigences de notre temps.

Van Praag donne ensuite un aperçu de deux formes spéciales de l'éducation notamment la rééducation et l'éducation des adultes.

La rapidité dans l'évolution des problèmes actuels rend notre époque particulièrement difficile pour les enfants. Une nouvelle science, en est née qui s'occupe de la rééducation et qui porte le nom de *pédothérapie*, dont les principaux représentants sont Don Bosco, Father Flannagan, Miss Payne et Homer Lane.

Quant aux adultes, ils doivent eux aussi suivre l'évolution, même dans leur propre profession.

Si la forme d'éducation est importante, la personnalité de l'éducateur l'est peut-être encore plus. Van Praag y attache un grand prix et en fixant ce qu'il considère comme essentiel pour un éducateur, il dira qu'il doit être un exemple tant par sa personnalité, ses gestes et ses paroles que par la manière dont il se conduit. C'est en cela surtout que réside sa responsabilité.

J. O. J. VANDEN BOSSCHE, Hambourg

WITTENBERG, ALEXANDER, *Bildung und Mathematik*. Stuttgart: Ernst Klett 1963, pp. XVIII+313. DM 34.50.

This book discusses the teaching of Mathematics within the framework of Secondary education in general. The author believes that the true aims of Secondary school (Gymnasium) teaching are in danger of being obliterated by hordes of specialists each trying to crowd the curriculum with his own particular subject without due regard to the overall result. He insists that the aim of the Secondary school must be humanistic — to endow the student with a well rounded and open-minded personality. All professional education should come later.

As far as Mathematics is concerned, the author believes that a curriculum which is in conformity with this fundamental purpose should be based on the teaching of elementary geometry, beginning with the most concrete parts and going on from there to a more profound appreciation of the heuristic, intellectual, and historical aspects of the subject. This approach is developed in considerable detail, emphasis being placed on intuition, with a conscious disregard for the deductive method. Later chapters deal with the introduction of irrational numbers and with the problem of mathematical existence. In this connection, the author's platonism is, perhaps, not unrelated to his disdain for the axiomatic method.

There is, in this book, an abundance of thoughtful and stimulating material. There is also much that is irrelevant and irritating. For example, the reader is not only told repeatedly that the author is marching with the angels of true Democracy but also that those with whom he disagrees are, consciously or unwittingly, in league with the dark forces of Totalitarianism. The special targets of Professor Wittenberg's criticism are several groups of educators in the United States and in Western Europe who have advocated a radical revision of the Secondary school curriculum in Mathematics involving both modernization of subject matter and emphasis on the axiomatic method. But whatever the flaws of the suggestions made by these educators, there can be no doubt – to use the words of Karl Gustav Jacob Jacobi – that the honor of the human mind is in their thoughts no less than in Professor Wittenberg's.

To conclude, although this reviewer disagrees with much that is to be found in the book, he believes that it is an important contribution, which deserves to be widely read and discussed.

ABRAHAM ROBINSON, Los Angeles

STERN, H. H., *Foreign Languages in Primary Education*. Hamburg: Unesco Institute for Education 1963. pp. 103. DM 5.—.

This is a comprehensive and instructive study of the subject. Part I gives general arguments, with evidence from fields ranging from the political to the neurological, in favour of early second language learning. It is enthusiastic in approach and its conclusions are the more persuasive for being so moderately expressed.

Part II, considering how this reform can best be carried out, summarizes recent and current experiments in the field. It is here that the importance of adopting a comparative approach to educational problems of this kind becomes strikingly apparent. Of the 45 countries from which data were available, 32 taught a second language at the primary level below the age of 10; so that, clearly, this practice is not the novel experiment that it might at first seem to the observer with knowledge of practice in one country only. The experiments described in this section are varied and interesting.

Part III gives, first, recommendations for practice, based on the evidence presented in Part II. The recommendations are clear and precise and commendably make, amongst other pertinent observations on the necessity of careful planning, the important point, too often glossed over in other writings on the subject, that "the task of teaching a second language to young children is skilled work. Those administrators who place too much reliance on the young child's capacity to learn another language may be misled into belittling the high level of knowledge and technique that is required from the teacher". This section is concluded by an interesting survey of research problems by Professor Carroll and there is also a good bibliography.

This study is, in fact, perhaps the most important that has yet appeared in this field, giving, as it does, a comprehensive survey of the subject from a comparative point of view; a wider view, that is, than those of previous studies. Its insistence, too, on the importance of planning, technique, and attention to methodology is valuable at this moment when the movement for second language teaching at primary level may well lose impetus in some countries if the initial enthusiasm

is not supported by disciplined planning and, in particular, by attention to methods of teaching. The section on research problems, too, is a useful reminder of the need for planned experiment and the pooling of results.

Dr. Stern and the committee of experts are indeed to be congratulated on producing this most valuable study so opportunely. It is to be hoped that it will be read by all workers in the field, at any level, in countries where the teaching of a second language in the primary school is still in its early stages, and its recommendations noted, so that what is, perhaps, one of the most promising and exciting developments in language teaching generally may flourish as it deserves.

F. I. CALVERT, Durham

LADO, ROBERT, *Language Testing. The Construction and Use of Foreign Language Tests. A Teacher's Book.* London: Longmans 1961. 32/6.

Sound methods of testing and assessments are important for teaching and research in any curriculum subject. It is, therefore, a pleasure to be able to draw – rather belatedly – the attention of linguists among the readers of this review to an excellent American book on language testing which has already become a landmark in the international literature on foreign language teaching.

The author, already known to linguists through his seminal earlier work *Linguistics across cultures*, thinks about language learning in terms of applied linguistics in the tradition of the American school of linguistics and such authorities as Bloomfield and Fries. He rejects extravagant claims that have been made by the advocates of various "methods" and pleads for "highly controlled experiments, dealing with the effects of one variable at a time dissociated from any particular method but framed in a total rationale of the dimensions of foreign language learning and teaching".

This book is, therefore, more than a manual on testing; it relates, at all stages, language testing to the theory of language teaching. It clarifies issues which in the past have been rather muddled. Lado regards the task of language testing as threefold: (1) testing the elements of a language (sounds, intonation, stress, grammar, etc.) (2) testing the integrated skills, and (3) testing cultural understanding and educational values. The book is at its best on the first two. It shows how tests should be designed so as to make the assessment of proficiency in a language more diagnostic and more objective than conventional language examinations can be.

The final part deals in a more general way with test construction and experimental design. While this is not new to those familiar with works on mental testing, linguists may welcome this helpful introduction to procedures on which they are not usually as well informed as they might like to be.

The book is, of course, based on American experience and therefore does not provide ready-made solutions for language testing elsewhere. But readers in any country will find that it stimulates productive thinking on language teaching and that it clarifies the problems of testing. It may save weeks and months of futile groping and searching wherever language teaching is under review.

H. H. STERN, Hull

WITTICH, W. A. and SCHULLER, C. F., *Audio-Visual Materials*. New York: Harper Bros. 1962. pp. xxvi + 500. \$ 8.75.

Cahiers de Pédagogie Moderne, *Les Techniques audio-visuelles au Service de l'enseignement*. Paris: Bourrellier 1961. pp. 192. FF 15.60.

That a third edition of a successful text book for teachers has been published is almost sufficient commendation by itself. Harper and Brothers have produced for Professors Wittich and Schuller a most attractive book. The authors never patronise the less well informed reader; their text is pitched not on a purely utilitarian level like a car manual but is arranged to stimulate thought, to encourage teachers to apply the examples and suggestions with appropriate modifications to the particular problems in their own teaching situation; they inspire confidence by explaining some of the underlying theory and technique by reference to understandable practice; they cover very adequately and in due sequence all the accepted audio-visual material and apparatus and include a final chapter on teaching machines. This is a well illustrated book, very easy to read and to consult.

The report from the *Centre audio-visuel de l'Ecole Normale Supérieure de Saint-Cloud* is also a most interesting and useful book. It is nearly comparable in length of text, has considerably fewer illustrations and is less than half the price of the American book. But let us not be put off by the sober and academic lay-out. Underlying the book is the careful research, both scholastic and technical, conducted by the team of investigators at Saint-Cloud, with French resources and French teaching in mind. As in the American book, they cover the range of accepted audio-visual devices (but not teaching machines) and I think they go deeper. The general introduction, comprising nearly a quarter of the book, is stimulating and thought provoking. After this there is a section on the more technical aspects of audio-visual aids and the last half of the book deals with the application of audio-visual methods to the teaching of school subjects. Problems which very much concern the individual teacher are helpfully treated: for example, types of screen, light power of projection lamps, full or partial black-out, seating arrangement for optimum viewing. In this connection two points struck me: first, why (on p. 66) must French translucent screens be tinted? There are several materials available, almost clear and certainly not tinted, which give excellent results with coloured films and transparencies, admittedly very directional but most useful in classrooms that cannot be blacked out. And secondly, why are two machines mentioned in the text and advertised at the end of the book. (Vu-graph and Vu-clair) both working on either 110 or 220 volts but no explanation given of the rather better light output of the lower voltage lamp? I hope this may be taken as interested comment and not criticism.

Of course it is obvious that though the teacher must learn to use his audio-visual aids effectively, as he will if he studies either book, he must have technical help to keep his machines in perfect condition, and arrangements must be made for adequate and regular servicing. It may be that schools of the future will demand and receive more help from the machine and the technician. It will be for us, the teachers, to see that this help enlivens, extends and enriches our relationships with our pupils and this is precisely the message of these two books.

J. F. WILLATT, Durham

HOTYAT, FERNAND, *Les Examens. Les Moyens d'Evaluation dans l'Enseignement*. Documents pédagogiques internationaux de l'Institut de l'Unesco pour l'Education. Paris: Bourrellier 1962, pp. 238. NF 12.50; DM 10.

The two conferences of experts called by the Unesco Institute for Education in 1957 and 1958 to make an objective study of the problems posed by examinations and other techniques of evaluation at the primary and secondary stages produced a mass of evidence out of which Monsieur Hotyat has fashioned this admirably clear exposé, with a minimum of technical terms and a copious bibliography which underlines vividly the magnitude of his task.

After a brief historical survey, an enquiry is made into the aims of examinations for the various parties involved: teachers, pupils, parents, head teachers and society. Attention is brought to the need for reliability in examinations, and the various factors which may prejudice a fair assessment are noted. The value of the I.Q. test used alone as an indication of a child's intellectual potential is questioned. Importance is attached to the value of the teacher's report and the need for flexibility in the secondary school, permitting the reorientation of pupils who have not followed the predicted pattern.

The chapter devoted to methods of evaluation quotes 43 works of reference from nine countries, reviews all the techniques of testing and comments upon their validity. The traditional written answer is found to be widely used and comes in for severe criticism. The oral examination is generally condemned and the use of standardised tests is approved. Emphasis is laid upon the need for the examining authority to know how to select the tests appropriate to their particular purpose, and the point is made that assessments of personality and biographical documentation are best left to the professional psychologist. It is generally agreed that the selection for transfer from the primary school for an academic course at the secondary school has reached a high standard, but little progress has yet been made in determining a pupil's potential in different branches of learning. The widespread experiments now being made in England emphasize the dictum that the supreme educational injustice is to treat all children in an identical way.

It is admitted that the examination which most countries demand as a criterion for a candidate's suitability for university entrance is far less successful than that for the transfer from the primary to the secondary stage. Some educationalists have advocated the total abolition of examinations, but this is judged unrealistic. Rather is there need to make the system more flexible with constant reappraisal of the pupils' capacities, together with a periodic review of the methods of evaluation by research centres provided with the appropriate technical and scientific resources. These centres, in their turn, should be in touch with their counterparts in other countries.

All this means that in a changing world the pressure of social and economic requirements is increasing the status of the school, whose duty it is to guide its pupils, whatever their capacity, to achieve maturity and to play a role in society consonant with their varied abilities. Experimental psychology and pedagogy are young but rapidly evolving sciences, and the plea is made that full use be made of the scientific method to replace subjective intuitive assessments by judgments which will become progressively more valid. Further evidence to support the

findings outlined in this valuable study can be seen in the recently published New-som Report in England and the report of the Bouloche Commission on the Grandes Ecoles in France.

SYDNEY TAYLOR, Reading

GERSTENMAIER, E., LEMBERG, E., EDDING, F., LEMPERT, W., SCHULTZE, W., PIDGEON, D. A., SJÖSTRAND, W., *Das Bildungswesen als Gegenstand der Forschung. Veröffentlichungen der Hochschule f. Internationale Pädagogische Forschung* No. 3. Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer 1963. pp. 312. DM 19.—.

In the useful series published by the Frankfurter Institute for International Educational Research this is an interesting issue. It brings together a number of articles on educational research from such points of view as sociology (Lemberg: The institutionalization of educational activity), economics (Edding: The economic study of the educational system), misunderstandings between the sociologist and the economist (Lempert). Then a number of surveys of educational research in different countries is offered (Schultze: U.S.A., Pidgeon: England and Wales, Sjöstrand: Sweden, Lemberg: The Soviet Union). The documentation of the articles helps the reader to deepen his understanding of a topic and is included not only to justify the authors' points of view. The articles offering national surveys make a contribution to comparative education as well. Generally – and consequently partially not entirely true – these articles reject "child-centred" education. With the utmost objectivity the situation in Sweden has been treated by Prof. Sjöstrand, controversial as it is. The aspects chosen by Prof. Schultze from such a vast field as the U.S. are, of course, very limited but at the same time fair and instructive. The same applies to Prof. Lemberg's selection from Russian activities. Sources quoted in this last case are original. Pidgeon's article gives a clear and representative picture. If there are any follow-up studies published on "Maternity in Great Britain" (1948), it does not become evident where one can find them. That Edding is a first class specialist in his field needs no mentioning. The article is clear, precise and instructive. Lemberg's introductory article on the progressively sociological development of the idea of *Bildung* and the equally stronger tendency to a scientific development of teacher training needs careful attention. Lempert brings the sociologist's and the educationist's approach together in an article which is perhaps more limited to the German scene than any of the other contributions. In brief: a valuable collection of papers.

M. J. LANGEVELD, Utrecht

FLAVELL, JOHN H., *The developmental psychology of Jean Piaget*. With a foreword by Jean Piaget. The University Series in Psychology. Princeton N.J.: D. van Nostrand 1963. pp. 472. 68/—.

Es ist höchst erfreulich, daß von Piagets umfangreichem Oeuvre – einem noch immer fließenden Strom – jetzt eine Übersicht erscheint. Man muß sich dabei vergegenwärtigen, daß eine solche Arbeit von verschiedenen Gesichtspunkten aus unternommen werden kann. Es hieße das Buch falsch beurteilen, wenn man anderes

verlangte als eine reproduktive Darstellung, die an sich schon eine große Leistung genannt werden darf. Der Verfasser sieht diese Schwierigkeit deutlich, indem er in seinem ersten Satz das Ziel seines Buches also andeutet, daß er nur klar und deutlich für Piaget sprechen möchte. Zweitens möchte er dann Piagets Arbeit methodologisch beurteilen und sie in ihrer Beziehung zu anderen Arbeiten betrachten. Eine große Bibliographie schließt das Buch ab. Wir möchten den Eindruck vermeiden, dem Buch und seinem Verfasser nicht den ihnen gebührenden Respekt entgegenzubringen: es ist eine große, umfangreiche und wertvolle Arbeit geleistet worden. Aber es wird andere Bücher über Piaget geben, oder: es wird sie geben müssen, denn, obschon der Verfasser eine gewisse Kritik als berechtigt anerkennen kann, ist sein kritisches Verständnis sehr beschränkt und seine Erfahrung mit eigener Kontrollarbeit äußerst gering, ja man könnte sogar sagen, sie fehle. Bei einer empirischen – oder empirisch zu begründenden – Psychologie ist das letzte ein beträchtlicher Mangel. Es wäre nicht angebracht, hier gewisse vom Verfasser bibliographisch erwähnte empirische Kontroll-Versuche nun als wesentliche Kritik in ihren Folgen für Piagets Entwicklungsbild zu deuten. Es sei uns gestattet, nur ein Beispiel möglicher experimenteller Kontrolle anzuführen, das nicht nur ausführbar sondern tatsächlich ausgeführt ist (unter Aufsicht von Frau Prof. Vuyk von Herrn G. A. Kohnstamm). Bei Kindern, die nach Untersuchungen von Piagets Mitarbeiter Morf nicht fähig wurden – trotz gewisser Hilfe – mit der Erlernung der Quantifikation von Inklusionsbeziehungen, kann man – so läßt sich experimentell unumstößlich zeigen – bei gewissen Änderungen in der Lehrtechnik, diesen Erfolg ohne weiteres erreichen. Damit ist aber recht wesentliches gezeigt: die von Piaget konstruierte Equilibriumtheorie ist unvereinbar mit einem Erwerbsprozess dieser Art.

Obschon der Verfasser die gigantische Arbeit Piagets in ihrer Beziehung zu anderer Arbeit betrachten will, beschränkt sich dieses Vornehmen auf die Betrachtung einer Anzahl von Arbeiten aus der Piaget-Orthodoxie. Dabei ist es nicht mehr nur ein Mangel sondern schon ein Fehler, wenn Wallon völlig fehlt. Hier wäre ein Vergleich direkt notwendig. Beziehungen außerhalb der Piaget-Schule fehlen aber leider. So fehlt außer Wallon auch Rey's grundlegendes – aber nicht Piaget-konformes – Buch über die praktische Intelligenz. Und, weil der Verfasser französisch liest, darf man sagen: wo sind die Beziehungen z.B. zu Bourjade, Château, Michaud, Merleau-Ponty, Chrysostome? Es wäre bei einem solchen Vergleich ein Bild von Piaget entstanden in natürlicheren, dreidimensionalen Proportionen und deshalb auch mit Schatten. Wir hätten Piaget als Teil einer Zeit gesehen, in der sich auch andere Psychologen redliche Mühe gegeben haben. Daß die Beziehung zur zeitgenössischen Psychologie fehlt, bedeutet, daß auch die Beziehung zu Piagets geistigem Hintergrunde kaum angedeutet ist: wir finden Baldwin, aber es fehlt z.B. Lévy-Brühl. So aber schwebt Piaget doch zu sehr im Medium seines eigenen Denkens. Denn sogar die zeitgenössische Psychologie Amerikas fehlt, soweit sie nicht völlig in das Bild Piagets paßt, von ihm ausgegangen ist oder Piaget fördernde Kritik geübt hat. Nur einige, wenige und willkürlich gewählte Beispiele: es fehlt die, durchaus auf dem Gebiete piagetartiger Forschung liegende Untersuchung von Kreezer & Dallenbach *Learning the relation of opposition* und mit ihr alles Derartige; es fehlt alles von Welch, bzw. Welch und Long über die hierarchische Entwicklung der Begriffsbildung, oder von Goldstein und Scheerer über konkretes und abstraktes Verhalten. So kann man Piaget eine kolossale Arbeit widmen und ein recht eindrucksvolles Bild von ihm zeichnen und doch kritisiert

werden, weil man Piaget wesentlich *nur* positiv, *nur* als in sich geschlossenes Ganzes hat sehen wollen und weil er sich so nur teilweise, ja einseitig und ohne Beziehung zur Psychologie seiner Zeit, betrachten läßt, weil sich so auch die Probleme selbst nicht befriedigend behandeln lassen, jedenfalls nicht befriedigend für solche, die nicht zu den Piaget-Anhängern gehören.

Bei aller Anerkennung des Wertes des vorliegenden Buches, müssen wir also doch ein wesentlich anderes Buch, mindestens als Ergänzung als notwendig betrachten und befürworten. Der Verfasser selbst wird auf den 3. Teil seines Buches hinweisen, das er als „Kritik“ beschreibt. Ohne Zweifel enthält dieser 41 Seiten lange Teil manches Lehrreiche. Eine eigentlich kritische Analyse kann man es aber nicht nennen. Es ist wesentlich eine Diskussion innerhalb der piagetschen Psychologie. Selbstverständlich hat der Verfasser eine Einführung in und eine Zusammenfassung von Piaget geschrieben. Innerhalb dieser Beschränkung ist das Buch eine recht lobenswerte Arbeit, die in kurzer Zeit ihren Nutzen bewiesen haben wird.

M. J. LANGEVELD, Utrecht

ROLLER, S. et HARAMEIN, A., *Enquête sur les retards scolaires – Etude analytique de quelques-unes de leurs causes présumées*. Cahiers de Pédagogie Expérimentale et de Psychologie de l'Enfant. Nouvelle Série No. 19. Neuchâtel: Delachaux & Niestle 1963. pp. 35.

Roller and Haraimein are ostensibly reporting a study (one of a series undertaken by the educational research service of the Geneva department of public instruction) of some of the presumed causes of backwardness. However, it is clear that the main interest in this presentation is the technique of analysis employed and its capability for disentangling the independent and inter-action effects of various dichotomised factors relating to home and school characteristics.

The authors have adopted a technique of probit analysis advanced by Winsor C. P. (1948).¹⁾ Their application of the technique to an educational situation is presented with a full account of computational procedures, which, as a model for others to follow, is clear, concise and leaves nothing to chance. Even the method of calculating a simple Chi-Square is explained. The psychometrician may find the exposition wanting in discussion of the fundamental assumptions on which transfer of the technique to the educational setting rests. For example, backwardness and normality are treated as meaningfully dichotomised categories of attainment, and discrete factors such as sex and dichotomised factors such as parental occupational level are examined for the additivity of their effects, without discussion of the statistical implications. It may be that this was not the place to raise such issues and the above comments should not be held to imply depreciation of the value of the publication.

One may wonder why this technique was preferred to analysis of variance which would have enabled attainment to have been preserved as a continuous variable, rather than forcing it into a normal/backward dichotomy. The answer may lie in the intrinsic interest of a novel application of an analytic device. It is to

¹⁾ Charles P. Winsor, *Factorial analysis of a multiple dichotomy*. Human Biology Vol. 20, No. 4, 1948.

be hoped that the work encourages further careful scrutiny of the technique and not the blind adoption of a model which is potentially all the more open to misuse for its clear exposition of computational procedures.

M. A. BRIMER, Bristol

BURGER, ROBERT, *Eignungs- und Erziehungsdiagnosen für höhere Schulen mit dem Diapositiv-Z-Test*, Bern: H. Huber – Stuttgart: E. Klett, 1963. pp. 193. DM 24.80.

R. Burger a utilisé le Test Z de Hans Zulliger, en application collective, comme instrument pronostique de la réussite des études secondaires et pour l'orientation scolaire.

L'ouvrage qu'il nous présente est d'une remarquable clarté, vertu que l'on trouve de plus en plus chez les jeunes chercheurs allemands de valeur. Ce ne fut pas toujours le cas de leurs aînés . . .

On trouvera d'abord dans ce livre une précieuse initiation au Test Z, tous les exemples étant empruntés à la vie scolaire: administration, analyse du contenu des réponses, analyse quantitative, diagnostic (aptitudes générales et personnalité).

R. Burger ne prétend nullement obtenir un diagnostic fin, mais tache de démontrer les qualités de l'épreuve collective comme instrument de dépistage rapide. Il n'ambitionne pas non plus d'employer le test de Zulliger comme unique instrument de sélection.

On lira avec intérêt les notes consacrées à la validation des conclusions (Burger avance un coefficient de corrélation tétrachorique de 0,81 après 6 ans – $N = 82$) ainsi que les exemples de cas individuels et les études de classes parallèles.

Il est évident que de nombreuses autres recherches doivent encore être entreprises pour établir, sur le plan pédagogique, la valeur pronostique du Test Z. Le travail de R. Burger semble constituer un excellent point de départ. On suivra avec prudence, mais grand intérêt, les développements de la technique.

G. DE LANDSHEERE, Liège

HÄRNQVIST, KJELL and GRAHM, ÅKE, *Vägen genom gymnasiet*. Stockholm: Statens Offentliga Utredningar 1963. Nr. 15. pp. 315. S.K. 13.—.

DAHLLÖF, URBAN, *Kraven på gymnasiet*. Stockholm: Statens Offentliga Utredningar 1963. Nr. 22. pp. 367. S.K. 15.—.

Both of these books are results of studies carried out for the 1960 National Committee on the Swedish *gymnasium*, i.e. the higher secondary school from which students qualify for university entrance.

The first book, *Vägen genom gymnasiet*, deals with students reactions to different situations where choices must be made by the student in connection with his *gymnasium* career. If students decide to go on to the *gymnasium* after *realskola* they have to choose to enter one of 5 different "sides": general, classical, scientific, technical or commercial. For this "choice situation", national samples of 3,293 *realskola* students having to choose their "sides" in the *gymnasium* and 1,633

actual *gymnasium* leavers were studied. After students have been at the *gymnasium* for about 2 years, a choice of special subjects within a "side" is required – a national sample of 2,944 making this choice was studied. For the "choice situation" at the end of *gymnasium* studies, a representative sample of 962 students, just before matriculation, was studied. The information was collected by the questionnaire method.

The results are grouped under such headings as "choice frequencies and confidence in choices", "choice motives", "attitudes to school subjects", "interests", "vocational plans", "satisfactions with choices", "guidance" and "educational practices". There is a wealth of interesting detail to be found in this book. It is worth recounting here one or two of the main results – at the end of the *realskola*, choosing to go on to the *gymnasium* rather than leaving school as well as confidence in having made the right decision is positively related to attainment in the *realskola* and to the occupational and educational status of the parents. Social background seems more important for confidence than for the actual choice. The choice between "sides" is correlated with attainment and social background – the classical and scientific "sides" attract students of a somewhat higher level in both these respects than the other "sides". It was also discovered that the difference between a student's school marks in mathematics and science and his marks in languages has a predictive value for the choice of "side".

Interest profiles according to groups of subjects and according to "sides" were drawn. Girls are higher than boys in artistic, verbal-linguistic and social interests – the reverse is true in the technical and physical science field. The differences are small in social science, business, medicine and biological science. All "sides" except the general one have profiles with marked characteristics. Most students expressed satisfaction with their choice of "sides" and special subjects. The least satisfied were students in the classical "side" – this is related to their attitudes to the study of Latin and the rather narrow range of their vocational repertoire.

In the analysis of educational practices a discrepancy was discovered between the proportion of students regarding a method as frequently used and the proportion preferring it. In general, although there were differences between school levels, "sides" and sexes, the direction of change preferred can be described in five clusters: concentration of subjects in time, specialised goals, individualised methods of work, unconventional teaching and written examinations.

The second book, *Kraven på gymnasiet*, contains the results of an analysis of demands made on the *gymnasium* by those who receive students for further studies or for professional work as clerks, civil servants or engineers. From the point of view of method this study continues the earlier studies on the curricula in mathematics and Swedish in the comprehensive school (Dahllöf 1960).

In this study, however, the entire curriculum of the *gymnasium* was broken down into 65 different subjects, parts of subjects or general study skills. In the first sub-project (the book contains six altogether) 528 university professors (in fact, all the professors in Sweden) were asked to rate (on a 5 point scale) the importance of each of the 65 parts for the study at the university of the professor's own subject. At the same time each professor was asked to rate (again on a 5 point scale) the standard of knowledge of most of the students taking his subject at the university in each of the 65 parts relevant to his own subject. The median ratings for each part (some parts are then grouped) of both the demands made by the university according to subject and the general standard of knowledge are shown by means of a coloured chart. Professors were also asked to rate each part for what they thought its

importance was for general education. In a special analysis of this it was found that professors stress the study of those subjects coming under the heading of humanities more than those coming under science. However, in a detailed analysis it was discovered that humanities professors rated scientific subjects lower than science professors from the point of view of their usefulness for general education.

The second sub-project is similar to the first except that the ratings are made by one or more departments (total 1183) within companies representing public administration, trade and industry. The analysis was then carried out in such a way that 243 questionnaires referred to the general, 436 to the economic and 504 to the technical *gymnasia*, the three sorts of *gymnasium* in Sweden.

The many details of the analyses of these first two sub-projects make fascinating reading; although it would require too much space to report even the main findings here, they will without doubt be of interest to teachers both in universities and secondary schools in every country. The similarity of ratings between universities and public administration, trade and industry is striking. Similarly the consensus of professorial opinion as to what is useful for general education is also remarkable and surprising(!)

The third and fourth sub-projects deal with ratings of the demand for different aspects of education, both now and in the future, in foreign languages, e.g. reading comprehension, understanding lectures, conversation, writing with the help of a grammar and dictionary, writing reports and letters without such help etc. In Sweden the first foreign language is English, the second German and the third French. (In the new comprehensive schools, German and French are treated as second equal.) Apart from Norwegian and Danish the universities placed great stress on reading comprehension, understanding lectures and conversation in the three foreign languages — in English all other aspects were also stressed. Industry, on the other hand, again in general stressed English as very important and although still rating French as third, noted that more emphasis should be given to French in the future. Spanish for industry and trade and Russian for academic studies as extra languages were stressed for the future.

The fifth and sixth sub-projects deal with the amount of time (teachers ratings) spent in the general *gymnasium* on various aspects of Latin (accidence, syntax, vocabulary, word-formation etc.) and also with the demand for various aspects of Latin in theology and humanities at the university. The analysis shows that there are few at the universities who, for basic academic studies, require those aspects of Latin which take most time in the *gymnasia*, i.e. the translation and interpretation of original texts. Those professors who did rate these two aspects highly were professors of theology and classical studies.

Dahllöf draws certain conclusions from his results and points the way to certain aspects of *gymnasium* curriculum reform. At the same time he emphasises that his investigations are only one part of the work on the new curriculum and whereas these studies are a utilitarian aspect of curriculum they should be supplemented by other points of view. The grouping of university "receivers" according to the similarity of structure of their demands (Dahllöf used Kendall's co-efficient of concordance (Siegel 1956) in his *comprehensive* school curriculum studies to work out a similarity of structure of *gymnasium* demands) has been left to the National Committee to do since the problem here is one of arriving at practical conclusions.

Both of these books serve as excellent models for the types of empirical educational research which may be carried out by countries interested in obtaining

empirical data about their own school systems to serve as a basis for their own school reforms. Not only does such information as has come out of these two studies facilitate educational planning, but it may also facilitate contacts between school and society; one important aspect of this would be the establishment of a sort of "feed-back" system from society to school. Although these studies are closely related to the Swedish school system the lessons to be learned from them are important; all researchers, administrators and teachers will find the ideas, methods and details of the analyses, the evaluations and conclusions of this Swedish research food for a great deal of thought.

T. N. POSTLETHWAITE, Hamburg

JACCARD, PIERRE, *Sociologie de l'Education*, Paris: Payot 1962, p. 254.
NF 15.00.

Si, dans certains domaines de leurs recherches, les sociologues se montrent souvent préoccupés par des aspects pratiques, voire normatifs, des problèmes qu'ils abordent, et ce, contrairement à leurs déclarations de principe, ils sont par contre singulièrement discrets, abstraits, évasifs lorsqu'ils étudient d'autres questions. Il en est ainsi, le plus souvent lorsqu'ils abordent le problème de l'éducation. C'est là un reproche que l'on ne saurait faire à Pierre Jaccard. Dans l'ouvrage qu'il vient de publier, l'Auteur ne s'embarrasse pas de théories et de concepts abstraits. Parmi les nombreuses qualités que l'on peut relever dans son étude, nous soulignerons le fait que l'auteur aborde de front *les problèmes essentiels de l'éducation*, tels qu'ils se posent aujourd'hui, dans tous les pays, et il s'exprime à leur sujet dans un langage clair et précis. Son exposé s'appuie sur une vaste documentation, puisée aux sources variées: nationales et internationales. Les dix-huit chapitres de l'ouvrage sont subdivisés en trois parties aux titres significatifs: La pénurie d'ingénieurs et de cadres formés; Davantage d'instruction; Les problèmes de l'éducation de masse. On peut considérer que le présent ouvrage fait suite au livre précédemment publié: *Politique de l'emploi et de l'éducation*; (Ed. Payot, Paris) ce dernier a eu un réentissement considérable, notamment en France. Dans *Sociologie de l'Education*, les faits évoqués, sont empruntés aussi bien aux pays de l'Europe Occidentale, qu'à l'U.R.S.S., aux Démocraties populaires, aux Etats-Unis, aux pays de l'Amérique latine, ainsi qu'aux organismes internationaux: B.I.E. UNESCO, OCDE en particulier. On sait que dans tous les pays, et plus particulièrement en Europe, l'on se plaint du manque d'ingénieurs et de techniciens. Mais en outre, à ce point de vue, toutes les prévisions à court ou à long terme, sont pessimistes: dans l'avenir on en manquera encore davantage. La situation est plus tragique encore en ce qui concerne l'enseignement, à tous les degrés, et dans les différentes spécialités et en particulier du côté des sciences. La pénurie se fait sentir aussi bien au point de vue du nombre et de la qualité des enseignants, qu'au point de vue des locaux. Les deux sortes de pénuries sont d'ailleurs étroitement interdépendantes, et si l'on ne cherche pas à y parer, c'est l'avenir de la civilisation elle-même qui se trouverait menacé. On a souvent qualifié notre époque comme étant celle des "organiseurs". Or, nous rappelle judicieusement, Pierre Jaccard, "si le monde romain s'est effondré c'est par carence d'inventeurs et non d'administrateurs". C'est le drame qui nous menace aujourd'hui. Mais il en est bien d'autres. Ainsi, dans le monde à venir, où une instruction générale de base et une formation tech-

nique, de plus en plus poussées, deviendront progressivement la condition même d'existence des individus, l'on verra apparaître une masse d'hommes, qui, incapables de suivre le rythme imposé, deviendront *inemployés parcequ'inemployables*. Dans tous ces domaines, les différents pays se livrent à ce que P. Jaccard nomme "la stérile guerre froide des statistiques universitaires". Il est étrange de constater, que dans un monde qui, du fait de l'universalisation des sciences et des techniques devrait tendre vers l'unité, les statistiques universitaires deviennent de moins en moins comparables. Au milieu des nombreux problèmes soulevés par la remarquable étude de Pierre Jaccard, et que nous ne pouvons malheureusement évoquer ici, nous en retiendrons deux, pour lesquels l'auteur suggère des solutions précises et concrètes. L'ensemble de l'édifice de la civilisation moderne, repose essentiellement, voire exclusivement sur l'organisation d'un enseignement bien conçu: il faut instruire un plus grand nombre d'individus et les instruire mieux. Les différents pays doivent avant tout "investir en hommes": c'est le gage unique de leur avenir. Or, dans la société actuelle, les hommes dont on aurait le plus *besoin*, sont aussi les plus déconsidérés. Les enseignants, à tous les niveaux, sont souvent plus mal rémunérés que leurs étudiants et élèves. Les ingénieurs, les techniciens, les chercheurs, ont des situations non seulement plus mal rémunérées, mais souvent aussi plus *instables* que celles offertes par les "services" administratifs et surtout commerciaux. Aussi les voit-on souvent s'orienter vers ces derniers services, où leur qualification se trouve en pratique inutilisée pour la collectivité. Dans de nombreux pays, l'on a pris plus ou moins conscience de cet état de choses et depuis une dizaine d'années des améliorations sont apportées à la situation des enseignants, des chercheurs et des techniciens; mais cet effort se révèle encore bien insuffisant par rapport au retard enregistré durant des décades.

Le cri d'alarme lancé par P. Jaccard doit être entendu: l'auteur s'exprime avec beaucoup de modération et une objectivité vraiment scientifique. Il aborde ces problèmes en produisant une documentation considérable, qu'il analyse avec une finesse exceptionnelle. C'est pourquoi, nous ne saurions trop insister sur la nécessité de sa lecture, par tous ceux qui s'intéressent à l'avenir de l'éducation et à son insertion dans les structures sociales de l'avenir.

ALEXANDRE VEXLIARD, Paris-Ankara

LATIN AMERICAN EDUCATION RESEARCH: AN ANNOTATED
BIBLIOGRAPHY OF 269 U.S.A. DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS,
compiled and annotated by FRANKLIN PARKER, University of Texas.

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EDUCATIONAL PLANNING WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF ECONOMIC PLANNING

by COLIN D. EWERS, Paris

This paper considers some practical problems which arise in the application of generally accepted principles to the specific task of educational planning. Many of the points have drawn heavily on the ideas of Dr. Phillips, of the Economic Analysis Unit of Unesco, as well as on the thoughts of other writers. While acknowledging his indebtedness in general terms, the writer takes full responsibility for any misinterpretations that may have been made.

The paper deals first, with some points of economic and educational theory and their implications in practical situations. Secondly it examines some operational problems arising in the planning situation.

I

1. One of the big dilemmas which faces the economist is the extent to which education should be treated as an investment or as a consumption item. The argument is, in a certain sense, without purpose and there is no need, here to pursue the pros and cons. In practice, however, the personal opinions on this question held by those who control financial policy have an important effect on the ways in which funds for educational development are used.

Two examples will illustrate the problem. Many economists will draw a rough line of demarcation and say that the costs of vocational and technical education may perhaps be considered as investment as they rapidly produce productive manpower, but that general education, particularly at the primary school level, should be treated as a consumption item. There has been a comparatively large investment in technical education in developing countries – investment from both international and external sources – often at the expense of other forms of education. Many educators believe that a serious state of imbalance is thus being established, and that the comparative neglect of general education, the basis for all forms of education and training, would in the long run prove detrimental to development. Professor Harbison has said: "In the main, the essential function of formal education is to prepare people for training rather than train people for particular occupations." ¹⁾ If this position is accepted, general education must be

¹⁾ F. H. Harbison, *The Strategy of human resource development in modernising economies*, Report of Policy Conference on Economic Growth and Investment in Education, Washington, Oct. 1961 OECD, Paris, Feb., 1962.

regarded as an activity in which the major expenditure is long-term investment in the future development of a country.

The International Development Association has recognised the importance of general education as a foundation for development. In its first development credit for education, some \$ 5,000,000 granted to Tunisia in 1962, the IDA has made the credit available for school buildings and equipment in the *general* secondary school system. Nevertheless, my second example of the dilemma associated with investment in education is related to another aspect of IDA policy. Traditionally loan monies are used for capital investment. On the basis of the terms of its credit to Tunisia and of the general statements made by the President of the International Bank it seems that the IDA intends to maintain this policy in granting development credits – it is proposed that its assistance will be used for bricks and mortar and other traditional capital items. Two questions arise concerning this policy. Firstly, is assistance to buildings the best way to assist a developing country? It is in this activity, at least for primary schools, that a government can expect to enlist the help of the community, e.g. by encouraging the use of voluntary labour and local materials. Secondly, is it so wrong to consider using development credits to meet some part of recurrent costs? The IDA uses the term *development credits*, itself distinguishing them from loans in the traditional sense. Since the terms of the credits foresee lengthy repayment periods (up to 50 years), with practically no repayment in the early years and at zero interest, does not the money take on a different character? It is not suggested that development credit should assume continuing responsibility for recurrent costs – but might it not be possible to assist in the early years of rapid development, by helping essential teacher training, for example, provided that it was reasonably certain that the growth of the economy would allow internal resources gradually to take over over a period of up to, say, five years. Since assistance to buildings puts emphasis on local materials and labour, the alternative use of the resources for other purposes would have no more disturbing effect on total economic stability. The educator asks the economist if it is not possible to take a new look at a basis for the financing of education which will accord with the new dimensions of the problem which modern demands are imposing in resource-poor countries.

2. What should be the basis of educational planning? If educational planning is to meet the needs of a community, the positions of the economist and the educator must be brought together by the economist accepting the necessity of full attention to social factors in planning a

healthy education system and by the educator recognising that the manpower output of an education system is of great importance in determining the form that the system should take.

If manpower supply is used as the basic determinant of educational development a number of points of imbalance will almost inevitably be established in the education system and these could have serious deleterious effects. In developing societies a projected school enrolment based on manpower estimates will produce a system which is not more than about 60% of the required size (neglecting for the moment the qualitative aspects). It does not take into account the demand and need for the education of women and girls, the majority of whom, in many present-day societies, will not get into productive employment, or will spend little time in such employment. It does not provide fully for the production of an élite – the innovators and the leaders of the society, an additional lead which must be quantified by the educational planner. It is true that some of these factors cannot easily be translated into figures. Some times all that can be done by planners in a given situation is to make educated guesses based on their knowledge of the society in which they are working. In any case, there must be added to the estimated manpower requirements a large number of other factors when one is planning the size and composition of an education system.

A second type of problem is associated with the unreality of attempting to estimate manpower requirements many years ahead, not only because we are dealing with societies which are developing very rapidly but also because we are in a world where the speed and direction of technological change make it almost impossible to guess what the real requirements of manpower will be. Vocational mobility is achieved only by an effective general education system.

3. An important question concerns the possible rate of development of an education system. In development planning it is usual to distinguish between short-term planning and long-term planning. This distinction also applies to educational planning but the slowness of the educational process (for the individual, up to 20 years from kindergarten to university graduation) necessarily requires that planning affecting a system as a whole should be on a long-term basis. Short-term educational planning can most usually be concerned with specific problems of vocational education or with such emergency problems as the rapid expansion of teacher training in urgent circumstances. Theoretically extremely rapid changes can be made in the size of an education system if the monetary resources are available, but growth plans established on the basis of economic feasibility alone, must be very carefully examined in terms of

the human resources on which they call. The process of training teachers, for example, particularly at the levels required for secondary education, is one which cannot be rapidly accelerated simply by the introduction of greater resources. In other words, it is not as easy to achieve rapid changes in an education system as it is in some other areas of development where the all important factor is the injection of sufficient capital. The tremendous dependence of the education system on human resources introduces all the complicating factors associated with the human privilege of individual choice.

4. Almost every individual in every society of the world now believes that he has a right to education irrespective of economic considerations. In terms of economic reality the right to education must in some cases be deferred to his children or even to his children's children, but the fact remains that this powerful political factor must be taken into account. In practical terms this means, for example, that the controlled expansion of primary education must be permitted by the leaders of any nation even though pure economic considerations might indicate that expansion should be restricted. In educational planning one is dealing almost exclusively with human resources; free individual choice remains an important factor. Human beings cannot be exploited in the way in which we exploit mineral deposits, and other forms of natural resources; mineral can't answer back, but people can. To some extent we can achieve the balance required in an education system by establishing incentives, guidance systems and so on, but in the total picture we must expect that the best of planning will be upset to some extent by the exercise of choice on the part of the individual.

5. Planning for growth includes planning for increased productivity. The nature of the education process is such that productivity cannot automatically be increased by legislating new rules and procedures. Educators have, and need to have, a high sense of moral responsibility and they will always see their task as something more than being a part of a process which turns out trained personnel. For example, in the interests of higher productivity, many countries will have to accept a higher pupilteacher ratio than they would like, but a move in this direction will be opposed by the teachers who know that they can give better instruction to small groups. It will also be opposed by the community. We can see evidence of this opposition in countries where the private school system is heavily patronized by those sectors of the community which can afford it, because it is believed, in many cases rightly, that a better education is provided in a system which has more

teaching "luxuries" – small classes, more lavish equipment, broader extra-curricular activities and so on.

It is generally recognized among leading educators that teaching methods can be made more efficient by the judicious use of mechanical aids – radio, television, teaching machines, and so on. But their introduction will not be easy when the bulk of teachers are untrained in their use or have serious doubts of their ultimate effects on the education process. There is no doubt that educational productivity must be improved and that every effort must be made to improve it. But the educational planner is being less than responsible if he does not remember that, traditionally, changes in educational thought take a generation to become adopted in practice. It may be that this delay can be reduced in particular situations, but the educational planner must take account of the weight of tradition which tends to resist change.

II

In turning to operational problems arising in the planning situation and in speaking of these it will be necessary to repeat some of the general points made earlier. Dr. Phillips has suggested ¹⁾ that the process of educational planning can, in general terms, be broken down into nine essential steps. These steps assume that manpower planning is the first consideration in educational planning – this is not necessarily the case, and the order of procedure would be changed if another basis could be used. Present practice, however, is perhaps more properly reflected by the order presented.

Step 1 The educational planner like any other planner requires information on the future size and demographic composition of the population. The educational planner requires yearly tabulations of populations for a period of 15 to 20 years, relative to ages 6 to 25. It is not necessary to emphasize the inadequacy of available statistics in many developing countries. The long-term forecasting required for educational purposes increases estimation errors beyond those associated with planning in some other sectors where five-year projections are adequate. The scope of the planning and the difficulty of making sufficiently long-range economic and demographic forecasts, emphasise the necessity of giving primary attention to the development of a general education system which will be sufficiently flexible to cope with errors in school population estimates.

¹⁾ Dr. Phillips, *Education and Development*, Unpublished paper, Unesco Paris 1962.

The extreme situation is illustrated in countries, such as Afghanistan and Ethiopia where the present population is estimated with a possible error of 25 or 30%, where there is no sure measure of the birthrate, and where the future lines of economic development, except perhaps in the agricultural sector, can only be guessed at.

Step 2 The educational planner requires long-term projections of the economy by sectors and branches for a period of 15–20 years. In this time range, attempts at exact projections obviously lose their virtue. The best that can be hoped for is that a rough profile of the economy can be established. Even in advanced countries such long-term projections must be vague; in countries, such as India, where an economic breakthrough is imminent, some estimates can be made; but in the less advanced countries, the best that can be achieved are broad targets which must be recognised as hopes rather than projections. Once more planning of the general education system is the only possible basis for assured flexibility; short-term adjustments which will ensure suitable vocational training, vocational mobility, social mobility and adjustment to technological change, will be only as successful as the general education system within which they are made.

Step 3 Nevertheless, in order to establish the general shape of the education system, the planner requires manpower projections based on the economic projections. This can be done by manpower surveys adjusted to meet the likely changes of the economy, but at best these can be valid only about five or six years in advance. They will provide a basis for the development of specialized sections of the education system – industrial education (full time and part time), agricultural, commercial education, higher education in technological fields, etc. – which must be planned on a short-term basis within the framework of the general long-term plan. They can do very little to help the planning of the education system as a whole. This opens the extremely difficult question as to what manpower statistics are required for broad educational planning – which we have seen to be, inevitably, long-term. The writer is convinced that for this purpose the educational planner can use, effectively, projections of manpower which are broken down into only six or seven broad categories (with further breakdowns at the level of higher education in some cases). The limited relation between education and specific occupation does not justify more and the inevitably greater proportional inaccuracies in fine groups makes their use dangerous. In any case the forms of collection, collation, presentation and projection of manpower statistics are of prime importance to the educational planner

and require attention not only in particular situations but in theoretical research which can have international implications.

Step 4 The educational planner needs to translate the occupational data assembled in step 3 into its educational concomitants. There is no fixed relation between occupation and level of education, except in broad categories. The categories correspond to levels of educational attainment required for each category. Ideally manpower needs should be established in categories, each of which would automatically correspond to a category of educational attainment. This should not be a difficult series of equations to arrive at in comparatively stable countries which have adequate statistics, but it is not likely to be easy in countries in which economic and social structure and occupational standards are undergoing rapid change.

More often than not, in developing countries, long-term manpower estimates are either not possible or are of doubtful value. In such cases the educational planner has to make estimates of desirable educational output by analogy with comparable situations elsewhere. It seems to be fairly well established, for example, that at a particular stage of development and to meet a particular rate of growth, the number of students graduating from middle secondary, secondary and higher education institutions must reach identifiable minimum proportions of the population. What these minima are has not yet been determined, though Professors Tinbergen, Harbison and others are working towards this end. Professor Harbison has already suggested,¹⁾ for example, that the ratio of annual increase in high level manpower (i.e. university graduates or equivalent) to annual increase in national income may need to be as high as three to one. Subprofessional personnel may need to increase six to nine times as fast as the increase in the labour force, scientists and engineers three times as fast as the labour force; and so on. Following up this line of research may produce norms which can be adapted to the situation in particular countries. In any case it appears that a rewarding procedure for the educational planner who is attempting to assess the demands of pure manpower needs on an education system, is to work on the best estimates of required educational attainment in broad categories. This leaves the task of short-term planning for specific vocational sections of the educational system to be undertaken at an appropriate stage, within the framework of the general long-term educational plan.

Step 5 The educational planner having made provision for identi-

¹⁾ F. H. Harbison, *op. cit.*

fiable manpower requirements now needs to take into account additional demands for education based on other considerations.

Some of these other considerations are economic in character, but most of them are social; this is the particular area of authority of the educators and the sociologists. We have seen that the economic considerations must include making provision for a proportion of the force which will be employed at a lower level of occupation than his educational attainment would justify; it must provide for a proportion of unemployment which exists in a free society even at the time of full employment and, in some societies it must provide for that proportion of the community which does not need to be employed by reasons of family wealth. In a given society it will not be difficult to make estimates of the factors that have to be added to meet these requirements – again provided that reasonable statistics are available. If statistics are not available, the system of estimate by analogy (interpreted in terms of the form of the society) must be used.

The factors which have strong social implications, include provision for the education of women and girls who may not be expected to enter the labour force. In many societies this may represent a sizeable proportion of the education system, and it will be the task of the sociologist to decide the rate at which change in social behaviour may alter the proportion of women in productive employment. The educator and the sociologist will need to decide what educational effort is required in order to ensure facilities for the education of the élite, the innovators and the leaders of the community.

Provision must also be made for forms of education which will ensure the development of a stable society. The practical question arises as to how adequate provision can be made for these somewhat intangible factors. Not all of them will necessarily affect the total number of students to be educated, but they will affect the provision of educational facilities and hence the total cost of the education programme. At the present time there seem to be no suitable formulae to apply, and research in the economics of education might usefully be directed to the establishment of general principles which will assist the educational planner.

Step 6 Steps one to five have been concerned with establishing the demand for education. The remaining steps are required to establish means of supply. The first step is to establish an inventory of the existing education facilities and their output. A practical difficulty arises at this stage, in that, while it is possible to obtain reasonably accurate figures for existing enrolments in schools, it is much more difficult in most cases, to obtain information on the stages at which children leave school, and

their destination after leaving school. Approximate estimates can be derived from global statistics of enrolment by grade, and from employment statistics where these exist. But at the present time, in most cases, the essential information must be obtained by the use of sample surveys, etc. This problem emphasizes, as does almost every activity in the planning field, the importance of establishing efficient statistical services as quickly as possible.

On the basis of the enrolment and output statistics, and taking into account anticipated economic and social change, the planner must assess the changes required in type of course, level of education and number of students – both the qualitative and the quantitative changes. This exercise will establish the broad policy lines for changes in the organization and structure of the education system. At this point it behoves the educational planner to examine realistically the efficiency of the education system. In considering enrolments, he must take into account existing rates of drop-out and wastage in the school system, and his plans should not over-estimate the rate at which the efficiency of the system can be improved. This does not mean that greater efficiency should not actively be sought, but it does mean that anticipated rates of improvement should recognise the time required to up-grade teaching standards, to improve the use of facilities, etc., those processes which can be expected to add to efficiency but which involve changes in human beings.

Step 7 Most of the considerations of the educational planner at this stage have been concerned with the education as a whole. He must now look at the problem of relationships between levels and types of education within the system. He must decide the shape of the educational pyramid, that is, proportions of primary, secondary and higher education, and he must decide on the relative proportions of types of institutions, courses of study, etc. In this process he will be guided by the demand established by statistics in earlier steps but he will also take into account influences of community preference and educational tradition. If significant changes from established patterns are involved, the planner will once again have to take realistic account of the time that it is likely to take to persuade the community and its leaders that the required changes are indeed necessary.

This step will also include consideration of the suitability of curricula, of selection criteria for various types of institutions, of facilities for the selection of talent, of the relationship between the system and the external labour market which it supplies and so on. In undertaking this the educational planner has to rely heavily on the sociologists; indeed he is forced to accept the professional judgements of these experts and

he must make provision for the way in which the educators are likely to develop their internal programmes in making his final plans. It is in this framework that the educational planner must seek guidance as to the amount of total resources which should be used for research and servicing activities, for supervision and advisory aids, for in-service training programmes, and for all similar activities which contribute towards an efficient education system. Achieving a balance between expenditure on these services and on the obvious necessities of buildings and teachers is a joint task for the educational planner and the educator. In practice this is probably the most difficult area in which to exercise choice or make substitution since the criteria for such notion are likely to be subjective and a matter of personal opinion.

The adequate supply of suitable teachers requires action well in advance. In the developing countries the quality and quantity of teacher supply are of capital importance and are problems to which the educational planner will need to give detailed attention.

Step 8 The educational planner is now required to ensure that the system he has planned will attract sufficient and suitable students at all levels. He will need to examine the present preferences of students and to identify the types of incentives which may be needed to bring about whatever changes are necessary in those patterns. For some areas of development considerable expenditures should perhaps be foreseen for scholarships or other forms of student help. In other cases a system of educational guidance linked with vocational guidance may be productive. Community education programmes and other forms of publicity may be necessary. Educational history would indicate that educational preferences tend to adjust themselves to the economic realities with time. But this is not always the case over short periods and built-in incentives become an essential in the educational plans of almost any developing country.

Step 9 The comparative cost and efficiency of alternative methods and technologies of teaching must then be examined. As noted above, innovations which are intended to increase the productivity of an education system will very often attract opposition from the teaching profession and perhaps from the community itself. This does not detract from the necessity of estimating what improvements can be made in the light of the best available educational advice. A deliberate choice has to be made in regard to such standard factors as the pupil-teacher ratio. Since this determines the aims of teacher-training programmes, a precise decision must be made. The amount and type of equipment to be supplied can be controlled fairly easily by educational administrators

and can therefore be established at an optimum level. The situation is somewhat more complex, however, when new technologies of teaching are to be considered since their operation requires the participation of teachers. In this area educational planners may have to make provision for in-service training programmes, and publicity campaigns which will encourage the use of more efficient methods and materials. He will again be required to use discretion in estimating the rate at which efficiency can be improved by the introduction of dramatic new techniques.

BILDUNGSPLANUNG IM RAHMEN DER WIRTSCHAFTSPLANUNG

von COLIN D. EWERS, Paris

Ausgaben für das Bildungswesen wurden herkömmlicherweise als Konsum betrachtet; heute erkennen Volkswirtschaftler aber an, daß große Teile solcher Ausgaben tatsächlich eine Anlage von Kapital sind, das in die Entwicklung menschlicher Leistungsfähigkeit investiert wird. Internationale Finanzquellen erkennen dies jetzt an, so z.B. die Weltbank und die Internationale Entwicklungs-Assoziation, die den Ländern für einige Entwicklungsprogramme auf dem Gebiet des Bildungswesens Gelder vorschießen. Es spricht jedoch vieles dafür, daß die herkömmliche Definition von Kapital erweitert werde, um die Grundlage für Bildungsanleihen und -kredite zu vergrößern.

Bildungsplanung darf nicht nur die wirtschaftlichen Gewinne der Bildung (durch die Ausbildung von Arbeitskräften) in Rechnung stellen, sondern muß auch die sozialen und kulturellen Gewinne berücksichtigen, welche ihrerseits von beträchtlicher Bedeutung für die Gesamtentwicklung der Gesellschaft sind. Bildungsplanung ist aufgrund der Natur des Bildungsprozesses eine langfristige Planung, obwohl auf einigen Gebieten der Bildung, z.B. der Berufsbildung, kurzfristige Veränderungen zuwege gebracht werden können. Pläne für das Wachstum eines Bildungswesens müssen jedoch viele andere Faktoren als nur den der wirtschaftlichen Durchführbarkeit berücksichtigen.

Die Planung muß die Bedürfnisse nach Verbesserung der Qualität und der Wirksamkeit der Erziehung in Rechnung stellen, in volkswirtschaftlicher Ausdrucksweise also eine erhöhte "Produktivität". Der Planer benötigt die besten Informationen von Forschern und anderen, die dazu beitragen können, die Produktivität zu steigern. Der zweite Teil des Artikels befaßt sich mit neun wesentlichen Schritten, die ein Bildungsplaner gehen muß, wenn er es unternimmt, einen breit angelegten Bildungsplan aufzustellen.

PLANIFICATION DE L'EDUCATION
DANS LE CADRE DE LA PLANIFICATION ECONOMIQUE

par COLIN D. EWERS, Paris

Les dépenses en éducation furent traditionnellement considérées comme une charge, mais les économistes reconnaissent maintenant que de grandes parties d'une telle dépense constituent en fait un investissement dans le développement des ressources humaines. Actuellement les milieux internationaux des finances, le reconnaissent aussi, par exemple la Banque Internationale pour la Réconstruction et le Développement, et l'Association Internationale de Développement prêtèrent des fonds aux pays pour certains genres de programmes de développement éducatif. Il serait cependant utile d'étendre la définition traditionnelle du capital afin d'élargir la base des prêts ou crédits pour l'Education.

La planification de l'éducation doit tenir compte non seulement des bénéfices économiques de l'éducation (par la formation des effectifs), mais aussi des avantages sociaux et culturels qui ont eux-mêmes une importance considérable dans le développement total de la société. La planification de l'éducation est par la nature du procédé éducatif une planification à long terme quoique des changements puissent y être apportés dans certains domaines d'un système éducatif, par exemple l'éducation professionnelle, à courte échéance. Mais les plans d'extension doivent tenir compte de plusieurs facteurs autres que la possibilité purement économique.

La planification doit prendre en considération les besoins d'une amélioration dans la qualité et l'efficacité de l'éducation, et d'une productivité accrue en termes économiques. Le planificateur a besoin des meilleures informations des chercheurs et autres personnes pouvant améliorer la productivité.

La suite de cet article commente les opérations des 9 étapes essentielles que doit couvrir un planificateur en éducation dans l'entreprise d'un large plan de développement éducatif.

LEBEN UND WIRKSAMKEIT DES RUSSISCHEN PÄDAGOGEN STANISLAW TEOFILOWITSCH SCHAZKIJ ¹⁾

VON OSKAR ANWEILER, Bochum

In den beiden ersten Jahrzehnten des 20. Jahrhunderts erlebte Rußland einen bedeutsamen Aufschwung der pädagogischen Ideen, der durchaus mit jener klassischen Phase um 1860 zu vergleichen ist, als deren Höhepunkte Uschinskij und Tolstoj gelten können. Von den vielen Stimmen der pädagogischen Reformer, die sich unter den schwierigen Bedingungen des spätszaristischen Systems Gehör verschaffen konnten, klingt die von Stanislaw Teofilowitsch Schazkij ²⁾ am unmittelbarsten und reinsten zu uns herüber. Leben und Werk dieses bedeutendsten Pädagogen der frühsowjetischen Ära verkörpern am eindrucksvollsten den Brückenschlag von der russischen vorrevolutionären Reformpädagogik zur sozialistischen Bewegung; seine Entwicklung vom "demokratischen zum kommunistischen Pädagogen" ist darüber hinaus typisch für den Weg, den ein großer Teil der russischen Erzieherchaft nach 1917 eingeschlagen hat.³⁾ Obwohl Schazkij in den zwanziger Jahren auch im Ausland nicht unbekannt war, hat er doch nie die Beachtung gefunden, die beispielsweise einige Zeit später Makarenko zuteil geworden ist. Schon aus diesem Grunde erscheint es angebracht, die Gestalt dieses russischen Pädagogen der unverdienten Vergessenheit zu entreißen.⁴⁾

¹⁾ Bei diesem Aufsatz handelt es sich um einen gekürzten und etwas veränderten Vorabdruck der entsprechenden Kapitel aus dem im Herbst 1964 erscheinenden Buch des Verfassers *Geschichte der Schule und Pädagogik in Rußland vom Ende des Zarenreiches bis zum Beginn der Stalin-Ära* (Erziehungswissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen des Osteuropa-Instituts an der Freien Universität Berlin. Hrsg. von Oskar Anweiler und Siegfried Baske. Bd. 1. Verlag Quelle & Meyer, Heidelberg).

²⁾ Die Schreibweise russischer Personennamen im Text erfolgt nach der im Deutschen allgemein üblichen Form, in den Anmerkungen hingegen aus bibliographischen Gründen nach den für die Bibliotheken geltenden Regeln der wissenschaftlichen Transkription, also z.B. Schazkij – Šackij.

³⁾ Vgl. S. M. Rives: *Pedagogičeskij put' S. T. Šackogo*. In: S. T. Šackij 1878–1934. Moskau 1935. S. 35–64.

⁴⁾ Von der auf vier Bände berechneten Ausgabe der Schriften Šackijs, die von der Akademie der pädagogischen Wissenschaften der RSFSR besorgt wird, ist der 1. Bd. erschienen: S. T. Šackij, *Pedagogičeskie sočinenija*, Tom pervyj. Moskau 1963. – Eine Auswahl enthält der Band: S. T. Šackij, *Izbrannye pedagogičeskie sočinenija*. Moskau 1958. – Eine erste zusammenhängende Biographie bietet das Buch von D. S. Beršadskaja *Pedagogičeskie vzgljady i dejatel'nost'* Moskau: S. T. Šackogo: 1960. – Vgl. auch: S. T. Šackij *v ego pedagogičeskich vyškazyvanijach*. 3. Aufl. Moskau 1958. Dort die schöne Würdigung von S. A. Čerepanov, einem früheren Mitarbeiter Šackijs, S. 28–45.

I

Schazkij wurde als Sohn eines kleinen Militärbeamten polnischer Herkunft 1878 in Smolensk geboren. Von 1888 bis 1886 besuchte er das Gymnasium in Moskau, anschließend studierte er bis 1903 – sehr unregelmäßig – Naturwissenschaften an der Moskauer Universität, zeitweilig auch Musik am Konservatorium. Schazkij hat später mehrfach bekannt, wie sehr die strenge Familienerziehung, die freudlose Jugend und vor allem die Zeit im Gymnasium zur Entstehung seiner „Pädagogik des Protestes“ beigetragen und in ihm das Wunschbild eines „Reiches der Kindheit“ erweckt haben.¹⁾ Das Erlebnis der Schulzeit war entscheidend: „Als ich in die Schule ging, spürte ich ständig, daß man so nicht unterrichten und nicht lernen dürfe, wie das bei uns geschah. Meine pädagogische Überzeugung erwuchs aus der negativen Beurteilung der Pädagogik, die an mir selbst angewandt wurde.“²⁾ Schazkij's 1924 veröffentlichten Kindheits- und Jugenderinnerungen *Jahre des Suchens* (*Gody iskanij*) sind ein meisterhaftes literarisches Zeugnis einer hochempfindsamen Seele, eine Fundgrube psychologischer Erkenntnisse voll scharfer Beobachtungen der Lehrer und Schulkameraden und im ganzen ein vernichtendes Urteil über den seelenlosen Betrieb des staatlichen zaristischen Gymnasiums. 1903 notierte er in seinem Tagebuch: „Die Erziehung des Menschen sollte eine Erziehung zur Selbsttätigkeit sein, und in diesem Bestreben darf man nicht auf halbem Wege stehen bleiben... Es ist nötig, daß schon die Kinder ihr Leben selbst gestalten. Von diesem Gesichtspunkt aus muß die ganze Unterrichtsmethode geändert werden... Wenn ich mir vorstelle, daß mir genug Kraft bleibt, um das Ersehnte zu erreichen – um mich herum eine Schar frischer, gesunder, menschlicher, freier Kindergesichter zu sehen und zu wissen, daß ich das in ihnen angelegte Kapital für ihr künftiges Leben aufbewahre –, dann wird meine Seele still vor Freude, und ich wünsche nichts mehr in meinem Leben“.³⁾

Dieser elementare Drang eines „geborenen Erziehers“ zum realen Leben, zum praktischen Tun, fand im Jahre 1905 sein erstes Tätigkeitsfeld in der zusammen mit seinem Freund A. U. Selenko⁴⁾ errichteten Sommerkolonie für Kinder in einem Dorf unweit Moskaus. „In einem

1) Vgl. das Vorwort zu dem 1908 geschriebenen, später umgearbeiteten und 1922 neu erschienenen Buch *Deti – rabotniki budušego* (Kinder – Erbauer der Zukunft). *Izbrannye pedagogičeskie sočinenija*, S. 29.

2) *Gody iskanij* (Jahre des Suchens). *Izbrannye pedagogičeskie sočinenija*, S. 201.

3) *Ibid.* S. 262.

4) Aleksandr Ustinovič Zelenko (1871–1953), Architekt von Beruf, von 1905 bis 1934 Mitarbeiter Šackijs, war ein ausgezeichnete Kenner der amerikanischen und westeuropäischen Schulverhältnisse.

alten, halbzerfallenen Sommerhaus wollten wir eine neue Seite der Pädagogik aufschlagen," schrieb Schazkij in seinem Bericht über diesen Versuch, halb eine „Robinsonade, diese ewige Idee einer Erneuerung des Lebens," halb „etwas in der Art einer Kinderrepublik nach amerikanischem Muster," von der Selenko nach einer Weltreise begeistert berichtet hatte. Mit einer Schar armer Kinder aus einem Waisenhaus lebten der 27-jährige Student und der 33-jährige Architekt „selbst wie die Kinder".¹⁾ Schazkij meinte später rückblickend, daß dieser erste Versuch „ohne bestimmten Plan, ohne Vorbereitung," mehr aus einem „gesunden Instinkt" als aufgrund irgendwelcher vorgefaßter Ideen unternommen worden war. Im gemeinsamen Spiel, in der noch ungeformten, den unmittelbaren Lebensbedürfnissen entspringenden alltäglichen Arbeit, in der spontan entstandenen Kinderversammlung und ihrer „Konstitution", in einfachen chemischen Versuchen – den Ansätzen für eine Schule – bildeten sich die Grundlagen der späteren Arbeit und der in der Folgezeit entwickelten Ideen. Noch war alles auf das unmittelbare romantische Erlebnis, auf den nächsten Tag und den Traum vom „Reich der Kindheit" bezogen, aber der Impuls war mächtig genug, um die Sommerarbeit in erweitertem Umfang fortzusetzen und mit einem größeren Kreis von Mitarbeitern in einem Moskauer Arbeiterbezirk „Kinderklubs" einzurichten, die sich 1906 zu einem „Settlement" zusammenschlossen. Man übernahm die amerikanische Bezeichnung, weil man in den dortigen kulturellen Einrichtungen dieser Art ein Vorbild für die eigene Arbeit sah.²⁾ Mit finanzieller Unterstützung einiger Moskauer Kaufleute gelang es, innerhalb von zwei Jahren etwa 250 Kinder und Jugendliche in einem Kindergarten, in einer Grundschule und Ergänzungsschule für Halbwüchsige, in Klubs verschiedener Art, in Werkstätten und in der Sommerkolonie zu betreuen. Obwohl der Verein von den zaristischen Behörden im Mai 1908 verboten wurde, konnte schon ein Jahr darauf die Tätigkeit unter dem neuen Vereinsnamen „Kinderarbeit und -erholung" wiederaufgenommen werden.

Schazkij selbst verzichtete auf eine hoffnungsvolle Karriere als Sänger und widmete sich künftig ganz der Erziehungs- und Volksbildungsarbeit. Unter ständigen materiellen Schwierigkeiten wurde die bisherige Arbeit fortgesetzt und sogar erweitert; der Kreis um Schazkij fand allmählich auch unter der Moskauer Lehrerschaft ein stärkeres Echo, hier und da wurden ähnliche Kinderklubs gegründet. Zum Studium

¹⁾ *Deti – rabotniki budušego*. Izbrannye pedagogičeskie sočinenija, S. 32 f.

²⁾ Unter den Mitarbeitern Šackijs, von denen die meisten später in seiner Versuchsstation tätig waren, war auch seine spätere Frau, Valentina Nikolaevna Šackaja, geb. Dem'janova, nach 1945 Direktorin des Instituts für Kunsterziehung der Akademie der pädagogischen Wissenschaften der RSFSR.

ähnlicher Einrichtungen unternahm Schazkij 1910 eine Reise in die skandinavischen Länder; von der organisatorischen Seite beeindruckt, vermißte er aber den echten erzieherischen Geist, wie er ihm selbst vorschwebte. Seine zweite Auslandsreise im Winter 1913/14, die ihn u.a. nach Belgien (zu Decroly), nach Genf (ins Institut J. J. Rousseau), nach München (zu Kerschensteiner) und nach Berlin (zu Berthold Otto) führte, erweiterte seinen Kontakt mit der zeitgenössischen Reformpädagogik in Westeuropa. Im Jahre 1911 konnte auf einem Landgut im Gouvernement Kaluga (etwa 100 km südwestlich von Moskau) die Sommerkolonie „Munteres Leben“ (*Bodraja žizn'*) eröffnet werden, in der alljährlich etwa 60 Kinder mehrere Monate verbrachten. Hier wurden in planmäßiger Erziehungsarbeit, über deren Ablauf und Ergebnisse das Ehepaar Schazkij 1914 ausführlich berichtete,¹⁾ die seit 1905 begangenen neuen Wege weiter erprobt und ausgebaut. Zu der Arbeit in Haus und Küche, Garten und Feld und zu den Spielen kamen als neue Elemente Musik und Theaterspiel und seit 1916 auch ein planmäßiger Unterricht in den wichtigsten Schulfächern.

Der Tätigkeitsbereich Schazkijs und seiner Mitarbeiter erweiterte sich immer mehr. Schon 1912 entstand der Plan einer „Versuchsstation für Kindererziehung, die alle Altersgruppen und die wichtigsten Arbeitsformen umfaßte, angefangen beim Kindergarten und bis zur Schule der II. Stufe, mit Klubarbeit, Werkstätten, Kinderbibliothek und Kinderkolonie“.²⁾ 1916 konnte dieses Projekt mit Unterstützung der Moskauer Stadtduma und des Ministeriums für Volksbildung in Angriff genommen werden; es umfaßte jetzt auch ständige Ausbildungskurse für Erzieher, die Bildungsarbeit unter Erwachsenen, die hygienische Betreuung der Bevölkerung und die Verbesserung der agronomischen Technik. So hatte sich aus einer Erziehungskolonie für Kinder die umfassende Idee eines „Kulturmittelpunktes“ entwickelt, das Programm einer „Pädagogisierung der Umwelt“ als Bedingung einer erfolgreichen Jugenderziehung. Am Vorabend der Revolution von 1917 stand vor Schazkijs Augen das Bild eines sozialpädagogischen Modells, das auf die agrarischen Verhältnisse Rußlands berechnet war und das die Ideen der Arbeitserziehung, der Gemeinschaftserziehung und der kulturellen Umgestaltung des russischen Dorfes in sich vereinte.

Hand in Hand mit der äußeren Ausdehnung der Tätigkeit Schazkijs

¹⁾ Der Bericht erschien zuerst als Aufsatzfolge in der Zeitschrift *Narodnoe obrazovanie*, Jg. 1914, dann 1915 als selbständige Schrift unter dem Titel *Bodraja žizn'*, 2. Aufl. 1919, 3. Aufl. 1923. Letztere ist enthalten in: *Izbrannye pedagogičeskie sočinenija*, S. 81–198.

²⁾ S. T. Šackij: *Moj pedagogičeskij put'*. In: S. T. Šackij *v ego pedagogičeskich vyskazyvanijach*. Moskau 1958. S. 22.

ging seine immer stärkere Beschäftigung mit der pädagogischen Theorie. Schazkij begann, die aus der praktischen Erfahrung gewonnenen Erkenntnisse zu verallgemeinern und sie über den begrenzten Rahmen seiner „pädagogischen Provinz“ hinaus für die Pädagogik insgesamt fruchtbar zu machen. Dabei hat er sich zeitlebens davor gehütet, seine pädagogischen Anschauungen in ein geschlossenes System zu bringen, auch dann noch, als er in der sowjetischen Ära durch die verantwortliche Teilnahme an der staatlichen Schulpolitik stärker in diese Richtung gedrängt wurde. Darauf ist es auch zurückzuführen, daß er keine größeren theoretischen Abhandlungen hinterlassen hat, sondern nur pädagogische Erfahrungsberichte und eine Vielzahl von Aufsätzen über einzelne Fragen. „Erziehung ist vor allem eine Sache des Lebens, eines sehr tiefen und vielseitigen Lebens, deswegen läßt sie sich auch nicht in einen bestimmten Rahmen pressen; man kann nicht genug Erfahrung besitzen: je mehr man davon hat, umso deutlicher wird das Bewußtsein dessen, was noch zu erreichen ist, ja was man erreichen muß, sonst bleibt man auf einem Fleck stehen, die Lebendigkeit wird zunichte, die Arbeit wird zur Schablone, und die Wiederholung dessen, was früher war, führt zu starren, unbeweglichen Formen“.¹⁾

In diesem Offensein für neue Erfahrungen, neue Wege und neue Formen lag der „experimentelle“ Charakter der Pädagogik Schazkijs. Er beruhte auf der einfachen Regel: „Man muß mit den Kindern arbeiten und sie dabei gleichzeitig aufmerksam studieren“.²⁾ Schazkijs pädagogische Schriften sind ein Musterbeispiel für die Verknüpfung unmittelbar gestalteter und erlebter Kindererziehung mit den durch „Studium“ gewonnenen allgemeinen pädagogischen Erkenntnissen. 1922 bekannte er sich zur stets unvollendeten, immer „auf dem Wege“ befindlichen Pädagogik: „Mir erscheint der gewöhnliche Konservatismus der pädagogischen Tätigkeit zutiefst unnormale und der Sache sowie dem Wesen der Erziehung nicht zu entsprechen. Die pädagogische Tätigkeit muß, wie die Kinder, lebendig und aktiv sein, von einer Form zur anderen übergehen, sich vorwärts bewegen, suchen. Mag sie deshalb auch irren, immer auf dem Wege, kompliziert und schwierig sein – wenn sie nur lebt und in Bewegung ist“.³⁾

Mit dieser Überzeugung befand sich Schazkij im Einklang mit den Grundforderungen der pädagogischen Reformbewegung, deren Sprachrohr in Rußland die von dem Tolstoj-Schüler Gorbunow-Possadow herausgegebene Zeitschrift *Freie Erziehung* (*Svobodnoe vospitanie*) war.

¹⁾ Izbrannye pedagogičeskie sočinenija, S. 197.

²⁾ Ibid. S. 85.

³⁾ Ibid. S. 29 f.

Auch bei Schazkij begegnen uns zwei Namen, die für den Charakter der russischen Reformpädagogik zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts so überaus kennzeichnend sind: Tolstoj und Dewey. Den Einfluß Tolstojis auf seinen Entschluß, sich der Erziehung zu widmen, hat Schazkij selbst sehr hoch bemessen. Tolstoj wirkte auf ihn in dreifacher Richtung: Er hat Schazkij's instinktiven Protest gegen die herkömmliche Schule und Erziehung verstärkt und in der Schule von Jasnaja Poljana zugleich ein positives Gegenbild aufgerichtet. Tolstoj lenkte ferner Schazkij's Gedanken auf die Kulturarbeit unter den armen sozialen Schichten und entfernte ihn damit zugleich von der politischen Aktivität der revolutionären Gruppen; er erweckte schließlich in dem Städter die Sehnsucht nach dem „reinen“ Landleben und ließ in ihm den Plan einer Dorfschule „auf völlig neuer Grundlage“ reifen.¹⁾ Schazkij hat später in seiner erzieherischen Praxis viele der pädagogischen Überzeugungen Tolstojis auf seine Weise realisiert, vor allem die freie Entfaltung der schöpferischen Kräfte im Kinde und den Gedanken einer „freien Ordnung“ in der Schulgemeinschaft. Bei aller späteren Kritik der religiös-philosophischen Ideen Tolstojis vom sozialistischen Standpunkt aus hat er ihn als Erzieher auch in der sowjetischen Ära voll gewürdigt.²⁾

Während Tolstoj für Schazkij wie für die übrigen Reformer, die sich zur „freien Erziehung“ bekannten, die Verbindung zur eigenen russischen Tradition herstellte, wurde John Dewey von ihm als die „lebendigste und frischeste“ Stimme der zeitgenössischen Pädagogik begrüßt. Seine Bekanntschaft mit den Schriften Deweys datiert vom Jahre 1908. 1921 nannte er Dewey „den besten Philosophen der gegenwärtigen Schule“,³⁾ und noch 1928, als er ihm nicht mehr kritiklos gegenüberstand, schrieb Schazkij über den Einfluß Deweys auf die Entwicklung seiner pädagogischen Gedanken: „John Dewey zog meine Aufmerksamkeit durch seine Philosophie des Pragmatismus auf sich, die sehr nachdrücklich das Nachprüfen der Ideen durch das lebendige Handeln herausstellte, sowie durch seine außerordentlich feine Analyse der kindlichen Interessen... Auch ich hatte einen ganzen Plan, ein Arbeitsprogramm mit Kindern auf der Grundlage der Befriedigung ihres Interesses aufgestellt“.⁴⁾ Wenn man daher Schazkij manchmal als Nachfolger Deweys in Rußland bezeichnet hat, so enthält diese sicher nicht ganz zutreffende Bemerkung doch einen wahren Kern: Deweys philosophischer Grundgedanke einer

¹⁾ S. T. Šackij: *Moj pedagogičeskij put'*. A.a.O. S. 20.

²⁾ Vgl. seine Aufsätze zum 100. Geburtstag Tolstojis im Jahre 1928: *Pedagogičeskoe i chudožestvennoe tvorčestvo Tolstogo*. In: *Narodnoe prosvetšenie*, 1928, Nr. 8/9, S. 180–188; *Tolstoj-pedagog*, in: *Izbrannye pedagogičeskie sočinenija*, S. 391–420.

³⁾ Zitiert bei Beršadskaja, a.a.O., S. 93.

⁴⁾ S. T. Šackij: *Moj pedagogičeskij put'*. A.a.O., S. 19.

„permanenten Rekonstruktion durch Erfahrung“, seine psychologische Interessenlehre und seine Idee der Schule als „an embryonic society“ kehren in Schazkij's Sozialpädagogik unreflektierter, aber nicht minder spürbar, wieder.

II

Zwischen der vor- und nachrevolutionären Tätigkeit Schazkij's läßt sich kein Bruch feststellen. Auch die Entwicklung seiner pädagogischen Ideen, deren Grundlinien bereits vor 1917 feststanden, kennt keine plötzliche Wendung, sondern nur eine schrittweise Annäherung an die allgemeinen Grundsätze des Marxismus, die Schazkij schließlich akzeptierte, ohne jemals darin mehr zu sehen als das breite Fundament für weiterführende, selbständige und vielgestaltige Forschungen seiner im Prinzip „offenen“, niemals abgeschlossenen Pädagogik. Die Wirkung, die Schazkij in den fünfzehn Jahren seiner Zusammenarbeit mit der sowjetischen Macht auf die Entwicklung der Schule und Pädagogik in Rußland ausgeübt hat, beruht daher nicht in erster Linie auf seinem Beitrag zur pädagogischen Theorie und zur Schaffung einer eigenen marxistischen Erziehungswissenschaft, sondern weit mehr auf dem lebendigen Vorbild seines schöpferischen Tuns. Im Laufe seiner vielseitigen erzieherischen und volksbildnerischen Tätigkeit seit 1905 hatte er einen ungeheuren pädagogischen Erfahrungsschatz gesammelt und daraus eine soziologische Erziehungskunde entwickelt, die nicht abstrakte Gesetzmäßigkeiten verkündete, sondern konkrete Beobachtungen mitteilte, den Blick für den Zusammenhang psychischer und sozialer Faktoren in der Erziehung schärfte und zugleich Wege wies, Schule und gesellschaftliche Umwelt gemeinsam zu verbessern.

Der Lebensweg Schazkij's nach 1917 und seine Entwicklung vom liberalen pädagogischen Reformers zum Anhänger des kommunistischen Regimes weist mehrere Etappen auf. Wie der größte Teil der linken russischen Intelligenz verurteilte anfangs auch Schazkij die von der Partei Lenins in der Oktoberrevolution herbeigeführte Spaltung der sozialistischen Kräfte. Aus diesem Grunde lehnte er auch die Aufforderung Lunatscharskij's ab, einen leitenden Posten in der neu gebildeten Staatlichen Kommission für das Bildungswesen zu übernehmen. Erst Ende 1918, nach der Verkündung der „Hauptprinzipien der Einheits-Arbeitsschule“, die in vielen Punkten mit seinen eigenen pädagogischen Reformideen übereinstimmten, fand er sich zu einer Kooperation mit dem sowjetischen Volkskommissariat für das Bildungswesen bereit. Beide Seiten glaubten eine genügend breite gemeinsame Basis für eine gedeihliche Zusammenarbeit zu besitzen, obwohl um diese Zeit

sowohl Schazkij als auch umgekehrt Lunatscharskij durchaus noch gewisse Vorbehalte hatten.¹⁾

Vom Jahre 1921 an, als er zum Mitglied des Staatlichen Gelehrtenrates berufen wurde, wirkte Schazkij auch in zunehmendem Maße an der Gestaltung der amtlichen Schulpolitik in der RSFSR mit. 1923 war er an der Ausarbeitung der neuen Lehrpläne für die Grundschule beteiligt, und im Jahre 1925 übernahm er sogar den Vorsitz der hierfür zuständigen Kommission. Schazkij gehörte zu denjenigen Pädagogen, die eine gemäßigte Anwendung des damals amtlich vertretenen Komplex-Systems im Unterricht befürworteten und vor seiner überstürzten formalen Einführung warnten. Obgleich er 1920 von Lunatscharskij als typischer Vertreter einer „bäuerlichen und handwerklichen Arbeitsschule“ bezeichnet worden war,²⁾ man ihm aus Parteikreisen „kleinbürgerliche Traditionen“ vorwarf und ihn als „russischen Sozialisten, der der Klassenideologie des Proletariats fernsteht,“ einstufte,³⁾ genoß Schazkij das Vertrauen und die Unterstützung Krupskajas, die seine Leistungen zu würdigen wußte und ihn auch innerlich für die Ziele des Sowjetstaates gewann. Schazkij's dankbare Worte an die Adresse Krupskajas, die er als seine „Lehrerin“ und als bedeutende zeitgenössische Pädagogin bezeichnete, waren mehr als eine politisch kluge Reverenz vor der Witwe Lenins; sie entsprachen durchaus den Gefühlen menschlicher und geistiger Verbundenheit, die sich in der jahrelangen Zusammenarbeit eingestellt hatte.⁴⁾

In den Jahren 1927/28, kurz vor dem offiziellen Ende der Neuen Ökonomischen Politik, als deren pädagogischer Repräsentant Schazkij allgemein angesehen wurde, erlangte seine öffentliche Wirksamkeit ihren Höhepunkt. Sein Beitritt zur Kommunistischen Partei, der um die gleiche Zeit erfolgte, leitete die letzte Etappe seiner Tätigkeit ein, die ihn immer stärker aus der unmittelbaren pädagogischen Arbeit in die schulpolitische Arena hinüberführte. Seit 1929 war Schazkij als führendes Mitglied des Volkskommissariats für das Bildungswesen der RSFSR an den stürmischen Auseinandersetzungen um die Reorganisation des Schulsystems und an den Kämpfen an der „pädagogischen Front“ unmittelbar beteiligt. Die Beschul-

¹⁾ Vgl. Lunačarskij's Kritik an der „kleinbürgerlichen“ und „bäuerlichen“ Pädagogik Šackij's in dem Aufsatz *Dve trudovye školy* (1920), in Lunačarskij's Aufsatzsammlung: *Problemy narodnogo obrazovanija*. Moskau 1923. S. 157–162.

²⁾ Siehe den obengenannten Artikel. – Im Jahre 1923, unter dem Eindruck der NEP, widerrief Lunačarskij z.T. sein früheres Urteil. Er würdigte Šackij's Arbeit unter der Landbevölkerung als überaus wertvolle Pionierleistung und seine „Farmerschule“ als notwendigen Übergang zur polytechnischen, industriellen Arbeitsschule. Vgl. das Nachwort zu *Dve trudovye školy*, a.a.O., S. 164–166.

³⁾ Vgl. A. P. Pinkevič *Pedagogika*. Bd. 2. 5. Aufl. Moskau 1929. S. 72.

⁴⁾ S. T. Šackij: *Moj pedagogičeskij put'*. A.a.O., S. 25 f.

digungen Schulgins und der „Linken“, er sei ein „Rechtsopportunist“, konnte er mit Hilfe Krupskajas abwehren, aber es war unverkennbar, daß sein Einfluß trotz der prinzipiellen Zustimmung zu den innenpolitischen Entscheidungen dieser Jahre, u.a. zur Kollektivierung der Bauern, zurückging. Auch nach dem grundlegenden ZK-Beschluß vom 5. September 1931, der sich vor allem gegen die „Linke“ richtete, gewann Schazkij seine frühere bedeutende Stellung nicht wieder zurück. Er widmete sich zwar verstärkt unterrichtsmethodischen Problemen, die in den Mittelpunkt der beginnenden „Stabilisierung“ der sowjetischen Schule traten, aber auch seine Ernennung zum Leiter des Zentralen Pädagogischen Laboratoriums beim Moskauer Volkskommissariat konnte nicht darüber hinwegtäuschen, daß die große Zeit der russischen Reformpädagogik, deren Exponent Schazkij war, zu Ende ging. Als er am 30. Oktober 1934 starb, wurden ihm zwar von amtlicher Seite ehrende Nachrufe gewidmet, aber es dauerte dann mehr als zwei Jahrzehnte, bis man sich nach einer Periode fast völligen Verschweigens seiner wieder erinnerte.

III

Schazkijs besondere Stellung unter den sowjetischen Pädagogen seiner Zeit beruhte darauf, daß bei ihm – ähnlich wie bei A. S. Makarenko – die pädagogische Theorie mit einer ausgedehnten erzieherischen Praxis verbunden war und seine Aussagen dadurch ein weitaus größeres Gewicht besaßen als die Schriften der reinen Theoretiker. Die Grundlage dieser Praxis bildete seit 1919 die 1. Versuchsstation für Volksbildung im Gouvernement Kaluga, deren Anfänge auf das Jahr 1916 zurückgingen. Das Arbeitsgebiet der Versuchstation erstreckte sich auf 35 Dörfer mit einer bäuerlichen, Landwirtschaft und Kleingewerbe treibenden Bevölkerung. Den Mittelpunkt der pädagogischen Arbeit bildete die schon erwähnte Kolonie „Munteres Leben“, die 1923 mit einer neunjährigen Internatsschule verbunden wurde. Um 1925 gab es in dem Bezirk 4 Kindergärten, 14 Schulen der I. Stufe und eine Schule der II. Stufe, in denen etwa 1000 Kinder von rund 50 Lehrern und Erziehern betreut wurden. Außerdem bestanden mehrere Dorfbibliotheken, Volkshäuser und Lesehütten für Erwachsene.¹⁾ Eine städtische Abteilung der Versuchsstation, die aus einem Kindergarten und einer Schule bestand, wurde in Moskau eröffnet. Später kam noch ein zweijähriges Pädagogisches Technikum für die Ausbildung von Lehrern und Kindergärtnerinnen hinzu.

¹⁾ Vgl. die genauen Angaben nach dem Stand von 1923 bei L. N. Skatkin: *Pervaja opyt'naja stancija po narodnomu obrazovaniju*. In: *Étapy novej školy*. Pod red. S. T. Šakockogo. Moskau 1923. S. 5–17.

Alle diese Einrichtungen, noch ergänzt durch eine ständige pädagogische Ausstellung, ein „Methodisches Büro“ und eine Bibliothek mit reicher ausländischer Literatur, machten die Versuchsstation Schazkij zu dem größten „pädagogischen Laboratorium“ seiner Zeit, das internationalen Ruf genoß. Zu den berühmten Persönlichkeiten aus aller Welt, die Schazkij besuchten, gehörten u.a. John Dewey (1928) und Rabindranath Tagore (1930).

Die Arbeit der Versuchsstation richtete sich gemäß den in ihrem Statut vom 12. Mai 1919 enthaltenen Grundsätzen auf eine Erforschung des Erziehungsprozesses in seinen sozialökonomischen Bedingtheiten, und zwar in dreifacher Richtung: In Kindergärten, Schulen, Kolonien, Kinderklubs usw. sollten die Erziehungs- und Unterrichtsprobleme in ihrer Wechselwirkung mit der sozialen Umwelt erforscht werden; die Station war zweitens als ein Zentrum der Lehrerfortbildung und als Stätte des pädagogischen Erfahrungsaustauschs der Lehrer gedacht; sie sollte sich drittens der Kultur- und Bildungsarbeit unter den Erwachsenen annehmen, geleitet von der Frage, „welcher Zusammenhang zwischen dem ökonomisch-technischen Fortschritt und der Entwicklung der geistigen Kultur unter der Landbevölkerung“ bestehe.¹⁾

Schazkij unterschied hierbei vier verschiedene Arbeitsformen: 1. die Praxis, d.h. die unmittelbare Erziehungs- und Bildungsarbeit in den Kindergärten, Schulen und Volksbildungsstätten; 2. regelmäßige, jeden Monat einmal stattfindende Kurse für sämtliche Mitarbeiter zur Beratung der Forschungs- und Arbeitspläne; 3. die individuelle und gruppenweise Forschungsarbeit, die bestimmten pädagogischen, psychologischen und soziologischen Fragestellungen galt und die vom Zentrum der Versuchsstation koordiniert wurde; 4. die Verbreitung der gewonnenen Erkenntnisse unter der Bevölkerung und der Lehrerschaft. Die Besonderheit der Versuchsstation bestand darin, daß hier keine isolierten pädagogischen Versuche durchgeführt wurden, sondern die verschiedenen Studienvorhaben völlig in die normale Erziehungs- und Unterrichtsarbeit eingliedert waren und die Einheit von Theorie und Praxis in Gestalt der dort tätigen Pädagogen gewahrt blieb. Auch die materiellen Bedingungen entsprachen denjenigen der normalen Massenschule. Durch ein systematisches Erforschen der Familienverhältnisse, der Arbeitsbedingungen, der Wirtschafts- und Verkehrsstruktur, des Analphabetentums und des Bildungsstandes der Bevölkerung wurde eine Art Soziogramm des Bezirkes erstellt, an dem die Schulkinder durch „Projekte“ beteiligt

¹⁾ *Opytnaja stancija po narodnomu obrazovaniju*. In: *Narodnoe prosvješćenie*, 1919, Nr. 34, S. 15–18.

waren und auf dessen Grundlage die weitere Entwicklungsplanung vorgenommen werden sollte.

In pädagogischer Hinsicht dienten diese Vorhaben in erster Linie dem Zweck, eine enge Verbindung von Schule und Umwelt herzustellen, das Kind frühzeitig bewußt am Leben der gesellschaftlichen Gruppen teilnehmen zu lassen und eine pädagogische Einheit von Familie, Kindergemeinschaft und gesellschaftlichen Organisationen herzustellen. Die Versuchsstation sollte als pädagogische Einrichtung zugleich ein ausstrahlendes Zentrum der „Kulturrevolution“ auf dem Lande bilden und durch die Pädagogisierung der Umwelt deren sozial-kulturelles Niveau anheben. Auch die methodisch-didaktischen Unterrichtsversuche, die z.B. bei der Erprobung der Komplex-Lehrpläne durchgeführt wurden, ließen diesen Zusammenhang nicht außer acht.¹⁾

Im Mittelpunkt von Schazkij's Pädagogik stand das Verhältnis von Kind, sozialer Umwelt und Schule. Indem er den Erziehungsprozeß und nicht den Unterrichts- und Bildungsprozeß zum wichtigsten Gegenstand der Pädagogik erklärte, suchte Schazkij die herkömmliche Schulpädagogik zu einer „Umweltpädagogik“ zu erweitern. Erziehen, schrieb er, bedeute, „in der gegebenen Umwelt günstige Bedingungen für die Kinder zu schaffen und die dort wirksamen Motive und Stoffe auszuschöpfen. Es ist falsch, von einem pädagogischen Prozeß zu sprechen, der sich lediglich innerhalb der Schulwände abspielt.“²⁾ In diesem Zusammenhang stieß Schazkij auch auf das Problem eines allgemeinen, überindividuellen Erziehungsziels. Seine Ansichten in dieser Frage haben einen Wandel durchgemacht, der mit seiner Annäherung an die kommunistischen Ideen zusammenhängt. Noch 1922 identifizierte sich Schazkij in einem Aufsatz, der den bezeichnenden Titel trägt „Ist die Schule für die Kinder oder sind die Kinder für die Schule da?“, mit Deweys „kopernikanischer Wendung“ der Pädagogik zum Kinde hin: „Die alte Pädagogik“, schrieb er, „träumte von den besten Methoden, um die Kinder auf das künftige Leben vorzubereiten. Sie entnahm alle Normen des kindlichen Lebens dem Leben der Erwachsenen... Jetzt muß man darauf sinnen, wie man den Kindern die Möglichkeit geben kann, ihr reiches seelisches und geistiges Leben, zu dem sie fähig sind, in der Gegenwart zu leben... Ich bin nicht der Ansicht, daß man der

¹⁾ Überaus reichhaltiges Material, das einen Einblick in die von Šackij betriebene pädagogisch-soziologische Tatsachenforschung gewährt, enthält der im Archiv der Akademie der pädagogischen Wissenschaften der RSFSR in Moskau lagernde Aktenfonds der 1. Versuchsstation für Volksbildung für die Zeit von 1919 bis 1932. Diese Quellen sind bisher von der sowjetischen pädagogischen Forschung noch kaum ausgewertet worden.

²⁾ *Izučenie čizni i učastie v nej* (1925). *Izbrannye pedagogičeskie sočinenija*, S. 296 f.

Erziehung ein einziges allgemeines Ziel setzen kann. Es ist vielmehr richtig, daß es so viele Ziele gibt, wie das Kind Altersperioden durchläuft".¹⁾

Schazkij's Absage an ein von außen der kindlichen Natur auferlegtes Erziehungsziel richtete sich in erster Linie gegen jede Staatserziehung, die er, ganz im Sinne der „freien Erziehung“, für schädlich hielt: „Die gewaltige Aufgabe eines vernünftigen Staates besteht nicht darin, die für bestimmte Funktionen benötigten Menschen in entsprechende fertige Formen zu gießen, sondern darin, die am besten geeigneten Bedingungen für die Organisation des kindlichen Lebens in jedem gegebenen Augenblick zu schaffen. Denn in der Gegenwart zu leben, in Übereinstimmung mit den Bedürfnissen des jeweiligen Alters, bedeutet zugleich die beste Form, sich in einer Reihe unmerklicher Übergänge auf diejenige Lebensform vorzubereiten, die dann dem fertigen Menschen eigen ist. Darin und nur darin besteht die Hauptaufgabe des Staates auf dem Felde der Erziehung".²⁾

Ein Jahr später sprach Schazkij davon, daß es nicht Sache des einzelnen Pädagogen sein könne, allgemeine Erziehungs- und Bildungsziele aufzustellen, sondern daß die pädagogischen Ideale von dem allgemeinen Zeitgeist und den ökonomischen und sozialen Verhältnissen einer Epoche und eines Landes abhängig seien. Die Übergangsperiode, in der sich Rußland befinde, erschwere jedoch eine klare Formulierung solcher Erziehungsziele. Unbestreitbar schien ihm lediglich zu sein, daß die neue russische Wirklichkeit einen Menschen erfordere, der ein „Internationalist, Kollektivist, Organisator, Realist, Meister seines Faches und seinem Beruf ergeben“ sei. Sogleich fügte er aber hinzu, daß dies „ganz allgemeine, vielleicht sehr entfernte Ziele“ seien und daß deswegen das nächstgelegene, reale Ziel der Erziehung darin bestehen müsse, „das kindliche Leben in jedem gegebenen Augenblick zu organisieren".³⁾ Schazkij überließ es auch in den folgenden Jahren den marxistisch geschulten und politisch aktiven Pädagogen, die kommunistischen Erziehungsziele genauer zu formulieren; er selbst begnügte sich mit der allgemeinen Aufgabe, einen „sowjetischen Staatsbürger“ zu erziehen, „der zum Aufbau des Sozialismus berufen“ sei.⁴⁾ In Schazkij's Pädagogik fehlte bis an sein Lebensende ein ausgesprochen politisches Erziehungsziel im Sinne des proletarischen Klassenkampfes und des kommunistischen Parteigeistes. Schazkij bejahte

¹⁾ *Škola dlja detej ili deti dlja školy*. In: *Na putjach k novoj škole*, 1922, Nr. 1, S. 16.

²⁾ *ibid.* S. 20 f.

³⁾ *Naše pedagogičeskoe tetenie*. In: *Etapy novoj školy*. S. 23 f.

⁴⁾ Vgl. *Sovetskaja škola, ee teorija i praktika*. In: *Narodnoe prosvetščenie*, 1928, Nr. 8/9, S. 197–205.

die gesellschaftliche Funktion der Erziehung und die aktive Rolle der Pädagogik bei der Umgestaltung der russischen Lebensverhältnisse, aber er wollte der Erziehung gleichzeitig einen gewissen autonomen Raum sichern, in dem das primäre Recht des Heranwachsenden auf seine individuelle Entwicklung zur Geltung kam.

Schazkij's Grundsatz „Das Leben erzieht“ bestimmte auch seine Einschätzung der gesellschaftlichen Umwelt und ihrer Rolle im Erziehungsprozeß. Er maß den geographischen, ökonomisch-technischen, sozialen, rechtlichen und kulturellen Bedingungen einen entscheidenden Einfluß auf die Erziehung bei, so daß ihm das Studium und die Kenntnis dieser Faktoren eine unerläßliche Voraussetzung für jedes pädagogische Handeln erschien. Die Schulen und anderen Erziehungsanstalten ergänzten seiner Meinung nach nur die sich täglich in der Familie, auf dem Dorf und auf der Straße abspielende elementare Erziehung. Indem Schazkij damit der funktionalen Erziehung – ohne diesen Begriff zu verwenden – den ursprünglichen Vorrang vor jeder planmäßigen, intentionalen Erziehung einräumte, näherte er sich sehr stark einer „Milieupädagogik“, die den Sinn der Erziehung lediglich in der Anpassung der heranwachsenden Generation an die bestehenden Verhältnisse erblickt.

Schazkij ist jedoch nicht dabei stehengeblieben, sondern hat seit etwa 1925 immer stärker die aktive Rolle der Erziehung gegenüber der sozialen Umwelt betont. Die Wirklichkeit des russischen Dorfes, mit der Schazkij es zu tun hatte, wies genügend negative Erscheinungen auf, die einen leidenschaftlichen Pädagogen seiner Art auffordern mußten, hier einzugreifen. Es käme darauf an, erklärte er 1928, das Verhältnis von Erziehung und gesellschaftlicher Basis dialektisch zu sehen und dementsprechend die schädlichen Umwelteinflüsse zu bekämpfen und die positiven zu fördern. Das Kriterium für die notwendige Unterscheidung seien die Ziele des sozialistischen Aufbaus, die auf dem Lande in die Richtung einer genossenschaftlichen Vereinigung der Einzelbauern wiesen. Schazkij war zehn Jahre nach der russischen Revolution davon überzeugt, daß die Kräfte des Neuen stärker seien als die Trägheit des alten bäuerlichen Lebens. Er hoffte auf eine allmähliche Reorganisation, unterstützte dann aber auch die zwangsweise Kollektivierung der Landwirtschaft, obwohl er ihre Härte sicher nicht gebilligt hat, da sie in seinen Augen die entscheidende Voraussetzung für eine beschleunigte „kulturelle Revolution des russischen Dorfes“ bildete, an der er selbst seit langem gearbeitet hatte. In den Jahren 1929/30 entwarf Schazkij Pläne für die Errichtung von „kulturellen Basen“, die als Bildungs- und Kulturmittelpunkte der Kolchosen alle Formen der Jugenderziehung

und Erwachsenenbildung umfassen und das geistig-kulturelle Antlitz des russischen Dorfes umprägen sollten.¹⁾

Aus dem bisher Gesagten dürfte bereits hervorgegangen sein, welchen Platz in der Erziehung allgemein und unter den besonderen Bedingungen des russischen Dorfes Schazkij der Schule zuteilte. Auch hier ist eine gewisse Evolution seiner Ansichten zu verzeichnen. Während in der ersten Zeit nach Gründung der Versuchsstation das Vorbild der Kinderklubs und Sommerkolonien maßgeblich war, erkannte Schazkij später immer mehr auch die Eigenart der Schule als einer Unterrichtsstätte an. Davon unberührt blieb jedoch Schazkijs grundlegende Überzeugung von der Schule als einem Teil der sozialen Umwelt der Kinder, mit der sie durch hundert Fäden verknüpft sei. Daraus ergab sich eine lokale Differenzierung der Unterrichtsprogramme, die bedeutende Rolle der Arbeitserziehung im Leben der Schule und der enge Kontakt mit den Eltern und den gesellschaftlichen Organisationen – alles Forderungen, die Schazkij aufgrund seiner Erfahrungen in der Versuchsstation aufstellte und die zu den anerkannten Postulaten der frühsowjetischen Theorie der Schule gehörten.

Schazkij versuchte gleichzeitig, das Wesen und die Aufgaben der Schule von ihrer Funktion im Leben des Kindes her zu bestimmen. Hier ist sein schon erwähnter Gedanke von der „Organisierung des kindlichen Lebens“ durch die Schule grundlegend. Er unterschied sieben Erscheinungsformen dieses Lebens, die der Erziehung und dem Unterricht vorgegeben waren: 1. das körperliche Wachstum des Kindes, 2. die materielle Arbeit, 3. das Spiel, 4. die künstlerische Betätigung, 5. das geistige Leben, 6. das soziale Leben und 7. das emotionale Leben, das alle anderen Bereiche durchdrang. Die Schule müsse alle diese Elemente aufgreifen, pflegen und zu einer „vernünftigen Gestaltung des kindlichen Lebens“ zusammenfügen. Dabei bestehe der methodische Grundsatz darin, von der bereits vorhandenen realen Erfahrung des Kindes ausgehend, die aus den Betätigungen in der Schule gewonnene „organisierte Erfahrung“ mit den überlieferten „fertigen Kenntnissen“ zu verbinden und das Ganze durch Übung zu befestigen. Von diesen Voraussetzungen her wird Schazkijs Ablehnung fester, nach Fächern gegliederter Lehrpläne, zumindest für die Grundschulstufe, seine Bevorzugung der Projektmethode²⁾ und der Nachdruck, den er auf eine

¹⁾ Vgl. *Kollektivizacija byta*. In: *Vestnik prosvetščenija*, 1929, Nr. 10, S. 6–12. – *Novoe i staroe* (1929). *Izbrannye pedagogičeskie sočinenija*, S. 313–319.

²⁾ Die Projektmethode wurde zwischen 1929 und 1931 von den sowjetischen Volksbildungsbehörden stark propagiert. Šackij berief sich bei seinen Vorschlägen ausdrücklich auf seine Gespräche mit W. H. Kilpatrick. Vgl. seine Ausführungen in: *Sistema narodnogo obrazovanija v rekonstruktivnyj period*. Moskau 1930. S. 17–19.

Individualisierung des Unterrichts legte, leicht verständlich. Die wenig ermutigenden Erfahrungen der sowjetischen Massenschule auf diesem Gebiet ließen ihn nicht resignieren, sondern bestärkten ihn nur in der Forderung nach einer „methodischen Revolution“. Ihren Kern bildete der Gedanke, daß die Zielsetzung des Unterrichts im Rechnen, Schreiben, in der Naturlehre und Gesellschaftskunde von der sozialen Funktion und Bedeutung der zu erwerbenden Kenntnisse und Fertigkeiten ausgehen müsse, die Stoffauswahl von daher zu bestimmen sei und die Unterrichtsmethodik sich von dem „abstrakten, toten, unbeweglichen“ Verfahren, den „alten Büchern“ und der „idealistischen Denkmethode“ lösen und stattdessen die lebendige Praxis und die Interessen des Schülers zum Ausgangspunkt wählen müsse.¹⁾

Die Schule war für Schazkij ihrem Wesen nach eine Arbeitsgemeinschaft von Kindern. So untrennbar das Leben der Kinder mit der gesellschaftlichen Umwelt verknüpft sei, so sehr komme es aber auch darauf an, einen kind- und jugendgemäßen, von den Erwachsenen unabhängigen Lebensraum zu schaffen. Die Schule müsse aus diesem Grunde die Kinder von der auf ihnen lastenden Herrschaft der konservativen, eine freie Entwicklung hemmenden Lebensgewohnheiten des Dorfes befreien, eine „gewisse Selbständigkeit des kindlichen Lebens erobern und das Recht auf die Pflege eigener Lebensformen durchsetzen“. Man müsse klar und bestimmt erklären, schrieb Schazkij in diesem Zusammenhang, daß Kinder eben Kinder seien und daß sie das Recht hätten, sich auf ihre eigene Weise zu organisieren, ohne das Vorbild der Erwachsenen zu kopieren.²⁾ Die Elemente, Organisationsformen und Lebensregeln einer solchen kindlichen Gemeinschaft hatte Schazkij während seiner Tätigkeit in den Klubs und Kolonien entwickelt und im wesentlichen schon vor 1917 literarisch vertreten. Auch nach der Revolution ist er seinen Grundsätzen treu geblieben, wobei er auch die neuen politischen Organisationsformen der Pioniere und des Komsomol in seiner Kolonie assimiliert hat, ohne dadurch ihr Wesen zu verändern. Schazkijs Begriff der „Kindergemeinschaft“ (*detskoe soobščestvo*) unterscheidet sich nicht nur in der Sprache vom „Kollektiv“ Makarenkos, er steht auch inhaltlich für eine andere Entwicklungsperiode der sozialistischen Erziehung in Rußland. Schazkij selbst sprach nur selten vom „Kinderkollektiv“ und von der „Kollektiverziehung“, und er legte diesen Begriffen nicht den akzentuierten Sinne einer straff organisierten sozialistischen Erziehung mit politischem Gehalt bei wie später Makarenko.

¹⁾ *Metodika i kačestvo raboty školy* (1931). Izbrannye pedagogičeskie sočinenija, S. 351–356.

²⁾ *Derevenskie deti i rabota s nimi* (1924). Izbrannye pedagogičeskie sočinenija, S. 320 f.

Ein Blick auf einige charakteristische Merkmale der Gemeinschaftserziehung bei Schazkij vermag dies zu verdeutlichen. An erster Stelle wäre die familienähnliche Struktur der Erziehungs- und Lebensgemeinschaft in den Kolonien Schazkij's zu nennen, die er auch in der Schule verwirklichen wollte. Die Bande natürlicher Sympathie, unterstützt von den geschwisterlichen Gefühlen bei Kindern aus einer Familie, die Schazkij mit Vorliebe aufnahm, sollten eine Atmosphäre gegenseitigen Vertrauens schaffen, in die auch die Lehrer und Erzieher als „erfahrene, verständige und mit Autorität ausgestattete Kameraden“ einbezogen waren.¹⁾ Daraus ergab sich auch eine verhältnismäßig lockere äußere Organisation des Gemeinschaftslebens, die nicht hierarchisch, sondern „demokratisch“ aufgebaut war, für die weniger eine klare Befehlsautorität als die kameradschaftliche Aufforderung kennzeichnend war und wo auch für eine unorganisierte individuelle Betätigung genügend Raum blieb. Unter solchen Voraussetzungen schien Schazkij auch das Problem der Disziplin, das die sowjetischen Pädagogen viel beschäftigte, am leichtesten lösbar zu sein. Er warnte des öfteren vor einer „pädagogischen Reaktion“, die zu den alten Mitteln der Strafe griff, um wenigstens eine äußere Disziplin herzustellen, wenn die Schaffung einer „inneren“ Disziplin nicht gelang, weil die Schule den Interessen der Kinder nicht entgegenkam und weil die Erzieher nicht vermocht hatten, eine „öffentliche Meinung“ zu schaffen, die bei Disziplinverstößen wirksam wurde.

Ein besonderes Kennzeichen der Pädagogik Schazkij's war die starke Betonung der musischen Erziehung, deren gemeinschaftsstiftenden und „kulturbildenden“ Wert Schazkij in der Praxis seiner Kolonie schon früh erprobt hatte.²⁾ Spiele, Leibesübungen, Zeichnen, Theateraufführungen und vor allem Gesang und Musik gaben dem Leben in der Kolonie einen ausgesprochen ästhetischen Anstrich, der mit Schazkij's optimistischer Lebenshaltung, die alle, die ihn kannten, an ihm hervorhoben, harmonierte. Hier fanden sich lebendige Beispiele für die 1918 so nachdrücklich geforderte „ästhetische Bildung“, die in der normalen sowjetischen Schule nur selten verwirklicht werden konnte. Die künstlerische Natur Schazkij's gab seinem Umgang mit Kindern und seinen Ansichten über Erziehung jenen warmen, herzlichen und sympathischen Ton, der ihn vor allen anderen sowjetischen Pädagogen auszeichnet.

Als drittes Element des kindlichen Gemeinschaftslebens, dem seiner Bedeutung nach in der Pädagogik Schazkij's zweifellos die erste Stelle

¹⁾ Vgl. *Sovetskaja skola, ee teorija i praktika*. A.a.O., S. 204.

²⁾ Vgl. hierzu die Darstellung von V. N. Šackaja: *Čudolestvennoe vospitanie v detskich učrediščach, rukovodimych S. T. Šackim*. In: O. Stanislave Teofiloviče Šackom. Moskau 1961. S. 37-53.

zukommt, ist die produktive Arbeit zu nennen. Er hat ihre Funktion als „organisierende gesellschaftliche Kraft“ bei der Entstehung des Kinderkollektivs schon früh erkannt. 1922 schrieb er als Fazit seiner Erfahrungen: „Die kindliche Arbeit stellte nicht, wie viele Pädagogen meinten, ein Mittel dar, um die Selbstbedienung zu lernen, um alles selbst zu tun, um einige nützliche Gegenstände für das Haus und die Wirtschaft herzustellen; sie war auch nicht Material für geistige Arbeit, wie das in der Formel von der Synthese von Arbeit und Wissenschaft zum Ausdruck kommt; sie spielte vielmehr vor allem die Rolle, eine normale kindliche Gemeinschaft zu organisieren“.¹⁾ Schazkij's Bedeutung für die Entwicklung einer Theorie der sowjetischen Arbeitsschule beruhte vor allem darauf, daß die von ihm erprobten und propagierten Wege der Arbeitserziehung weitgehend den gegebenen ökonomischen und sozialen Zuständen des agrarischen Rußlands im Anfangsstadium der Industrialisierung entsprachen und daß sie daher auch leichter zu realisieren waren als die Pläne für eine industrielle Arbeitsschule, wie sie z.B. Blonskij vertreten hatte. Das gilt für die von der sowjetischen Pädagogik der zwanziger Jahre so stark betonte „gesellschaftlich nützliche Arbeit“ ebenso wie für den Vorrang der Garten-, Feld- und Werkstattarbeit vor einer industriellen polytechnischen Erziehung. Letztere trat erst um 1930 stärker in den Gesichtskreis Schazkij's, ohne daß er sich ausführlicher mit ihr beschäftigt hätte.

Schazkij kann mit Recht als der bedeutendste russische Pädagoge der frühsowjetischen Ära bezeichnet werden. Begünstigt von dem verhältnismäßig liberalen kulturpolitischen Kurs des ersten sowjetischen Jahrzehnts konnte er seine vor der Revolution gewonnenen pädagogischen Prinzipien auf breiter Grundlage erproben und in die Tat umsetzen. Seine Versuchsstation für Volksbildung verkörperte im kleinen jenen tiefgreifenden gesellschaftlichen und kulturellen Umwandlungsprozeß vom agrarischen zum industriellen Rußland, der das entscheidende Faktum der russischen Geschichte in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts darstellt. Schazkij stand in der vordersten Linie jener Angehörigen der russischen Intelligenz, die nicht durch politisch-administrative Maßnahmen, sondern durch Volksbildung, Erziehung und Sozialarbeit die Lebensgewohnheiten, Sitten und Denkvorstellungen des russischen Bauern umformen und die Menschen auf die neuen Aufgaben der sozialistischen Gesellschaft vorbereiten wollten. Als „Intelligenzler“, der sich dem „Dienst am Volke“ widmete, steht Schazkij in der großen Tradition der russischen Volkstümlerbewegung (*narodničestvo*), mit der er viele

¹⁾ *Bodraja tizn'*. Izbrannye pedagogičeskie sočinenija, S. 84.

seiner sozialen Ideale teilte. Als Pädagoge, für den der Umgang mit Kindern ein Lebensbedürfnis war, und der es verstand, die Welt mit den Augen eines Kindes zu sehen, gehört er in die Reihe jener „geborenen Erzieher“, die das Werk der Erziehung jeweils ein Stück voranbringen.

Schazkij, dessen pädagogische Leidenschaft durch den Protest gegen die Vergewaltigung der kindlichen Natur geweckt worden war, hat auch später nie den Eigenwert und das Eigenrecht des heranwachsenden Menschen gegenüber den Ansprüchen der Gesellschaft verleugnet. Er anerkannte zwar in zunehmendem Maße die Geltung allgemeiner politisch-weltanschaulicher Ziele und Forderungen für die Erziehung, aber er blieb weiterhin bestrebt, eine Synthese von Individual- und Sozialpädagogik zu finden, einen Ausgleich zwischen dem Recht des Kindes auf eine „freie Erziehung“ und den legitimen Anforderungen des sozialen Ganzen herzustellen. So erscheint Schazkij stärker als Krupskaja, bei welcher der pädagogische Kern ihrer Ideen von den politisch-ideologischen Krusten überlagert ist, und unmittelbarer als Blonskij, dem er an unreflektierter Überzeugungskraft überlegen ist, als der eigentliche Wahrer des pädagogischen Erbes der russischen Reformbewegung bis weit in die sowjetische Periode hinein. Über diese geschichtliche Bedeutung hinaus vermag sein Werk in der Fülle wertvoller pädagogischer Beobachtungen, durch die Methoden seiner empirischen Forschungen und nicht zuletzt dank der hohen erzieherischen Gesinnung auch für die pädagogischen Bemühungen in der Gegenwart innerhalb und außerhalb der Grenzen seines Heimatlandes anregend und fruchtbar zu wirken.

LA VIE ET L'ACTIVITE

DU PEDAGOGUE RUSSE STANISLAV TEOFILOVITCH SHATSKY

par OSKAR ANWEILER, Bochum

Parmi les personnalités de la pédagogie russe du 20^{ème} siècle, Stanislav Teofilovitch Shatsky (1878 à 1934) occupe une place très importante. Il est de ceux qui représentent la pédagogie de réforme et qui, après la révolution bolchévique de 1917, ont activement collaboré à la fondation de l'école socialiste.

Shatsky qui était un intellectuel socialisant russe, débuta en 1905 à Moscou par l'établissement de colonies d'été et de clubs pour les enfants pauvres habitant dans les grandes villes, en s'inspirant des "settlements" anglais. Au cours des années suivantes, il entra en contact étroit avec la pédagogie de réforme des pays européens de l'Ouest; outre son ancien idéal Tolstoï, ce sont surtout les essais de Dewey qui exerceront plus tard une grande influence sur lui.

Dans les dernières années qui précédèrent la révolution de 1917, Shatsky dirigea la colonie d'enfants 'Bodraja žizn' (Vie Gaie) dans les environs de Moscou, qui représentait le noyau d'une institution expérimentale pour un plus vaste pro-

gramme d'éducation des enfants et d'éducation populaire. Ce projet fut réalisé par les autorités russes en 1919, et Shatsky fut nommé directeur de la première institution pour l'éducation populaire. Il se développa dans le domaine socio-pédagogique des activités remarquables s'appliquant à l'essai de nouvelles méthodes d'enseignement, à la formation d'adultes d'une population rurale, à la formation d'enseignants, et surtout aux problèmes de l'éducation sociale. Le "laboratoire pédagogique" de Shatsky jouit aussi à l'étranger, d'un grand prestige.

Shatsky préféra d'abord l'"éducation libre" dans le sens de Tolstoï, et c'est pourquoi il refusa à l'Etat toute intervention directe dans l'éducation. Même en 1923, quand il s'était familiarisé avec les idées communistes sur l'éducation, il s'efforça d'assurer à la pédagogie une certaine autonomie. Au cours des dernières années de sa vie, il appartenait au Commissariat Populaire pour l'Education de la RSFSR, mais perdait son influence quand le Parti Communiste de Staline écartait de plus en plus les éléments sortant du mouvement de réforme pédagogique pré-révolutionnaire.

Au cours de ses nombreuses activités éducatives qui débutèrent en 1905, Shatsky avait acquis une riche expérience pédagogique et en avait développé une science de l'éducation qui ne proclamait pas des normes abstraites, mais qui contenait des observations concrètes, qui soulignait la relation avec les facteurs psychiques et sociaux et ouvrait une voie à l'amélioration du milieu social et scolaire. En déclarant le processus d'éducation comme sujet le plus important de la pédagogie et non le processus d'enseignement et de formation, Shatsky essaya d'étendre la pédagogie traditionnelle de l'école à une "pédagogie du milieu". Il reconnut aux conditions géographiques, économiques, sociales, juridiques et culturelles une influence décisive sur l'éducation, de sorte que l'étude et la connaissance de ces facteurs lui paraissaient primordiales pour chaque activité pédagogique.

A son avis, l'école fait partie du milieu social des enfants auquel elle est liée par des liens étroits. Il en résulte des différences locales dans les programmes d'enseignement, l'importance du rôle de l'éducation du travail et des relations étroites entre les parents et les organisations sociales – exigences qui appartenaient toutes aux principes reconnus de la théorie soviétique de l'école. L'école devrait avoir une structure identique à celle de la famille et devrait être une communauté de travail et de vie. L'idée de Shatsky concernant la "communauté d'enfants" (detskoe soobščestvo) ne se distingue pas seulement par sa forme du "collectif" de Makarenko, elle se trouve aussi en ce qui concerne son contenu en présence d'une autre période de développement de l'éducation socialiste en Russie.

Shatsky appartient à la grande tradition du mouvement social russe et ses activités pédagogiques se manifestèrent à une époque où la Russie passait d'une société agricole à une société industrielle. Comme homme pour qui les relations avec les enfants étaient un besoin vital et qui était capable de contempler le monde avec des yeux d'enfant, il appartient à cette suite d'éducateurs innés qui font faire à l'enseignement un pas en avant.

THE LIFE AND WORK OF THE RUSSIAN PEDAGOGUE STANISLAV TEOFILOVITCH SHATSKY

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Among the personalities of Russian pedagogy in the 20th century, Stanislav Teofilovitch Shatsky (1878–1934) occupies a prominent place. He belongs to those representatives of reform pedagogy who took an active part in building up a socialist school after the bolshevik revolution of 1917.

Shatsky, a social-minded Russian "intellectual", began in 1905 to erect summer colonies and clubs for poor town children from Moscow on the model of the Anglo-Saxon "settlements". In the following years, he maintained close contact with the reform pedagogy in Western Europe; beside his earlier model Tolstoj it was the writings of Dewey which later had a considerable influence upon him. In the last years before the 1917 revolution Shatsky directed the permanent children's colony "Bodraja žizn" (cheerful life) in the vicinity of Moscow, which became the centre of a larger experimental institution for child and adult education. This project was taken over by the government authorities in 1919, and Shatsky was appointed director of the First Experimental Institution for Popular Education. A considerable educational and sociological research work developed here including the try-out of new teaching methods, adult education in rural areas, the in-service training of teachers and, above all, problems of social education. Shatsky's "pedagogical laboratory" enjoyed great prestige even in other countries.

In the beginning Shatsky's ideas were akin to Tolstoj's "free education", and he therefore disagreed with a direct interference of the state in education. Even after he had approached communist ideas of education from about 1923 on, he tried to preserve for education a certain autonomous sphere. In the last years of his life, he was a member of the peoples commissariat for education in the RSFSR, but he lost all influence when the Communist Party under Stalin excluded all persons rooted in the pre-revolutionary pedagogical reform movement.

In the course of his many-sided activities in the field of the education of children and adults ever since 1905, Shatsky acquired an enormous wealth of educational experience and had developed from it a sociological science of education which did not proclaim abstract norms but conveyed concrete observations, drew attention to the connection between psychological and social factors in education, and at the same time pointed out paths along which school and society could together be improved. By declaring that the most important object of pedagogy was the process of education and not that of instruction and knowledge, Shatsky tried to expand the traditional school pedagogy to a 'milieu' pedagogy. He recognised the decisive influence that geographical, economical, social, legal and cultural conditions exerted on education, so that the study and knowledge of these factors seem to him an indispensable pre-requisite for any educational activity.

In his view, the school was part of the social milieu of the children to which they were tied by hundreds of threads. This fact required a local differentiation of teaching programmes, a considerable role to be played by work education, and a close contact with parents and social organisations – all this being demands which were part of the recognised principles of the early Soviet theory of education. School was to have a family-like structure and should be a working and living community for the child. Shatsky's notion of a "child's community" (*detskoe*

soobščestvo) does not only differ superficially from Makarenko's "collective". It also in substance stands for a different period in the development of socialist education in Russia.

Shatsky had his place in the great tradition of the Russian social movement, and his educational activity fell into a time of the change-over from an agrarian to an industrial Russia. As a man who could not live without children and who knew how to look at the world with the eyes of a child, he belongs to the line of those "born educators" who have moved the work of education a step forward.

MILESTONES IN THE HISTORY OF THE EDUCATION OF THE NEGRO IN THE UNITED STATES

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Much has been written, especially lately, both in the United States and abroad, about the problems connected with the education of the American Negro; most of it is influenced by strong emotions, hot-headedness, ignorance of facts, sympathy, anger, and fear.

The difficulty is that the whole problem is presented along the ideological lines, although the issues concerning segregated education lie within the framework of a wider, pressing problem in America: the need to provide adequate educational opportunities for all American citizens.¹⁾

Furthermore, the problem of the American Negro is inseparable from other sociological factors relating to the Negro's existence in the United States as a citizen born in the United States; it is not just a problem of the South, as often supposed, since racial tensions that exist in Northern cities have often burst also into violence. The fact remains that the problem of the American Negro looms large in the United States, and America's most enduring moral, social and political issues have been shaped, or at least influenced by mere presence – and they remain unsolved. Yet, until recent years, the unintegrated Negro minority has been only an abstraction to the American white man, much on his mind, it is true, but, in human terms, largely beyond his notice.

Yet, the Negroes, as America's most conspicuous minority group, constituting a full ten per cent of the population, have not only influenced

¹⁾ The best recent available study of Negro education in the United States is: Clift, Virgil A; Anderson, Archibald W. & Hullfish, H. Gordon, Eds., *Negro Education in America: its Adequacy, Problems, and Needs*, New York: Harper 1962, and especially: Low, W. A., "The Education of Negroes Viewed Historically," 27-59; Martin, William H., "Unique Contributions of Negro Educators," 60-92; Goff, Regina M., "Culture and the Personality Development of Minority Peoples," 124-152. Cf. also the quarterly *The Journal of Negro Education*, Howard University, Washington 1, D.C. Among numberless more valuable studies, see: Frumkin, Robert M. & Roucek, Joseph S., "Contributions from Minorities, Elites, and Special Educational Organizations," Chapter X, 365-422, in Gross, Richard, Ed., *Heritage of American Education*, Boston: Allyn & Bacon 1962; Brown, Francis J. & Roucek, Joseph S., Eds., *One America*, New York: Prentice-Hall, 1952; Ashmore, Harry S., *The Negro and the Schools*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1954; Butcher, Margaret Just, *The Negro in American Culture*, New York: Mentor Books 1956; Frazier, E. Franklin, *The Negro in the United States*, New York: Macmillan 1957; Ginsberg, Eli, et al., *The Negro Potential*, New York: Columbia University Press 1956; Myrdal, Gunnar, et al., *An American Dilemma*, New York, Harper 1944; Suchman, Edward A., et al., *Desegregation*, New York: B'nai B'rith 1958.

a large part of America's historical development, its politics, but also its relations with other nations, and even its internal culture.

The great majority of American Negroes have been concentrated in the Southern states, and obviously the major determinant in the white Southerner's life – at least insofar as it was distinguished from the white Northerner's life – has been his relations with Negroes. Thus, until recently, the Negro problem dominated the American life mainly within the framework of southern traditions. We must note that the Civil War was not fought on the issue of the freeing of the Negro, although it culminated with his Emancipation; the step taken on his behalf by President Lincoln was one of the emergency measures designed to weaken the fighting power of the South. (The basic issue of the Civil War was what we might call the "self-determination of the states" within the Federal Union; another issue was rivalry between the slave-owning South and the "capitalist" – Industrialized – North).

Education of the Negro in the Colonies

The early English settlers, upon their arrival to America, sometimes showed interest in the religious education of the Indians. When the number of slaves increased, they became also interested in educating these "black heathens".

The first public school to educate the Indians and Negroes was established in Virginia in 1620; this school was, however, destroyed by the Indians a couple of years later. Another attempt to educate them was made in 1701; a Missionary Society was founded and Samuel Thomas became its first missionary who took upon himself to instruct 20 Negroes to read. In fact, the Anglican Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts outshone all groups in its services to Negro education, establishing schools and teaching slaves and freed Negroes not only Christian doctrine but also reading, writing, and simple arithmetics. Meanwhile, Puritan slave-owners in New England sometimes also gave religious instruction to their household servants, and the Quakers as early as 1693 advocated religious training as a preparation for emancipation and had established schools for Negroes by the third quarter of the 18th century. In 1738 the Moravians established missions exclusively for Negroes. Other such schools were founded by different denominations in the Southern colonies to instruct Negroes in the Christian doctrines, and sometimes the English language.¹⁾

¹⁾ The continuing research in the history of the Negro, and thus also of the education of the American Negroes, has been too extensive to summarize it here; a good survey is: Bond, Horace M., "Negro Education," 746-772, in Monroe,

In the north, the history of education of the Negro can be traced as far back as 1704 when the Anglican Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts undertook the religious training of the slaves in New York City; the work was carried on for nearly two decades by Elias Neau, a Frenchman.¹⁾

In general, the dominant white view of formal instruction of Negroes in the colonies crystallized slowly. In the interest of efficiency, masters started early to teach Africans the English language, vocational skills, and concepts of obedience and subordination. As the slave status became legalized, masters were reluctant to Christianize colored people since this could open the way for freeing the slaves. But the Bishop of London proclaimed that conversion need not affect slave status and this opened the way in the colonies to instruct Negroes in Christian doctrine. The Rev. Thomas Bray of the Anglican Society and his "associates" founded schools and taught hundreds of slaves and free Negroes not only Christian doctrine but also reading, writing, and simple arithmetic.

Nevertheless, in spite of these efforts, progress was slow, because of the cultural background of the Negroes and the fear of the slave-owners that the knowledge of reading might promote Negro unrest and make white control more difficult. Thus the South Carolina law of 1740 prohibited whites to instruct Negroes in reading and writing. In fact, there was no time for "learning", since most Negro slaves worked on plantation-sized units in 7 states of the Deep South, which were a combination factory, village and police precinct.²⁾

While the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts sent more than 300 missionaries to the colonies from the beginning of the 18th century to the Revolution, and established a number of parish

Walter S., Ed., *Encyclopedia of Educational Research*, New York: Macmillan 1941. See also: Ashmore, Harry *The Negro and the Schools*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press 1954; Bond, Horace Mann, *The Evolution of the Negro in the American Social Order*, New York: Prentice-Hall 1934; Clift, Virgil A.; Anderson, Archibald W. & Hullfish, H. Gordon, Eds., *Negro Education in America, its Adequacy, Problems, and Needs*, New York: Harper 1962, especially Chapter I, Low, W. A., "The Education of Negroes Viewed Historically," 27-59; Woodson, Carter G., *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861*, New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons 1919; Pierce, Paul S., *The Freedmen's Bureau*, University of Iowa Press, 1904; Eaton, Clement, *The Growth of Southern Civilization, 1790-1860*, New York: Harper 1961, especially Chapter 3, "Profits and Human Slavery," 49-71, & 4, "Danger and Discontent in the Slave System," 72-97.

1) Johnson, James Weldon, "The American Negro," Chapter IV, 56-66, in Brown, Francis J. & Roucek, Joseph S., Eds., *Our Racial and National Minorities*, New York: Prentice-Hall 1937.

2) For the social structure and processes of the slave system, see: Bennett, Lerone, Jr., *Before the Mayflower: a History of the Negro in America, 1619-1962*, Chicago: Johnson 1962, Chapter 4, "Behind the Cotton Curtain," 70-95, and 5, "Slave Revolts and Insurrections," 92-126.

libraries, in some instance, however, they seem to have done more harm than good. Stephen B. Weeks, historian of colonial North Carolina, declared that the backwardness of the colony in education was directly attributable "to the pernicious activities" of the missionaries. The missionaries themselves were often unhappy over their reception and some felt being "plagued" by the Quakers, and in Georgia, various humanitarian efforts to make good Anglicans out of the Negro slaves and to teach them to read and write, met with meager success.¹⁾

On the whole, then, before the end of the colonial period, at least a few Negroes were sufficiently trained, or on the way to be trained, to instruct the sons of the white gentry in the higher as well as in the elementary branches of knowledge. In fact, instruction in reading for Christian uplift gave some Negroes a considerable body of the white man's knowledge, and exceptional members of the colored race achieved distinction in the white man's realm: the poems of Phyllis Wheatley (1773) and of Jupiter Hammon (1761) may be cited for their feeling and versification, and the almanacs of Benjamin Banneker for the mathematical skill.

The Colonial Heritage

While the Negroes were slowly becoming familiar with some of the white man's ideas and even his intellectual skills, the whites were influenced by the Negroes. In areas where their numbers were considerable, the Africans influenced the folklore, idiom, pronunciation, and food habits, and possibly the music and dance, of the whites.

The influence of the Negro on American intellectual life was even a greater factor in the colonial legacy. In the South, the presence of a host of abjectly ignorant slaves deepened the traditional Old World gulf between the classes who shared the great body of humane and scientific knowledge and the masses whose world was governed largely by lore and superstition. The problem of slavery and a related race issue bequeathed a stubborn legacy to the new nation. The concept of the dignity of manual labor, which was to become a characteristically American idea, was lacking in the slave holding communities of the Old South, where physical toil was related to slavery.

In the latter part of the 17th century, as the whites slowly crystallized their ideas about the slave status of the Negro (at first regarded as servants in more or less temporary bondage), it became necessary to rationalize the dominant position of the white race. The blacks were looked upon

¹⁾ Wright, *op. cit.*, 115.

as "accursed" and "inferior". At the same time, the pitiful condition of the black fed the springs of Christian and humanitarian sentiment and gave rise to the idea that the Negroes must be free and enlightened.

The Period before the Emancipation

Efforts toward the education and freedom of the Negro were curtailed, of course, by the rapid rise of slave power in the cotton South. This is clearly illustrated by the fact how the South became frantic over a slave insurrection of 1831, led by a Virginia Negro, Nat Turned; thereafter, "black" codes were passed, curtailing the movements of Negroes, forbidding the teaching of Negroes. The codes were not, however, always strictly enforced, and Negroes continued to learn somewhat clandestinely. Some schools for Negroes operated in Danville and Richmond (Virginia) as late as a decade before the Civil War and Berea College in Kentucky pioneered during this period in admitting Negro students – even though repercussions from John Brown's raid were to close its doors to Negroes. The Ursulines in New Orleans, furthermore, were still conducting a school for free *gens de couleur* in 1838. In general, legacies from the earlier work of religious and civic groups, mainly in the North and Upper South, provided sporadic incentives for the academic education of the Negro during the generation prior to the Civil War.

On November 1, 1787, the Manumission Society opened the African Free School in New York City. In 1824, the City of New York took over the support of its 7 African Free Schools and thus colored children had free education available to them in New York 7 years before there were similar public schools for white children. (The African Free School became the precursor of the New York free public school system). In 1858, all the Negro schools of New York City, taught at that time entirely by Negro teachers, were taken over by the newly organized Board of Education; many distinguished persons were graduated from them, including Patrick Reason, Henry Highland Garnet, and the actor Ira Aldridge.

In 1849 Sarah C. Roberts sued the city of Boston for its discrimination in refusing to admit a colored child to its school. Her lawyer was Charles Sumner (who became a noted abolitionist Senator, and Sumner's assistant was a young Negro attorney, Robert Morris); their cause was lost, but Sumner's legal brief for desegregated schools was a forerunner of the 1954 Supreme desegregation decision. But in 1855 the Massachusetts legislature declared that "no person shall be excluded from a Public School on account of race, color or religious opinions."

Before the Civil War, all Negroes interested in college education

went to white colleges or travelled abroad. The first colored student to graduate from an American college was John Russwurm, who received a degree from Bowdoin College in Maine in 1826. Oberlin was one of the first colleges in the West – although Ohio, from 1829 to 1849 excluded Negroes from the public schools – to enroll (in 1834) not only Negroes, but also women; it had been founded by abolitionists who had withdrawn from Lane Theological Seminary in Cincinnati after free discussions of the evils of slavery had been curtailed there. In 1855, an antislavery editor and an abolitionist minister founded Berea College; it freely admitted Negroes as well as whites; its charter began with the phrase: "God hath made of one blood all nations that dwell upon the face of earth." But by 1860 the grand total of Negro graduates was only 28; they had attended Oberlin, Franklin, and Rutland Colleges and the Harvard Medical School.¹⁾

There were a few experiments made with Negro education before the Emancipation Proclamation. In 1840, the Avery "College" for Negroes opened in Allegheny City, Pennsylvania. In Washington, the Miner Academy for Negro Girls opened in 1851. A year later, an Institute for Colored Youth started functioning in Philadelphia; these were all only elementary and secondary schools, and not colleges. Two denominational institutions that were founded during that period began with work on a somewhat higher level; Wilberforce University in Ohio was founded by Methodists in 1855 and Ashmun Institute in Pennsylvania was sponsored by the Presbyterians in 1854. (Ashmun Institute was granted aid from the Presbyterian Church for the purpose of training missionaries for Africa; it eventually received a college charter as Lincoln University in 1866).²⁾

The Post-Civil-War Period

After the Civil War the roads of the South became choked with clusters of Negroes wandering aimlessly, with no clear-cut idea where they were going or what they should do. The former slaves were mostly illiterate, thanks to the deliberate policy of the planters to keep their slaves illiterate and in ignorance of the most basic fundamentals of how to manage their own affairs. The whites received them as a horde of locust and tried to combat the problem by including in the new state constitutions what came to be known as "Black Codes". These were laws

¹⁾ Johnson, Charles S., *The Negro College Graduate*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press 1938, 7.

²⁾ Wilson, Ruth D., "Negro Colleges of Liberal Arts" in *American Scholar*, XIX, Autumn, 1950, 462-63.

which were necessary, in view of the Southerners, to maintain order; from the standpoint of Northerners these laws were simply an insidious way of reinstituting slavery. In some states, a Negro was required to contract his employment a year in advance, and his employer had virtually the same power over him that "de massa" would have exercised in slavery days. Negro artisans were required to buy expensive licenses to do business, not required of the whites; Negro orphans could be bound to their former masters as "apprentices" until they were 18; and the penalties for a Negro found guilty of committing a crime were far more stringent than those for a white for the same offense. Thus thousands of Negroes simply wandered.

In this chaos came, however, a period which witnesses the first great program of organized education for the Negro. There was, for instance, the program of the Federal Government as conducted by the War Department. As refugees and "contraband", Negroes were early cared for and given some instruction under the military commands of General Rufus Saxon in the Sea Islands and vicinity, under Colonel John Eaton in Mississippi, and under General N. P. Banks in Louisiana.

Then there was the work of one Northern organization whose name was to become anathema to the ex-Confederates: the Freedmen's Bureau.¹⁾

Congress had passed the law establishing the Freedmen's Bureau before the war ended. In the beginning, its purpose was "to aid these helpless, ignorant, unprotected people... until they can provide for and take care of themselves." Operating as an agency of the War Department, the Bureau set up shop in the South immediately after the cessation of hostilities and began the Herculean task of trying to feed, clothe, and provide gainful labor for the newly freed Negro masses; it also issued rations to destitute whites.

In the beginning – and throughout its history in fact – its affairs were to some extent in the hands of idealists; but the Radical Republicans were to make it a political football and a roosting place for sharpeyed profiteers (carpetbaggers); its brand of idealism, verging often into fanaticism, and pure chicanery, greediness, fraud, inefficiency, graft, and political opportunism, marked the conduct of the Bureau and thus earned the contempt and hatred of the southern whites. Thus next to giving the vote to Negroes, nothing offended the South more than efforts to give them schooling; the slogan, "School ruins the Negro," expressed this popular attitude.

At any rate, the Bureau helped in the foundation of a system of schools

¹⁾ Pierce, Paul S., *The Freedmen's Bureau*, University of Iowa Press, 1904.

for Negroes, giving "central organization, encouragement, protection, and financial support to the efforts of philanthropists, freedmen, and states." Although between 1865-67, many Negro schoolhouses were burned down, the Bureau operated, during its peak period, some 4,000 primary schools 74 normal schools, and 61 industrial schools for Negroes.¹⁾

The Freedmen's Bureau also cooperated, for a brief period, with northern philanthropy. One of the first civic and religious groups was the Boston Educational Commission (later known as the New England Freedmen's Aid Society); in the same year (1862), the National Freedmen's Relief Commission of Philadelphia and New York was founded. Later these organizations formed temporarily the U.S. Commission for Relief of National Freedmen with headquarters in Washington, D.C.; by 1865 this consolidated body was replaced by the American Freedmen's Aid Union, which eventually ceased to exist in 1869. Other organizations formed to help freedmen were the African Civilization Society, the Baltimore Association for the Moral and Educational Improvement of Negroes, and a similar organization in Delaware. Churches also made valuable efforts in the institutional history of Negro education. The American Missionary Association created schools for Negroes in Newport News, Portsmouth, Suffolk, and Yorktown in Virginia, Washington, D.C., and Columbus, Ohio, already in 1863. In addition, the Friends Association for Aid to Freedmen, the Board of Freedmen's Missions of the United Presbyterian Church, and the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church gave important help to Freedmen; significant work was also done by the American Baptist Home Mission Society, the American Church Institute of the Episcopal Church, and the Conferences of the African Methodist Episcopal Church.

Philanthropy was financed mainly by wealthy Northerners, whose fortunes came from the nation's industrialization; two major funds, the Daniel Hand and Anna T. Jeanes, were set aside exclusively for Negroes. (But it must be also noted that "Northern philanthropy inadvertently perpetuated an old tradition of paternalism as a philosophy in solving the Negro 'problem'." ²⁾

¹⁾ Pierce, *op. cit.*, 83. See also: Bentley, George, *A History of the Freedmen's Bureau*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press 1955; Coc, John LaWanda, "General O.O. Howard and the Misrepresented Bureau" in *Journal of Southern History*, XIX, November, 1954, 427-56; De Bois, W. E. B., "Reconstruction and Its Benefits" in *American Historical Review*, XV, July, 1910, 781-99; Simkins, Francis B., "New Viewpoints on Southern Reconstruction" in *Journal of Southern History*, V, February, 1939, 49-61; Beale, Howard K., "On Rewriting Reconstruction History" in *American Historical Review*, XLV, July, 1940, 807-27.

²⁾ Leavell, Ullin W., *Philanthropy in Negro Education*, Nashville, Tenn.: George Peabody College Press 1930; Sears, Jesse B., *Philanthropy in the History of American Education*, Washington: Government Printing Office 1922.

The formal education of the Negro in the South during the Civil War is traced to Mrs. Mary S. Peake, a colored woman, who taught the first school, opened on September 17, 1861, in Hampton, Virginia.¹⁾ Soon after the Union forces gained control of a city or a sizable rural community, freedmen began to learn their three R's; by 1869, there were 9,502 teachers in these schools. Many of the teachers were Northern white women who, as well as men, suffered ostracism, insults, and violence.

Most singular, it appeared to scoffers, was the founding of "universities". Edmund A. Ware, a graduate of Yale, was the first President of Atlanta University, Georgia; Erastus M. Cravath, a graduate of Oberlin, 1857, headed Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee, which opened in 1866. General Oliver O. Howard, a graduate of Bowdoin, who was Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau, was the first President of Howard University, Washington, D.C., founded in 1867.

While these so-called "universities" for many years had more elementary, high school, and normal school than college students, they had goals inspired by those of the best northern institutions.

A period of rapid growth for Negro colleges occurred during the decades following the Civil War, the period dominated by the benevolence, zeal, and humanitarianism of northern Christian churches, especially Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Methodists and Baptists, which sent "Yankee schoolmarms" down South to staff common schools for the newly emancipated colored people; they also showed a great deal of interest in Negro higher education. An example was the Baptist Home Missionary Society of New York which organized (1867) the Augusta Institute (later Morehouse College), or the American Missionary Society of New York, which founded Atlanta University in Georgia and Talladega College in Alabama. In fact, prior to 1900, nearly all of the faculty members in Southern Negro colleges were idealistic educational missionaries trained in northern colleges.²⁾

These institutions, along with 30 other universities and colleges founded in the South during Reconstruction, graduated many teachers and others who formed a segment of what William Edward Burghardt Du Bois later called "The Talented Ten."

Vocational education, which best suited the needs of most Negroes

¹⁾ Low, *op. cit.*, 41.

²⁾ Holmes, Dwight O. W., *Evolution of Negro College*, New York: Columbia University Press 1934 & "Seventy Years of the Negro College," in *Phylon*, X, 1949, 307-313; Wilson, Ruth D., "Negro Colleges of Liberal Arts," in *American Scholar*, XIX, Autumn, 1950, 462-63; Range, Willard, *Rise and Progress of Negro Colleges in Georgia*, Atlanta: University of Georgia Press 1951, 21; Johnson, Charles S., *The Negro College Graduate*, Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press 1938, 286.

then, was started by General Samuel C. Armstrong, a graduate of Williams College, Williamstown, Mass., at Hampton Institute, Virginia, in 1868. Both white and Negro leaders had come to realize that so long as the ex-slave remained illiterate, he would remain a slave in fact, if not before the law. Vocational education would equip him for better jobs, increase his self-respect, and develop his natural aptitudes.

The most famous graduate of Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute was Booker T. Washington, who became the head of a normal school at Tuskegee, Alabama, in 1881, and was soon recognized as the educational leader of the Negro. Tuskegee was to become a pioneer example of an independent industrial school. Washington's agricultural and industrial projects, his part in establishing small business by and for Negroes and in the practical rehabilitation of the rural South and his efforts toward Negro-white cooperation under existing conditions made his name almost a household word by the early 20th century.¹⁾

He propounded to the Negro to abandon, for the time being, any claims to equal treatment: to look up to the substantial southern whites as friends; and through the cultivation of practical skills in trade and agriculture to make themselves economically self-sufficient and indispensable to the prosperity of the white South. Yet, his docility infuriated militant Negroes, and today his attitude toward Negro-white relations is repudiated by the majority of his people. Nevertheless, his service to his people cannot be minimized. If Washington prepared his people for agriculture, domestic service, and the lower-paid factory jobs, it was simply because better jobs were not open to them then.

Booker T. Washington's approach to the Negro problem resulted in debates carried on several decades over industrial education of the Negro which, for some people, meant "practical" public education, and for others, "industrial training". Booker T. Washington's influence on the rise of the industrial school movement was important; but actually this form of education for the Negro was "little more than a slogan to cover poor, cheap, and ineffective Negro education."²⁾

This movement expired in the subsequent decades, due to the gradual reduction of Negro illiteracy, and the realization on the part of the public and philanthropic foundations and Negroes themselves that they needed the same varieties of education as the white man.

The general antagonism of the South to the more educated Negroes

¹⁾ Washington, Booker T., *Up from Slavery, an Autobiography*, London: Oxford University Press 1945; Matthews, Basil J., *Booker T. Washington, Educator and Interracial Interpreter*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press 1948.

²⁾ Myrdal, Gunnar, et al., *An American Dilemma*, New York: Harper 1944, 894; Curti, Merle E., *The Social Ideas of American Educators*, New York: Scribner's 1935.

fitted into the need of the region to keep Negro labor cheap. But this attitude began to be modified at the turn of the present century when the larger industrial concerns (especially those in the coal and iron business in Alabama) started to elevate Negroes slightly in the socio-economic scale. Yet, during this period, the situation in the rural districts was especially miserable, since there existed a close relationship between the operation of the Negro schools and of the agricultural system. The dates for the opening and closing of the school in the cotton belt were, in fact, decided by the landlords watching the crops, and the internal school program had to accomodate itself to the farming needs.¹⁾

The Generation between 1900 and 1936

The Negro generation of 1900-1936 began with the Tuskegee idea in the ascendancy: purchasing peace for their time by deferring social and political aspirations. In the Negro institutions, the standards were still low, and a "college" was still mostly an elementary and "normal" school with a "collegiate department" plus a few feeble theology courses. Courses were largely taught by self-taught Negro "professors" and white missionary teachers "who (with notable exceptions) had more zeal than competence." But among the 50-odd church leaders were also some of the earliest Negro Ph. D.'s: J. W. E. Bowen, Sr., Boston University (1882); Richard Robert Wright got his degree in sociology at Pennsylvania; but such higher academic and professional degrees were unusual, "for education of most of the group fell short of junior-college levels and theological training was even more modest." ²⁾

These were still days when whites were convinced that education "spoiled" a Negro and that there were no suitable vocations for college bred Negroes anyhow.

About 50 persons in the period between 1900 and 1936 were in the category of educators identified with Negro higher education.³⁾

By 1900, institutions calling themselves colleges or universities numbered about 99; in 1936 the number was about the same. Founded in the post-Civil War decades by Northern philanthropy, missionary enterprise, the Freedmen's Bureau and state authority as well as by denominations, one group was under public control, another under white sectarian boards, and one cluster in the hands of Negro denominations.

As of 1922, 85% of the enrollment in the so-called "colleges" was in

¹⁾ Myrdal, *op. cit.*, 897-899; Johnson, Charles, *Patterns of Negro Segregation*, New York: Harper 1943, 21.

²⁾ Bardolph, Richard, *The Negro Vanguard*, New York: Rinehart 1959, 115.

³⁾ For their list, see: Bardolph, *op. cit.*, 120.

the elementary and secondary department, for all but 3 or 4 of the colleges were in the South, where common-school provision for Negro children was still minimal and public high schools wholly absent. But at the end of the period (1936), more than three fourths of the enrollment was in the collegiate departments (which often afforded only a 2-year course).¹⁾

Opportunities for Negroes to rise to prominence as educators were extremely small. There were only 23,000 students, most of them usefully ill-prepared, in the Negro colleges in 1932, and the supply of adequately trained professors and administrators was microscopic. Most of the best Negro colleges were in the hands of white trustees, faculties and administrators; the most notable exceptions were the schools founded by Negro denominations. Howard (60 years old) acquired its first Negro president in 1926; Hampton was still run by whites in the early 1940's; Fisk, then 80 years old, inaugurated its first Negro president in 1947.

Of the 52 educators in the roster, all but a tiny minority were college presidents (or, in a few cases, deans), and resident in the South. All but 2 were born in the South (the only exceptions being Du Bois and Locke). Negroes distinguished in fields other than religion and education, by contrast, were nearly all residents of the North.

Concludes Bardolph: "At the end of the era (1936), the institutions were still seriously deficient as to library facilities, equipment, preparation of instructors, administrative skill and all the other indices of academic status. Their symbol was the begging bowl; they were from the beginning dependent upon alms, first from religious and relatively unorganized benefactors, and then from foundations and philanthropic agencies." ²⁾

The Changing Educational Pattern

Ever since the Reconstruction period, Negro education suffered from the handicap of starting from nowhere. Literacy was estimated at about 5% among Negroes in 1860; by 1890 nearly 60% were still illiterate; by 1910 illiteracy had been reduced to 30%. While a few lower schools in 4 or 5 Southern states had been opened on a mixed basis by the Negro "carpetbag" governments of the immediate post-war era, most of the Southern states established separate schools for whites and Negroes. For many years, there were no local school taxes in the South, the funds being distributed from state sources to counties on a per capita basis; thus the heavily populated counties with large numbers of Negroes

¹⁾ *Ibid.*, 120.

²⁾ Bardolph, *op. cit.*, 121. For more details, see: 121-135.

received more money than those counties with smaller Negro populations. White groups in smaller counties were angered by these provisions but it was not long before funds due to Negro schools were being diverted in various ways to white schools. By 1930 Negro schools were still on the average getting only 37% of the amount due to them on a per capita basis. Having no political voice, being a particularly weak economic force, and remaining largely uneducated, Negroes were the unfortunate victims of one of America's greatest national tragedies and blights.

Although a considerable amount of aid was given Negro education by private foundations during the late 1890's and early 20th century (Peabody, Slater, Jeanes, Rosewald, Carnegie, Phelps-Stokes funds and the General Education Board), they made only a limited dent, important though it was, in the local morass. By 1900, according to a report of the U.S. Commissioner of Education, out of over 1,000 public high schools in the South, less than 70 were provided for Negroes. The years of the Great Depression further strained Negro education as increased thousands of Negro youngsters, squeezed from the labor market, bulged the school. Generally in the South, the Negroes still had ramshackle buildings, more poorly trained teachers, near starvation salaries, and "benefited" from discarded white school desks, books, and decrepit buses.¹⁾

Several key factors brought the long overdue improvements that have marked the recent history of Negro education.

An important factor was the changing "climate of opinion" developing among the Negro leaders.

Booker T. Washington, in essence, wanted Negroes to prepare for jobs which were open to them. The Negro must first become literate and learn skills which might help him to be economically independent. Then, perhaps, he would be ready for political and social equality.²⁾

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, a Negro sociologist and educator, attacked Washington for accepting the Negro caste position and for remaining silent and asking other Negroes to remain silent in the face of injustice. Du Bois and his group demanded no less than equality of opportunity in education at the higher levels as well as in elementary and vocational training. They argued that, in the struggle for equality, training for inferior positions will not be of much help. What was needed was a large

¹⁾ Among the well-documented histories, see especially: Knight, Edgar W., *Public Education in the South*, Boston: Ginn 1922; Pierce, Truman M., et al., *White and Negro Schools in the South*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall 1955; Bond, Horace M., *The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order*, New York: Prentice-Hall 1945.

²⁾ Washington, Booker T., *Up from Slavery*, New York: Doubleday 1901.

number of highly literate and capable Negro leaders who could only come into existence if equal opportunities in higher education become a reality. He led the "Niagara Movement", the spiritual ancestor of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People." ¹⁾

The controversy between Washington and Du Bois continued until Washington's death in 1915.

A great migration of Negroes from the farm to Southern and Northern cities came after Washington's death. "In an important sense the movement was flight from poverty, oppression, and the boll weevil. The unprecedented urbanization and industrialization of the Negro was thus under way." ²⁾

In spite of disenfranchisement, discrimination, poverty, and lack of opportunity, which had been the Black Man's lot, the Negro's situation had improved in many ways after 1900.

In 1910, 30% of the Negroes had been illiterate; only 8% were thus handicapped in 1940. ³⁾

As late as 1915 there had been only 64 Negro high schools in this country; by 1940, the number had risen to 2,500. Almost 20,000 Negroes were graduated from colleges during the decades of the 1930's - more than twice the number of the more prosperous twenties. After World War II, these educational trends were accelerated.

More specifically, between World War I and World War II, there was a significant growth of Negro public high schools, especially in large urban areas, both in North and South; there were enormous increases in both the relative and actual sizes of the enrollment, supply of teachers, number of graduates, and capital outlay; many Negro colleges dropped their high school programs, added graduate instruction, and many degree-conscious Negroes graduated in ever-increasing numbers from Negro and northern colleges; state supported and land grant institutions surpassed the private Negro colleges in enrollment and financial support; and "the most profound change was the quest for equality." ⁴⁾

The Steps Toward Desegregation

One domestic event during Eisenhower's first term can be considered

¹⁾ Du Bois, W. E. B., *The Souls of Black Folk*, Chicago: McClurg 1928.

²⁾ Low, W. A., "The Education of Negroes Viewed Historically," 27-59, in Clift, Virgil A.; Anderson, Archibald W. & Hullfish, H. Gordon, Eds., *Negro Education in America: its Adequacy, Problems, and Needs*, New York: Harper 1962, 52.

³⁾ Barek, Oscar, Heedore, Jr., & Blake, Nelson Manfred, *Since 1900: A History of the United States in our Times*, New York: Macmillan, 1959, 747.

⁴⁾ Low, *op. cit.*, 53-54.

a revolutionary advancement at any period of American history – the Supreme Court's decision on segregation education.¹⁾

In 1883 Supreme Court decision on civil rights sanctioned the segregation of Negroes by individuals in all states; in the *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision of 1896, which upheld the constitutionality of state laws providing "separate but equal" accommodations for Negroes, a precedent was set which greatly aided the spread of segregation on public carries and in public places. On May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court of the U.S. unanimously outlawed racial segregation in the public schools, setting aside the "separate but equal" doctrine which the Court had upheld in 1896. "Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal.... Liberty under law extends to the full range of conduct which an individual is free to pursue, and it cannot be restricted except for a proper governmental objective. Segregation in public education is not reasonably related to any proper governmental objective."

Chief Justice Earl Warren read two decisions a year later, the first of which affected 17 states in which there was legal segregation and the other the District of Columbia. Implementing these decisions a year later, the Court directed on May 31, 1955, that educational integration be achieved with "all deliberate speed," based on equitable principles and a "practical flexibility". And one year after that, on March 5, 1956, the Supreme Court ruled that its ban on segregation applied also to tax supported colleges and universities.

In spite of the decision, the application of the rulings has had its ups and downs – although, on the whole, mostly ups. During 1955–1956, more than 500 colored students enrolled in formerly all-white colleges and universities in the South. In Washington, D.C., in 1955 the complete integration of the District of Columbia public schools began. By 1956, Baltimore, the population of which is 41% Negro, had integrated 11,000 out of its 51,000 colored pupils (but in the rest of Maryland not more than 8 counties had begun to mix the races).

But symbolic of the Deep South's defiance of the Supreme Court's desegregation decisions was the outbreak in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, when Autherine Lucy, a Negro had been trying for 3 years to enroll as a student; riots took place and eventually she was expelled. As of January, 1963, the University had enrolled no other Negro applicants. Mississippi was the scene of brutal murders, and Montgomery, Alabama, saw an example of the Negroes' use of mass passive resistance. In fact, school desegregation in America became front-page news in papers throughout the

¹⁾ The roots of the Supreme Court decision can be found in the *Murray* and *Gaines* cases; see: Low, *op. cit.*, 54–56.

world and remained headlines for several years: Clanton, Nashville, Atlanta, Little Rock, and Oxford. In many communities, resistance took various forms ranging from inaction, less than "deliberate speed" and token integration, to blatant official defiance of federal edicts, riots at schools to which Negroes applied, violence against black students and the bombing of educational institutions, churches and homes. Both Negro and white schools were bombed in Atlanta and other cities. In Nashville, Z. Alexander Lobby, a member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's Legal Committee, was blown from his bed by a bomb.

It is only fair to say that the swift and accelerating pace of desegregation events, including the cases of dramatic federal-government intervention and the wave of sit-ins, eat-ins, kneel-ins, and other types of non-violent demonstrations, has thus far outstripped the demonstrated ability and resources of researchers "to study them from the viewpoint of the comparative causation of particular outcomes." And it must be also noted that the whole question of Negro desegregation is inseparably related to the whole problem of civil rights which covers all minorities and all Americans.¹⁾

MEILENSTEINE IN DER GESCHICHTE DER ERZIEHUNG DER NEGER IN DEN VEREINIGTEN STAATEN

VON JOSEPH S. ROUCEK, Bridgeport (Conn.)

Die Rassenfrage steht noch heute der Verwirklichung des Grundsatzes, allen amerikanischen Staatsbürgern gleiche Bildungsmöglichkeiten zu bieten, im Wege. Erst in den letzten Jahren werden auch im Süden der USA Voraussetzungen geschaffen, die den Negern, die mehr als 10% der Gesamtbevölkerung der USA ausmachen, volle Gleichberechtigung in den Schulen und Universitäten geben. Der Artikel gibt einen Überblick über die Bildungsmöglichkeiten, die sich vom Ende des 17. Jahrhundert bis heute den nordamerikanischen Negern geboten haben.

¹⁾ Gordon, Milton M., "Recent Trends in the Study of Minority and Race Relations," in *The Annals of The American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, CCCL, November, 1963, 148-56.

Two major summary reports of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights established as an investigatory and advisory agency by Congress in the Civil Rights Act of 1957, provide indispensable information on discrimination in such areas as education, housing, voting, employment, and the administration of justice. See the *United States Commission on Civil rights: Reports, Books 1-5*, Government Printing Office, 1961, and the earlier *Report of 1959*; an unofficial résumé of the 1961 *Report* by its editor-in-chief will be found in: Mendelson, Wallace, *Discrimination*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall 1962.

Die frühen Bemühungen von missionarischen und philanthropischen Gesellschaften werden an Beispielen aufgezeigt; der Unterschied zwischen der Entwicklung in den Nordstaaten und in den Südstaaten tritt deutlich zutage; das allmähliche Absinken des Analphabetismus unter der Negerbevölkerung wird durch Zahlenangaben belegt. Bemerkenswert ist, daß die Negeruniversitäten lange von Weißen geleitet wurden, so wurde z.B. in der Howard University zum ersten Mal 1926, in der Fisk University 1947 ein Neger Präsident.

Die Auswirkung der Entscheidung des Obersten Gerichtshofes vom 17. Mai 1954, mit der die Rassentrennung im Erziehungswesen für ungesetzlich erklärt wurde, und der weiteren Gerichtsentscheidungen der nächsten Jahre werden am Schluß des Artikels dargestellt.

ETAPES DANS L'HISTOIRE DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT DES NEGRES AUX ETATS-UNIS

par JOSEPH S. ROUCEK, Bridgeport (Conn.)

La question raciale constitue encore aujourd'hui un obstacle à la mise en application du principe qui vise à offrir à tous les citoyens américains les mêmes possibilités d'éducation. Il y a quelques années à peine que dans les Etats du Sud des Etats-Unis également furent créées pour les Nègres, qui forment 10% de la population totale des Etats-Unis, les possibilités de bénéficier de droits égaux dans les écoles et universités. L'article donne une vue d'ensemble des possibilités d'éducation offertes aux Nègres nord-américains depuis la fin du 17ième siècle jusqu'à ce jour.

Les interventions précoces des missionnaires et associations philanthropiques furent montrées en exemple, la différence entre le développement dans les Etats du Nord et les Etats du Sud apparaît clairement, la diminution progressive de l'analphabétisme chez la population nègre fut démontrée par des chiffres. Il est intéressant de noter que les universités nègres furent longtemps dirigées par les Blancs, ainsi, p.e., à l'Université Howard nous voyons pour la première fois en 1926 et à l'Université Fisk en 1947, un président nègre.

La conséquence de la Décision de la Cour Suprême du 18 mai 1954, qui déclara illégale la séparation des races dans l'enseignement, et les décisions de Cour ultérieures des dernières années furent exposées en conclusion de l'article.

VALEUR PRONOSTIQUE DES TESTS PEDAGOGIQUES CHEZ DES ENFANTS CONGOLAIS

ETUDE COMPARATIVE DE LA FIDELITE DES RESULTATS
D'UNE EPREUVE DE CALCUL

par RENE DUJARDIN, Deurne-Anvers

en collaboration avec J. Quackelbeen, assistant

1. But de la recherche

L'objectif essentiel de notre recherche consistait à soumettre à un contrôle expérimental une opinion "scientifique" assez répandue, selon laquelle les sujets congolais se caractériseraient par une certaine instabilité intellectuelle. Celle-ci serait la cause de réactions divergentes aux épreuves psychométriques. En conséquence, les résultats obtenus n'auraient qu'une signification toute relative et fortuite étant donné qu'ils peuvent du fait de cette instabilité, varier considérablement d'un examen à un autre. En effet, la valeur pronostique d'une épreuve appliquée dans des conditions d'administration invariables dépend de la fidélité, c.à.d. de la stabilité, de la constance des résultats.

Nous n'exposerons pas les différentes méthodes qui ont pour but d'étudier un test sous l'angle de l'homogénéité ou équivalence de deux formes parallèles. Nous nous contenterons de signaler que, d'un point de vue pratique, la méthode la plus appropriée en vue du contrôle de la fidélité des résultats est le re-testing. Cette méthode consiste à soumettre les mêmes sujets à deux reprises différentes, avec un certain intervalle de temps, à la même épreuve et ceci dans des conditions de passation identiques. La corrélation entre les résultats obtenus lors d'une première passation et ceux obtenus à la seconde passation indique le degré de fidélité de ceux-ci. Cette corrélation de constance donne lieu, par ailleurs, au calcul du coefficient d'efficience (E), qui nous permet de déterminer dans quelle mesure nos prévisions seront exactes.

Suivant la formule: ¹⁾

$$E = (1 - \sqrt{1 - r^2}) \cdot 100$$

¹⁾ Garrett, *Statistics in Psychology and Education*, 1958.

nous obtenons respectivement pour :

$$r = .50 \rightarrow E = 13\%$$

$$r = .80 \rightarrow E = 40\%$$

$$r = .90 \rightarrow E = 56\%$$

$$r = .95 \rightarrow E = 68\%$$

$$r = .98 \rightarrow E = 80\%$$

Cela signifie que, pour une épreuve dont le coefficient de constance est égal à .50, on a 13% de chances de faire un pronostic exact. Comme le tableau l'indique, c'est donc seulement à partir d'un coefficient supérieur à .90, que les valeurs de E deviennent significatives. Ceci explique, en partie, pourquoi un coefficient de fidélité égal ou supérieur à .90 est normalement exigé pour un test. D'autre part, connaissant le coefficient de fidélité, la méthode dite de l'erreur-type nous permet également un certain pronostic, à condition toutefois que la distribution soit normale.

En effet, appliquons la formule ¹⁾

$$\sigma_{t_{\infty}} = \sigma_t \sqrt{1 - r_{tt}}$$

ou $\sigma_{t_{\infty}}$ = l'erreur-type pour chaque score observé

σ_t = l'écart-type de l'épreuve

r_{tt} = le coefficient de fidélité de l'épreuve

à un exemple: une épreuve comporte 100 points, l'écart-type (σ_t) est égal à 4 et le coefficient de fidélité (r_{tt}) = .84.

L'erreur-type pour chaque score observé sera dans ce cas de l'ordre d'environ 1,5 point; car:

$$\begin{aligned} \sigma_{t_{\infty}} &= 4 \sqrt{1 - .84} \\ &= 4 \sqrt{.16} \\ &= 4 \times .4 \\ &= 1,6 \rightarrow \pm 1,5 \text{ point.} \end{aligned}$$

Cela signifie que, dans 68% des cas (soit le nombre de cas compris entre -1σ et $+1\sigma$ dans une distribution normale), le score peut varier d'environ 1,5 point en plus ou en moins par rapport à chaque score obtenu. Dans 95% des cas (soit entre -2σ et $+2\sigma$) il pourra varier de 4,5 points. Donc, pour un sujet ayant obtenu 64 points sur 100, le score ne sera pratiquement jamais supérieur à 69 points ($64 + 4,5$), ni jamais inférieur à 59 points ($64 - 4,5$).

Cette brève introduction nous servira de base à la discussion des résultats de notre recherche.

¹⁾ Voir: Guilford, *Psychometric Methods*, New York: Mc. Graw-Hill 1954.

Ajoutons pourtant, en conclusion, que quels que soient les résultats que nous obtiendrons, ils seront toujours étroitement liés à l'épreuve que nous proposons, au groupe examiné, ainsi qu'aux conditions fixées pour la passation, la correction et la cotation. En effet, toute généralisation hâtive fausserait les réalités psychopédagogiques. D'un point de vue scientifique nous avons estimé, par ailleurs, qu'il était intéressant de compléter notre enquête en appliquant le même examen à des enfants européens et de procéder à l'étude comparative des résultats.

2. *Choix de l'épreuve et planning du contrôle expérimental*

Nous avons fondé notre recherche sur une épreuve de calcul strictement standardisée. Nous l'avons soumise à des enfants congolais et européens d'Elisabethville (Congo-Léopoldville) ainsi qu'à des enfants flamands de Belgique.¹⁾

La passation devait être faite partout à la même époque et être répétée par le même expérimentateur, après le même intervalle de temps. Le choix d'une épreuve de calcul nous paraissait tout indiqué pour cette étude comparative. En effet, il y avait à l'époque identité des programmes au Congo et en Belgique. De plus, le contenu de cette branche à ce stade élémentaire ne présentait à notre avis, aucune difficulté spécifique à la mentalité bantoue, vu le degré d'acculturation atteint par la population congolaise dans les centres extra-coutumiers. C'est pour la même raison que nous avons présenté les problèmes de calcul sous forme de croquis, tandis que les instructions ont été données dans la langue des élèves, à savoir :

- en néerlandais pour les enfants flamands;
- en français pour les enfants européens d'Elisabethville;
- en swahili et en français pour les enfants congolais d'Elisabethville.²⁾

A cet effet, trois examinateurs étaient indispensables. Chacun d'eux ayant étudié les instructions et connaissant la portée de la recherche, s'est tenu aux consignes élaborées de commun accord et expérimentées au préalable.

Puisque nous voulions prévenir le reproche d'avoir expérimenté avec un groupe sélectionné, notre choix s'est porté sur des élèves de la 3ème année primaire. L'épreuve a eu lieu au début de l'année scolaire immédiatement après la période de revision, soit entre le 5 et le 10 octobre 1959.

¹⁾ Nous avions l'intention de soumettre l'épreuve à des enfants wallons de Belgique. Malheureusement, des circonstances particulières ont empêché notre collaborateur pour la Wallonie de procéder à la passation au moment précis.

²⁾ Une expérience préliminaire avait montré que la répétition en français était nécessaire. La plupart des élèves connaissaient en effet mieux les nombres en français (influence de l'école) qu'en swahili (langue véhiculaire).

La seconde passation a été faite dans les mêmes classes, dans le même ordre et par les mêmes examinateurs entre le 4 et le 10 novembre 1959, soit à un intervalle d'environ 30 jours.

Par conséquent, la matière de l'épreuve se rapportait au programme de la deuxième année primaire. Nous y avons inséré quelques questions un peu plus difficiles afin d'obtenir une différenciation suffisante.

3. Description et justification de l'épreuve

L'épreuve consiste en une partie A et une partie B, chacune sur feuille séparée et conçue de façon à faciliter la passation standardisée.

La 1ère partie a été appliquée invariablement avant la récréation du matin, la seconde, après cette récréation.

La partie A contient deux groupes d'exercices de comptage et des opérations dans leur forme classique.

Le "Plan d'études" (1958) (Belgique) prévoit pour la connaissance des nombres: "compter jusqu'à 100 en montant et en descendant par unités, par groupes de 2, 5 et 10" ainsi que

"pour préparer à la multiplication et au partage, compter aussi par groupes de 4 jusqu'à 80, par groupes de 3 jusqu'à 30, etc. . . ." ¹⁾

En ce qui concerne ces exercices nous avons élaboré une formule permettant un contrôle collectif par écrit en les présentant de la façon suivante: les élèves doivent compléter une série de nombres donnés, comme c'est le cas dans de nombreux tests d'intelligence; seulement, comme il s'agit d'un exercice de comptage, ils ne doivent pas chercher la relation qui existe entre ces nombres, celle-ci leur étant donnée. En guise de préparation et d'explication un exemple leur est donné avec la solution en évidence:



4	8	12	16	20	24	28
3	6	9	12			

Les explications suivantes sont données:

"Regardez le premier exercice à côté de la fleur. C'est un exercice de comptage et la réponse est déjà écrite. Regardez: l'exercice commence par 4 et continue avec huit, douze et seize. On compte par "4". Re commençons une fois:

$$4 + 4 = 8, \text{ et } 4 = 12, \text{ et } 4 = 16 \text{ et nous continuons}$$

$$16 + 4 = 20, \text{ et } 4 = 24, \text{ et } 4 = 28$$

1) Plan d'études (1958), Ministère de l'instruction publique, p. 65.

Faisons maintenant l'exercice suivant:

$3 + 3 = 6$, et 3, 9 et 3, 12 et 3... *ne dites rien, mais écrivez vous-mêmes les nombres dans les cases, comme il a été fait dans l'exemple! ...; (attente et contrôle de l'exécution).*

L'épreuve comporte les exercices suivants:

- Pour le comptage: compter par 3 en commençant à 3, par 8 en commençant à 8, par 2 en commençant à 17, par 7 en commençant à 14, par 9 en commençant à 9, les 4 premiers nombres étant chaque fois donnés.
- Pour le décomptage: décompter par 5 en commençant à 57, par 8 en commençant à 72, par 3 en commençant à 91, par 5 en commençant à 44, les 4 premiers nombres étant chaque fois donnés.

Remarques: Le comptage et le décomptage par 10 ont été exclus étant donné qu'il est très probable que tous les élèves savent le pratiquer. Le décomptage par 5 et 2 a été retenu. Nous n'avons pas hésité à faire compter et décompter par 2 à partir d'un nombre impair, ni à faire décompter par 5 à partir d'un nombre qui ne finit ni par un zéro, ni par un 5. Nous avons dépassé 30 pour faire décompter par 3. Tout cela intentionnellement, bien entendu.

Une règle analogue a été suivie pour les opérations. La partie A contient des opérations classiques bien que, pour la multiplication et la division, nous n'ayons pas hésité à dépasser quelque peu le programme prescrit par le "Plan d'études". Les exercices qui ont été retenus sont les suivants:

$$\begin{array}{ccccccc} 7 + 2; & 17 + 5; & 39 + 13; & 62 + 27; & 75 + 19 \\ 9 - 4; & 13 - 6; & 43 - 22; & 84 - 27; & 56 - 38 \\ 4 \times 2; & 3 \times 6; & 8 \times 7; & 37 \times 2; & 19 \times 4 \\ 14 : 2; & 76 : 2; & 84 : 2; & 56 : 4; & 42 : 6 \end{array}$$

La consigne accompagnant ces exercices attirait l'attention de l'élève sur le genre d'exercice à faire et était précédé chaque fois d'un exemple avec la solution en évidence:



$4 + 2 = 6$
$7 + 2 =$
$17 + 5 =$

"Regardez l'exercice en-dessous du dessin des lunettes, c'est une somme, une addition: $4 + 2 = 6$. Le résultat y est déjà. Maintenant vous allez écrire les résultats des autres sommes. Ne commencez pas à la colonne suivante. Faites-le!"

La partie B commence par la dictée des nombres: 17, 83, 69, 49, 31, 96, 72, 58, 22, 45. Nous avions pensé que cet exercice présenterait une diffi-

culté assez grande pour les élèves congolais. Les résultats obtenus ont clairement démontré que – sauf quelques inversions (96–69) – ce n'est pas le cas et que l'exercice doit être considéré comme trop facile.

Cette partie contient ensuite, comme la précédente, quatre séries d'opérations du type "lacunaire", c.a.d. que, le 1er terme de l'opération et la réponse étant donnés, l'élève doit trouver le terme manquant. Le fait que ces opérations dites "lacunaires" sont, à cause de leur caractère inhabituel, beaucoup plus difficiles, est bien connu. Ces exercices exigent beaucoup d'intuition de la part des élèves qui doivent se libérer des schémas classiques souvent rigides.

Nous avons inclus les cas suivants dans notre épreuve:

$-10 + \dots = 20$; $29 + \dots = 36$; $37 + \dots = 48$; $50 + \dots = 75$; $60 + \dots = 96$
 $-36 - \dots = 32$; $30 - \dots = 24$; $45 - \dots = 36$; $60 - \dots = 48$; $100 - \dots = 75$
 $- 4 \times \dots = 16$; $10 \times \dots = 30$; $18 \times \dots = 36$; $7 \times \dots = 63$; $75 \times \dots = 150$
 $- 50 : \dots = 25$; $12 : \dots = 4$; $28 : \dots = 14$; $30 : \dots = 6$; $100 : \dots = 25$

En plus, trois problèmes dessinés et deux exercices concernant la lecture de l'heure complètent cette partie B.

Résumons les petits problèmes:

- Le couteau de table coûte 32 F et le canif 45 F. Combien coûtent-ils ensemble?
- Un ballon coûte 9 F, combien dois-je payer pour les 4 ballons?
- Quatre poules coûtent ensemble 100 F. Combien dois-je payer pour 2 poules?

Pour tous les exercices le temps nécessaire a été laissé aux élèves. Cela d'ailleurs n'a présenté aucune difficulté. D'autre part les consignes suivantes ont été observées par chaque examinateur:

- *L'examineur veillera à ce que tous les élèves aient pris place sur des bancs séparés. Il doit exclure toute possibilité de copie. Chaque élève aura deux crayons bien taillés ou un bic en bon état à sa disposition.*
- *Si le titulaire de classe est présent il lui est strictement défendu d'intervenir. On ne lui dira pas qu'une seconde épreuve aura lieu.*

4. Le groupe expérimental

Le tableau ci-dessous indique la composition du groupe examiné. Nous avons chaque fois soumis l'épreuve à des classes entières dans le but de nous adresser, autant que possible, à une population représentative d'une classe et non à un groupe sélectionné. On remarquera la proportion sensiblement égale de filles et de garçons pour les enseignements flamand et européen d'Elisabethville. Dans les écoles de régime congolais, le nombre de filles est moins élevé.

Cette proportion reflète toutefois la situation réelle dans les écoles en milieu extra-coutumier. Nous n'avons pas altéré cette répartition. Nous avons éliminé les élèves n'ayant pas participé aux deux passations.

Classes examinées	Enfants flamands de Belgique		Enfants européens d'Elisabethville		Enfants congolais d'Elisabethville (Ruashi)	
	garçons	filles	garçons	filles	garçons	filles
1	11	—	—	30	24	11
2	19	—	23	12	26	10
3	—	22	21	8	15	24
4	28	—	22	11	—	—
5	—	32	—	—	—	—
Total	58	54	66	61	65	45
Total par groupe	112		127		110	
Total général	349					

Donc, 349 enfants ont été examinés deux fois avec la même épreuve, ce qui nous a procuré quelque 700 copies pour chacune des deux parties.

5. Les résultats

a. Correction et cotation

La cotation a été effectuée sur la base suivante:

Partie A: total: 50 points

1. Comptage: 1 point par nombre exact, donc 3 points par série, 15 points au total.
2. Décomptage: idem.
3. Opérations: 1 point par exercice; 5 points par colonne, 10 points au total.

Partie B: total: 50 points

1. Dictée: 1 point par nombre exact; 10 points au total.
2. Opérations: 1,5 point par exercice; 7,5 points par colonne, 30 points au total.
3. Problèmes: a) 2 points
b) 2 points
c) 3 points

Lecture de l'heure: 2 fois 1,5 = 3 points; au total: 10 points

Total de l'épreuve (A + B) = 100 points

Toutes les corrections ont été contrôlées par une deuxième personne.

b. Les coefficients de fidélité

Nous avons calculé selon la formule :

$$r_{xy} = \frac{\Sigma xy}{\sqrt{\Sigma x^2 \cdot \Sigma y^2}}$$

de Bravais-Pearson où :

r_{xy} est le coefficient de corrélation entre les variables x et y ;

Σxy est la somme des produits des écart à la moyenne pour X et Y ;

Σx^2 et Σy^2 est la somme des carrés de ces écarts;

par classe et par groupe les coefficients de corrélation entre :

- les résultats totaux de la 1ère et de la 2e passation;
- les résultats de l'épreuve *A* à la 1ère et à la 2e passation;
- les résultats de l'épreuve *B* à la 1ère et à la 2e passation.

c. Moyennes et écarts-types

Nous avons également calculé par classe et par groupe les moyennes arithmétiques et les écarts-types qui permettent une analyse plus approfondie des résultats.

6. Discussion et interprétation des résultats

La différence de niveau entre les trois groupes ressort clairement des moyennes obtenues. En effet, elles s'élèvent pour l'épreuve totale à 67,72 pour la Flandre, à 65,46 pour E'ville et à 49,52 pour Ruashi. Les enfants flamands obtiennent les moyennes les plus élevées aussi bien pour le total que pour les parties *A* et *B* séparées. Le niveau des enfants européens d'E'ville se rapproche de très près de celui des élèves des écoles rurales flamandes, vu que leur moyenne n'est inférieure que de 2,26 points sur 100. Les moyennes obtenues par les enfants congolais, au contraire, sont nettement inférieures.

Elles se situent à 18,20 points sur 100 en dessous du niveau flamand et à environ 16 points en dessous de celui des enfants européens qui vivent dans les mêmes conditions climatiques. Cela ne doit pas nous étonner ! Tout d'abord, il y a la différence des formes d'enseignement. Notons que les enfants congolais recevaient un enseignement en langue française de "moniteurs" dont la formation pédagogique et didactique ne peut être comparée à la formation des maîtres d'Europe occidentale. Jusqu'en 1960 chaque équipe de 8 à 12 moniteurs était dirigée par un "conseiller pédagogique" recruté parmi les instituteurs diplômés belges. Il ne faut toutefois pas perdre de vue que l'épreuve n'avait pas spéciale-

ment pour but de constater cette différence de niveau mais bien de contrôler si les résultats présentent une certaine constance. Les coefficients de corrélation nous renseignent sur le degré de fidélité au retesting d'une épreuve.

Pour les trois groupes le coefficient de corrélation de l'épreuve complète s'établit à plus de .90, notamment à .902 pour les enfants flamands, à .913 pour les enfants européens d'E'ville et à .950 pour les enfants congolais du centre extra-coutumier de Ruashi. Cela signifie que, contrairement à une opinion exprimée par certains auteurs ¹⁾ l'épreuve dans son ensemble donne des résultats très analogues d'une passation à une autre. Le degré de constance est élevé. Un fait, curieux peut-être, est à signaler. La corrélation est la plus forte chez les enfants congolais. Ceci infirme l'hypothèse selon laquelle le fonctionnement intellectuel serait plus labile chez les enfants bantous que chez les enfants européens et que, dès lors, toute épreuve psychologique ou pédagogique serait dénuée de sens. Il nous apparaît au contraire, qu'il est tout à fait possible d'élaborer des épreuves valables, en tout cas dans le domaine pédagogique – pour les enfants congolais – vivant en milieu extra-coutumier.

Cette dernière restriction est motivée par la composition de notre groupe expérimental. A vrai dire, nous ne trouvons pas ce résultat tellement curieux. N'oublions pas qu'il s'agit de connaissances scolaires. Celles-ci subissent fortement l'influence de l'apprentissage répété et des schèmes automatisés. Les résultats obtenus par les enfants congolais, dont l'enseignement est moins poussé, répondent aux possibilités réelles des élèves et sont de ce fait plus naturels, d'où leur plus grande stabilité. La signification de ces coefficients apparaît d'ailleurs clairement dans le calcul et la comparaison des coefficients d'efficience. Pour les trois groupes ceux-ci s'établissent comme suit:

$$\text{Flandre: } E = (1 - \sqrt{1 - .90^2}) \times 100 = 56\%$$

$$\text{Elisabethville: } E = (1 - \sqrt{1 - .91^2}) \times 100 = 58\%$$

$$\text{Ruashi: } E = (1 - \sqrt{1 - .95^2}) \times 100 = 68\%$$

Chez des enfants congolais il y a donc 68% de chances de pouvoir faire un pronostic efficace au moyen de cette épreuve, tandis que pour les enfants flamands la même donnée se réduit à 56%. La même tendance se fait jour pour chaque partie de l'épreuve.

Pour conclure cet article, il est bien entendu que nous pourrions nous étendre d'avantage sur l'examen détaillé des résultats. Nous calculerons l'erreur-type pour chaque groupe afin de compléter l'étude de la valeur

¹⁾ Verhaeghen et Erpicum, Examens scolaires et tests pédagogiques, in *Revue pédagogique congolaise* no. 13, septembre 1958, p. XIII/XXVI.

pronostique des tests pédagogiques chez des enfants congolais en milieu extra-coutumier.

Cette valeur est:

– pour les enfants congolais:

$$\sigma_{t_{\infty}} = 24,80 \sqrt{1 - .950} = 5,45$$

– pour les enfants européens d'Elisabethville:

$$\sigma_{t_{\infty}} = 17,93 \sqrt{1 - .913} = 5,28$$

– pour les enfants flamands:

$$\sigma_{t_{\infty}} = 20,37 \sqrt{1 - .902} = 6,37.$$

Les erreurs-types sont fort voisines pour les trois groupes et sont relativement peu élevées.

7. Conclusions

Nos conclusions peuvent être brèves. Les résultats statistiques sont probants. Il est clair que pour l'épreuve que nous avons utilisée, les résultats au retesting s'avèrent très stables. Il est donc faux d'affirmer sans contrôle expérimental que le fonctionnement intellectuel des enfants congolais se caractérise par une labilité absolue. Nous ne nions point qu'elle puisse exister dans d'autres domaines. Toutefois, par cette étude expérimentale, nous pensons avoir montré que l'utilisation de tests pédagogiques chez des enfants congolais se justifie et que leurs résultats ne sont nullement dépourvus de valeur pronostique. Ils pourront au contraire, à notre avis, apporter une aide substantielle à l'orientation et à la sélection des élèves congolais.

PROGNOSTIC VALUE OF PEDAGOGICAL TESTS GIVEN TO CONGOLESE CHILDREN

A comparative study of the reliability of an arithmetic test

by RENE DUJARDIN, Deurne-Antwerp

It was the aim of our research to submit to an experimental control an opinion advanced by certain authors according to which Congolese children show a certain psychic and intellectual instability. This would be the cause for divergent reactions to psychometric tests.

In order to verify this hypothesis we have applied the same strictly standardized test of arithmetic to three groups of children (boys and girls of a third year class in primary school) composed of 112 Flemish pupils in Belgium, 127 European pupils in Elisabethville (Congo), 110 Congolese pupils living in an urban milieu at Ruashi (Elisabethville).

With an interval of one month the same pupils were given the same test in identical conditions of testing. The results obtained in the different groups allow us to compare the levels of the teaching given. The correlation between the results of the two testings indicated the degree of the reliability of the test.

It should be stressed that for the three groups the correlation was above .90 and that it was highest for the Congolese children. For this latter group it rose to .95 which corresponds to quite a high coefficient of efficiency (Garett).

This weakens the hypothesis according to which the intellectual functions should be less stable with Bantu children than with European children, and that hence all psychological and pedagogical testing became pointless for the former. It appears, on the contrary, that it is definitely possible to develop valid pedagogical tests having sufficient prognostic value for Congolese children living in an urban milieu.

Besides, the development of such tests has a certain interest because they can be a substantial aid to educational guidance for Congolese pupils.

PROGNOSTISCHER WERT VON PÄDAGOGISCHEN TESTS FÜR KONGOLESISCHE KINDER

Vergleichende Studie über die Zuverlässigkeit eines Rechentests

von RENE DUJARDIN, Deurne-Antwerpen

Das Ziel unserer Forschung bestand darin, durch experimentelle Kontrolle eine Meinung zu prüfen, die von verschiedenen Autoren vertreten wird und die besagt, daß kongolesische Kinder sich durch eine gewisse psychische und intellektuelle Labilität auszeichnen. Hierin könnte die Ursache für abweichende Reaktionen auf psychometrische Tests liegen.

Um diese Hypothese zu verifizieren, haben wir einen streng geeichten Rechentest drei Gruppen von Kindern gegeben (Jungen und Mädchen einer 3. Klasse der Grundschule), die wie folgt zusammengesetzt waren: 112 flämische Schüler in Belgien, 127 europäische Schüler in Elizabethville (Kongo), 110 kongolesische Schüler aus einem städtischen Milieu in Ruashi (Elizabethville).

Im Abstand von einem Monat wurde denselben Schülern derselbe Test unter den gleichen Bedingungen gegeben. Die in den verschiedenen Gruppen erzielten Ergebnisse gestatten uns, das Niveau des erteilten Unterrichts zu vergleichen. Die Korrelation zwischen den Ergebnissen der beiden Testanwendungen geben den Grad der Zuverlässigkeit des Tests an.

Es sei darauf hingewiesen, daß für die drei Gruppen die Korrelation höher als .90 lag, am höchsten bei den kongolesischen Kindern. Die letzte Gruppe erreichte sogar .95, also einen recht hohen Koeffizienten der Wirksamkeit (nach Garrett).

Das schwächt die Hypothese, nach der Intelligenzfunktionen bei Bantu-Kindern labiler wären als bei europäischen Kindern und nach der alle psychologischen und pädagogischen Tests bei ersteren ihren Sinn verlieren würden. Uns scheint es im Gegenteil durchaus möglich zu sein, gültige pädagogische Tests zu entwickeln, die einen genügenden prognostischen Wert für kongolesische Kinder aus einem städtischen Milieu haben.

Die Entwicklung von solchen Tests hat übrigens eine gewisse Bedeutung im Hinblick darauf, daß sie eine beträchtliche Hilfe für die Studienberatung kongolesischer Schüler darstellen könnte.

TEACHING TOLERANCE

THE ROLE OF THE SCHOOL IN FURTHERING CONSTRUCTIVE INTER-GROUP RELATIONS

by PENELOPE LEACH, London

Everybody has prejudices. Some people have more and stronger prejudices than others. Furthermore, some prejudices may be more socially harmful, in a given situation, than others. Prejudice, both in its psychological nature and in its social manifestations, is a thing of infinite gradations: only the need for brevity excuses such absolute-seeming terms as "the prejudiced personality" or "prejudiced children."

A well-known definition of prejudice comes from Allport: (1) "An aversive or hostile attitude toward a person who belongs to a group, simply because he belongs to that group, and is therefore presumed to have the objectionable qualities ascribed to the group."

To assume that someone is unpleasant because he is one of a group of people judged unpleasant, is to overgeneralise. Firstly, as we shall see, individuals very seldom match the stereotypes of the groups to which they belong. Secondly, such an assumption ignores the fact that the individual belongs to many other groups beside the one to which he is being arbitrarily assigned. One may dislike the stereotype one has of "Fascists," but the fascist individual may also be part of groups labelled "fathers," "doctors," "amateur musicians" Nevertheless, this is the kind of generalisation we make all the time in our daily lives. We cannot enquire into every detail of a man's life and character before deciding whether to share a meal with him, any more than we can sample all the goods in a shop before deciding whether to patronise it. We judge according to mental categories.

Normally when new evidence shows such an overgeneralised judgement to be wrong, we accept the new evidence and amend the judgement: we decide that the fascist is a possible friend (though we may comfort ourselves by adding "misguided"!). But if the original judgement was based not on a simple categorisation, but on a prejudiced one, then the new evidence cannot be accepted rationally and acted upon. It must be twisted until it fits our prejudice. A woman once informed me that West Indians neglected their children shamefully. I told her that in my experience the family relationships of this group were often closer than those of English families. "That's only because no one else will speak to them," she replied.

The beginnings of prejudice

Extensive research, particularly by Allport (1), Adorno et al(2), Christie, Jahoda et al (3) and Rokeach(4), has described certain characteristics of early upbringing which seem to go with extreme prejudice in later life. These are characteristics of the psychological atmosphere in which the child is reared, rather than of specific parental practices.

Such a family is likely to have a clearly marked power structure with all the power in the hands of the adults. The parents feel that the child should be controlled rather than that he should learn to control himself. To further their control, they make their love for the child appear to him to be conditional on his obedience to them; they emphasise the withdrawal of love by punishment.

Harris, Gough & Martin (5) found that parents of highly prejudiced children endorsed such statements as: "Obedience is the most important thing a child should learn" and "Children should never keep secrets from their parents." They were especially concerned with controlling impulsive behaviour in their children. Aggression, noise, temper, masturbation and sex play were particularly marked out for punishment.

A child brought up in this way cannot feel that his parents are partners with him in controlling his impulses. He feels that right and wrong are imposed upon him from outside himself, and he identifies them with impulses over which he has no control. Frenkel-Brunswik (6) has shown that such children see human relationships in terms of power and authority rather than trust and tolerance; the love of the power figures can only be retained if the children throw out of themselves the offending impulses.

Just as no one can be free of prejudices, so no one can throw out of himself all aggression, all sexual instincts, all ambivalence towards people close to him. So the child who feels he must appear to have done this, projects these feelings on to other people or groups of people. If he fears that by parental standards he is wild and lawless, then he must find a group so extremely lawless that in comparison with them he can see himself as law-abiding. Similarly, if he is terrified by a forbidden preoccupation with sex, he must choose a group whom he can see as so sexually charged that he sees himself as chaste by comparison. In this way he can deplore lawlessness and sexuality as his parents do, without having to recognise it in himself.

Such a child will project in this way on to whatever groups of people have already been established in his mind as "out-groups". From their earliest years all children learn to categorise people. They are taught not to talk to certain people (strangers for example); they see their

parents' world divided into friends and the rest; they are taught, perhaps, not to play with children outside their own racial, religious or social class group. Through this kind of natural dividing up of their social world, all children learn to feel themselves part of some groups and not part of others. Few parents directly teach their children to be prejudiced against a minority group. But if the child hears complaints about negro families taking all the available houses or jobs; or about Jews earning more money than any one else – if, in short, some racial or religious minority is used as a scapegoat by his parents – then such an out-group is likely to become a target for the child's projection. Many adults project a restlessness and wildness they feel unsuitable to their adult status on to an adolescent group: similarly, the myth of the great sexual potency of the negro arises partly from the conflict between the desire of Europeans to be both chaste and libertines.

Early manifestations of prejudice

The Philadelphia early childhood project (7) studied 750 children aged 5–7 in schools of different racial and religious compositions. Among other tests, it presented pictures of racially mixed groups of children in ordinary life situations. On being asked to describe what was happening in the pictures, 93% of the children responded in a way suggesting racial prejudice. Typical responses were: "That's a Jew church, so those must be Jew boys coming out. The others will beat them up I think, they don't like Jew boys." "All the other children will run away and leave the little coloured boy alone – that's what happens on my street."

Do children of this age know the meaning of these words or are they only mimicking adults? Mary Goodman (8) believes that the important thing is that even when they don't know the meaning, they recognise the emotional impact of phrases like "dirty nigger". As they get older they discover a group on whom they can visit this emotion – the phrase acquires a referent and a meaning. This differentiates such a phrase from childish insults like "stinking louse": a referent for "stinking louse" would be difficult to find, and, if it were found, prejudice against it would be quite socially acceptable!

Allport (1) supports this idea that a phrase that is "only words" at the beginning may lead to more serious things. He has suggested a "scale" of manifestations of prejudice which runs from anti-locution – merely speaking against the disliked group – through avoidance of members of that group, to actual discrimination against it. Next comes physical attack on the group or on symbols of it, and finally extermination by pogrom, lynching, massacre or genocide. Hitler's anti-locution led

Germans to avoid Jewish friends and neighbours; this made it easy to pass the Nurnberg discrimination laws. After that the beatings-up and the burning of synagogues must have seemed natural – the ovens at Auschwitz were only a final step. Only the first three of these manifestations are likely to appear in children, but the risk of progression up the scale increases the urgency of the need for combating prejudice through teaching: everything possible must be done to prevent the child who ignores his negro class-mates today from being the one who bans them from his street in a few years time.

The teacher's role in training for tolerance

(1) General

Any classroom is bound to contain children with many different degrees of prejudice against many different groups. Anti-white prejudice in a Kenyan school will require different handling from anti-negro prejudice in an American school. Anti-Semitism in an English school will similarly have to be handled differently from anti-Christian prejudice in an Israeli school. Therefore only the individual teacher can decide which of many possible approaches will suit his particular problem. A class of adolescent pupils in an area of high racial disturbance may have racial prejudices so deeply entrenched and so supported by the community that factual teaching will be totally ineffective and only dramatic approaches will have a chance of modifying them. Younger children, in a calmer area, may have misconceptions which rational argument can rectify before they solidify into outright prejudice. Whatever the situation, it is as well to remember, with Bibby(9), that the most prejudiced children are probably the most insecure, particularly in their relationship with authority figures. By rejecting them for their prejudiced attitudes the teacher may re-enact their experience with those first authority figures – the parents – and this, as we have seen, can only increase their need for scapegoats.

Since the teacher's task must vary so much from area to area it is unfortunate that local education authorities give so little formal training in teaching inter-group relations to their student teachers. America has made Social Science a respectable academic subject and many of her teachers have some qualification in it: but in England the training colleges to which I spoke denied the existence of an inter-group relations problem and therefore dismissed the need for training in handling it! Most of the help given to teachers in this respect is informal: based on the work of organisations like UNESCO, the Anti-Defamation League

in America, the English Institute of Race Relations and many branches of the Society of Friends. It is left to individual teachers to decide how much advantage they will take of this help, and no one calls them under-qualified if they take none.

(2) Teacher-Pupil relationships

Bibby(9) summed up the feeling of all educationalists who have written on this subject when he said that "the implicit assumptions and overt actions" of the teacher will be the most vital aspect of his teaching. This being so, the teacher must be sure of his own attitudes and facts before he attempts to teach towards good intergroup relations. Several publications may help in this. Bibby (9) covers the whole field of facts about race, the ethics of teaching about it, and ways in which it can be taught. A pamphlet for teachers issued by the Council of Citizens of East London (10) deals well with the relevant facts of evolution. Jules Isaacs (11) provides an excellent explanation of the roots of anti-semitism and of the technique of placing group prejudice in a historical perspective.

Clearly, having informed himself and assessed his own attitudes, the teacher must be able to put these over to his pupils in a way which will be meaningful to them. Every skill relevant to teaching any subject will be relevant here also. But since the children will, if teaching is effective, have to understand and abandon deeply rooted attitudes, methods involving close personal contact between teacher and pupil will probably be the most successful. This approach (and its results) are well described in the work of D. V. Connor (12).

(3) The organisation of Teaching

The organisation of a school is not normally the teacher's province, but the organisation of his teaching programme is. While he may not be able to unstream his school at will, he can decide what programme of human relations teaching will fit his particular needs.

Opinion is divided between teaching "social science" or "human relations" as a separate curriculum subject, or allowing its subject matter to permeate all other subjects in the normal course of events.

The Education Officer for the Society for Christians and Jews in England is a school teacher of many years standing. He believes that in this country at least this kind of teaching will not achieve respectability unless it takes a formal place in the curriculum and in examinations. He does not believe that most teachers have either the time or the initiative to replan their History syllabus to deal adequately with minority groups through the ages. Other countries whose teaching profession is less

conservative and whose syllabuses are newer may not find this difficult.

At present a mixture of techniques is used in those schools which do anything at all. Most American High Schools have a Social Studies course, but many also run special projects outside it. Many English Secondary schools bring some group-relations teaching under the umbrella of "civics". Some Primary schools teach History and Geography together with a "family of Man" approach.

In primary schools the teaching of social relations may start in any lesson and be carried over into others and into the "special projects" which abound in most modern classrooms. If the secondary school syllabus demands a more formal approach, a special course can be instituted and run on project lines, the themes for the projects being selected out of topics arising during other lessons. "The Adolescent at School" (13) reports first-hand experience of this approach from schools in ten countries including European, Indian and American work. Hemming (14) suggests an even closer link with other curriculum subjects: he suggests that the main content of the human relations course should be directed towards clear and independent thinking, and that subjects such as bias in history books and misleading statistics serve a dual educational function, encouraging clearer thought about the curriculum subject as well as teaching children to notice, consider and dismiss irrational attitudes.

(4) *Content of teaching*

Biology

Biology is the most usual framework for teaching the facts of racial differentiation and of evolution in general. Bibby (9) emphasises the importance of teaching children the impossibility of dividing the world up into distinct races: he gives examples of the racial mixtures in the inheritance of different countries, and deals with the lack of biological foundation for such notions as an "Aryan race", a "Jewish race" or a "pure racial type". A paper called "What we know about Race" (15) is particularly useful in that it deals with evolution and prejudice against the majority group by the minority as well as vice versa.

Once the idea of the infinite admixture of races has been conveyed, the question of stereotypes can be dealt with. Children can usually be persuaded to deal with this matter for themselves: for example they can build up a stereotype of the typical schoolchild, only to find that no one of their number exactly corresponds to it: are they then not school-children? Similarly, what is a horse? Given a horse, are both shetland ponies and carthorses part of the same breed?

Stereotypes of characteristics can be similarly attacked. Anthropological examples are useful: most European children have a stereotype of the Apache Indian which is fairly close to the culture of the Kwakiutl Indians. But the Pueblo, who are also AmerIndians, have a culture based on peaceful, gentle, interpersonal relationships.

Once the facts of differences among sub-groups within races have been explained, it is important to pursue the question of individual differences within those sub-groups. Braithwaite (16) describes the amazement of his white pupils on seeing that his blood was the same colour as their own. This could be pursued along the lines of blood groups knowing no racial boundaries. A child's life could be saved by blood from a man with a different skin colour, where blood from a relative might kill him. It is also often helpful to point out that the difficulty which one racial group finds in distinguishing members of another group one from the other applies in all directions. It seldom occurs to white children that West Indians or Chinese find it difficult to tell them apart.

Throughout such teaching there is a dual aim: firstly, to emphasise the basic similarity of all human beings and, secondly, to emphasise the vast range of individual differences within that basic humanity.

Reading

It might be thought that reading is a basic skill in which teaching for tolerance has little part. But learning to read is often accomplished from books so loaded with prejudice or with patronage that prejudiced attitudes may grow with the reading skill.

Outright prejudice is usually subtly expressed in reading primers: it just happens that it is always the ragged boy who is naughty or the coloured child who steals apples. Patronage is usually more open – “dear little nigger boys” run naked in the sun: they don’t go to school, and live ordinary lives like other children.

There are various books which avoid these pitfalls and learning to read is just as easy from them! “The Rabbit Bros”(17) is a case in point. “The Space Age”(18) is another in intent although it describes an African child as “burnt black by the sun.” An extensive catalogue called “Books are Bridges”(19) suggests books suitable for every age and stage.

History

Most standard History text books were written at a time when nationalism was stronger than it is today and fewer nations had an independent voice in world affairs. As a result, it is the subject into which most unconscious bias has crept. Much English history is said to have

been written to the tune of Rule Britannia! The teachers whom E. H. Dance(20) asked to assess such text books were horrified to find what biased material they had unthinkingly been teaching for years.

Teachers who are suitably alert to the bias may use it as a discussion point with their pupils: this can be useful, but there is a real danger that teachers themselves will not notice it. Dance(20) points out many dangers, and Bibby(9) points out others. For example while most books deal sympathetically with slavery, few pursue the fate of the slaves into the economic helplessness they faced after liberation. This is a vital point for any child to grasp if the present situation of, for example, coloured Americans is to be understood. Similarly, many history books deal with nationalism; very few make the vital connection between this and the persecution of the Jewish people in Europe.

Inconsistency of attitude is also a pitfall. For example there are certain despotic reigns in history which are almost universally condemned by the books. But there are others, equally despotic, which, because they were notable or valuable in other ways, escape criticism. Henry VIII is condemned for his pillaging of the monasteries, but Elizabeth I's persecution of the Roman Catholics is lightly passed over. If pupils can be taught to look for the reasons behind such inconsistencies they will be approaching understanding of many attitudes which bedevil us.

Geography

Despite the continued existence of an atlas which colours its maps in accordance with the "red, black, white, yellow and brown races," geography is taught as a far more social study than it used to be. This is all to the good except that it carries one great risk. Many teachers, intent on capitalizing on children's interest in other ways of life, have a tendency to study Eskimo sledges, Indian buffalo carts and Egyptian camel-trains, without making clear to their European pupils that these must be compared with the pony-trap and the American waggon-train. Modern life in other cultures gets ignored in favour of quaint customs which will catch the attention of the children. An exhibition of Indian Folk-art will interest children, but how many of them will realise that most of it lags as far behind modern practice as hand-weaving in any industrial country? This is the same well-meaning patronage that bedevils the children's reading primers already discussed.

The scope of human-relations teaching in geography is almost unlimited. Some interesting suggestions for the exchange of written material between schools in different countries are made by Myer Domnitz (21). Other ideas can be found in Braithwaite (16), who conducted a term's geography lessons

on the basis of international solutions to problems such as the Eradication of Malaria. This approach exemplifies the basic aim: to make clear to children the complete interdependence of countries today, and the increasing extent to which problems will demand international solutions. Phrases like "aid to under-developed nations" suggest a one-way traffic of resources which is far from being an accurate picture.

Literature

When Banton(22) conducted his study of the use made of Bibby's book(9), teachers frequently expressed to him their fear of reading, with their pupils, literature dealing with racial or religious issues. They felt that it might "create problems where none had existed before." But such literature should be invaluable to the teacher concerned with inter-group relations. A reading of *Othello* provides a far more lively basis for the discussion of racial inter-marriage than does a formal debate. Similarly, *The Merchant of Venice* should lead naturally into the kind of historical discussion of anti-semitism which was mentioned under history teaching.

Literature in which minority group prejudice is implied rather than stated is far more likely to have bad effects; unless, as with the history books, the teacher can bring the bias into the open for discussion. Rider Haggard's *King Solomon's Mines* is a case in point: there the negro servant is an admirable servant, but there is a clear, if unstated, inevitability about him being a servant: this is represented as his proper place in the scheme of things. Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is pernicious in its sentimentality, while Masfield's *Sard Harker* introduces a negro who has no place in the plot save that his introduction, by playing on the myth mentioned earlier on, increases the horror of a sexual seduction scene.

Religious Teaching

Many educationalists believe that a child's training in his own religion should take place outside the school - as is the case with many Jewish children who attend the *Cheder* as a separate part of their education. Any religious teaching which takes place within the school can then concern itself, as A. I. Polack(23) suggests, with the comparative and historical viewpoints. Jules Isaacs(11) also supports this approach since he believes that only through history can the spectre of anti-semitism be laid. Certainly it is surprising that we accept the desirability of teaching children the history of countries other than their own, but seldom the desirability of teaching them about other religions.

Any teacher who wishes to teach inter-group relations through religion has a duty to clear up the obvious misconceptions: for example the fact that Christ was a Jew takes much of the sting out of the taunt that the Jews crucified him – yet it is a fact of which many Christian children are ignorant, just as they are ignorant of the responsibility of the Romans for his death.

Perhaps it should also be part of the teacher's aim to help his older pupils to understand the difference between faith and observance, so that they appreciate the fundamental dignity of any religious belief however and wherever it is celebrated.

Finally, religious teaching still suffers somewhat from the historical connection of empire-building and missionary activity. Children should, in the interests of true tolerance, be taught that just as they can be proud of their own country without feeling that every foreigner should settle in it, so they can be proud of their own religion without despising people of a different faith.

Mathematics

Schools are increasingly making use of simple statistics in the teaching of mathematics. Statistics are an admirable tool for the teaching of tolerance. For example why not tie up the concepts of average and scatter with what has been taught about the irrationality and inefficiency of stereotypes?

M. G. Morant(22) gives a great deal of numerical material on ethnic resemblances and differences, much of which could be used in this way.

Children are always interested in learning about the origins of number systems. There is no harm in reminding Western pupils that much of our number system – from the numerals themselves to zero and the decimal point – had centuries of use in the Middle East, India and China before they reached Europe(25).

Other teaching methods used or suggested

There are some techniques which do not fit neatly into a subject slot, but which could be used, according to the situation, in almost any setting.

Dramatisation, by its nature involves getting into someone else's skin: if the skin is carefully chosen this can be an effective way of leading a prejudiced child to see through the eyes of his victims. Spencer Brown(26) describes a dramatisation method which is widely used in American High Schools. This involves the pupils in selecting a social problem relevant to their own community: collecting documentary material on it

from the community and from written sources; turning this material into a play and staging it.

A simpler approach could employ Gladys Baker Bond's "Playlets on Human Relations" (27). These are extremely well written for an adolescent group and deal with such issues as the difficulty of inviting an orthodox Jew to a Christian birthday party.

Local Studies are used with success by many schools in different countries. The idea is simply to show children what is involved in the things they take for granted, like water supplies or furniture manufacture, and by doing so to bring them into understanding contact with as many different groups of people as possible. A recent project in the North of England centred on a hospital: the children were amazed to learn that the hospital could not have functioned without its many West Indian nurses. This information contradicted the ideas which many of the children had about the laziness and uselessness of coloured immigrants. It led them, spontaneously, into an enquiry about other essential jobs which were filled by other coloured workers in the city.

Mass Media, such as films and television are always useful talking points in schools since they provide a link between school and home activities. Feature films, carefully chosen, could provide a very valuable insight into the lives of foreign cultures. For example Satjayit Ray's Indian trilogy (of which the first part, *Pather Panchali*, deals with a child of school age) gives a picture of Indian family life which is at the same time universal and unique. They can also help to correct frequent cinema stereotypes: for example a film such as *A man is ten foot tall* does an American negro the small service of showing him as just another man.

A similar argument applies to television and sound radio entertainment programmes. With rare, and notable, exceptions, these media employ stereotypes as pernicious as those of Hollywood. In England, at least, the Jim Crow mentality is still fed to about ten million minds every week in the television *Black and White Minstrel Show*. Even in drama, most plays using a negro character will have plots involving race. Negro actors are not simply actors yet.

Simple discussion of these group stereotypes may have some value in helping a child to recognise a stereotype when he sees one. Few English children believe, until they are told, that the American Wild West no longer exists.

Some countries already have television programmes designed for schools. Here, of course, the situation is different. The possibilities for visual presentation of the ethnographical and anthropological material already discussed, are infinite. Such programmes could also help to

familiarise children with the appearance, manners and accents of groups whom they might have little chance of meeting in the normal course of events.

Visits abroad, international conferences and teacher-exchanges.

Schools which are fortunate enough to be able to arrange foreign trips for their pupils will see the benefit in an enormous upsurge of interest in the lives and ways of other people: this interest can be put to good use in all the kinds of teaching we have already discussed.

Where such trips are impossible, exchanges of teachers can sometimes be arranged, and this should give pupils an opportunity of getting to know and to appreciate a member of an unfamiliar group. Such an experiment is described by James and Tenen in *The Teacher was Black* (28).

Where such exchanges cannot be arranged, conferences and meetings addressed by members of other racial or religious groups may be a useful way of providing face-to-face contact with these groups. Many organisations such as the Anti-Defamation League provide speakers for such occasions.

There are many real causes for conflict and tension between different groups of people in the world today. There are conflicting interests in economics, in politics and in ideology. But prejudice is not a "real" cause; "Prejudice is essentially error. In so far as it is a product of higher human faculties, it must be considered as an aberration of them." (29)

Prejudice is an aberration which we can ill-afford at a time when "The balance of the fate of the human race hangs primarily on the course of developments in the area of intergroup relations. . . ." (29) By understanding something of the social and psychological roots of prejudice and by employing those educational methods best suited to local manifestations of it, educationalists all over the world can help us towards a situation in which real conflicts of interest between groups can be rationally considered; a situation in which no new conflict is created or old conflict exacerbated by prejudice. Everybody has prejudices, but education can do much to remove their sting.

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ERZIEHUNG ZUR TOLERANZ

DIE ROLLE DER SCHULE
IN DER FÖRDERUNG VON GUTEN INTER-GROUPEN-BEZIEHUNGEN

VON PENELOPE LEACH, London

Das Wesen und der Ursprung von völkischen und Inter-Gruppen-Vorurteilen werden besprochen. Anhand von Forschungsergebnissen wird gezeigt, wie sich die Erziehung des Kindes auf die Bildung von Vorurteilen auswirkt. Besonderer Nachdruck wird auf den psychologischen Vorgang der Projektion gelegt, durch den Kinder als unerlaubt empfundene Impulse auf andere Gruppen übertragen.

Es wird betont, wie wichtig die Erziehung zu guten Inter-Gruppen-Beziehungen von frühester Jugend an ist, besonders im Hinblick auf die Schnelligkeit, mit der aus Vorurteilen negative Einstellungen entstehen können.

Die Einrichtung von formellen und informellen Unterrichtsprogrammen wird erörtert sowohl im Hinblick auf die allgemeinen Schwierigkeiten, die in der Gemeinschaft auftreten können, als auch bezüglich des spezifischen Inhaltes solcher Kurse. Jeder Lehrer muß selbst entscheiden, ob die Abhaltung besonderer Stunden über mitmenschliche Beziehungen oder eine allgemeine Durchdringung aller Fächer mit diesen Gedanken für seine Klasse geeigneter ist. Die Erfahrungen aus einigen Schulen deuten darauf hin, daß das letztere Verfahren bei Kindern im Grundschulalter, das erstere dagegen bei älteren Kindern wirksamer ist.

Einige Fächer eignen sich besonders gut für die Erziehung zu guten Inter-Gruppen-Beziehungen. So können z.B. im Biologie-Unterricht Tatsachen der Rassendifferenzierung und -entwicklung behandelt werden, während im Religionsunterricht sowohl Tatsachen vermittelt als Einstellungen beeinflußt werden. Aber fast jedes Fach bietet Gelegenheit zu Diskussionen, und dafür werden Vorschläge gemacht.

Verschiedene Methoden für die direkte Unterweisung in Inter-Gruppen-Beziehungen werden dargestellt, von denen einige besonders geeignet sein mögen für Schulen, in denen rassische oder religiöse Spannungen vorhanden sind, und wo eine Umerziehung nötig ist.

Welche besonderen Umstände auch immer vorliegen mögen und welche Methoden in der einzelnen Schule angewandt werden, wird die Einstellung und die Begeisterung des Lehrers von ausschlaggebender Bedeutung sein: ein einseitig gefärbtes Geschichtsbuch und ein unvoreingenommener Lehrer sind weniger gefährlich als ein gutes Geschichtsbuch und ein voreingenommener Lehrer.

ENSEIGNEMENT POUR LA TOLERANCE

LE RÔLE DE L'ÉCOLE
DANS L'ENCOURAGEMENT DE RELATIONS POSITIVES ENTRE GROUPES

par PENELOPE LEACH, Londres

La nature et les origines des préjugés de groupe et d'ethnie sont discutées. Des recherches sont menées pour démontrer l'importance qu'a le genre d'éducation sur l'enfant quant à la création de tels préjugés. L'accent est mis spécialement

sur le mécanisme psychologique de la projection par lequel les enfants transmettent à d'autres groupes les impulsions qui leur semblent inacceptables pour eux-mêmes.

L'importance de l'enseignement de bonnes relations entre groupes à partir du plus jeune âge est soulignée spécialement en raison de la rapidité avec laquelle les attitudes de préjugé peuvent se développer.

L'incitation de programmes d'enseignement officiels ou officieux est discutée, tous deux dans le cadre des difficultés générales qui peuvent se présenter dans une communauté et dans le cadre de la matière spécifique de tels cours. Chaque professeur doit décider lui-même si un cours séparé sur les "relations humaines" ou si une infiltration générale d'autres matières se rapportant à cette question conviennent le mieux à sa classe. L'expérience semble démontrer que dans certaines écoles la dernière solution peut être la plus efficace quand il s'agit d'enfants des écoles primaires et la première quand il s'agit d'enfants plus âgés.

Certaines matières du programme semblent être des moyens de propagation heureux pour l'enseignement de relations entre groupes: La biologie, par exemple, convient très bien pour l'enseignement des éléments de différenciation et d'évolution raciale tandis que la religion peut à la fois convenir aux faits et aux attitudes. Mais presque toute matière offre des occasions de discussion et quelques suggestions sont présentées dans ces lignes.

Différentes méthodes d'enseignement direct des relations inter-groupes sont relatées; certaines d'entre elles peuvent être particulièrement adéquates dans des écoles où la tension raciale ou religieuse est forte et où une rééducation est nécessaire. Quels que soient les circonstances et méthodes spécifiques de chaque école, les attitudes et l'enthousiasme du professeur doivent être l'élément principal de cet enseignement. Un livre d'histoire tendancieux employé par un professeur sans préjugés est moins dangereux qu'un bon livre d'histoire entre les mains d'un professeur tendancieux.

COMMUNICATIONS - BERICHTE - COMMUNICATIONS

LEADING EDUCATORS AND ECONOMISTS APPOINTED TO ACT AS CONSULTANTS TO INTERNATIONAL EDUCATIONAL PLANNING INSTITUTE

Philip H. Coombs, Director of the International Institute for Educational Planning, today announced that 24 leading educators and economists have agreed to serve as consultants to the Institute in all phases of its programme. The Institute was founded under the auspices of Unesco.

This group will constitute a Council of Consultant Fellows, elected by the Governing Board of the Institute. *Mr. Coombs* will serve as Chairman and *Mr. Raymond Poignant* of France, a senior staff member of the Institute, will serve as Vice-Chairman.

The majority of the consultant fellows are already scheduled for direct participation in research activities and seminars. They are:

MM. Jorge Ahumada (Chile), Director of the Center for Development Studies, Central University of Venezuela, Caracas;

Isao Amagi (Japan), Director of the Research Bureau, Japanese Ministry of Education, Tokyo;

C. Arnold Anderson (United States), Director of the Center for Comparative Education, University of Chicago, Illinois;

Jan Auerhan (Czechoslovakia), Director of Research, Institute of Economic Studies, Academy of Sciences, Prague;

Jean Capelle (France), Director-General of Organization and Curricula, Ministry of National Education, Paris;

Adam Curle (United Kingdom), Director of the Center for the Studies of Education and Development, Harvard Graduate School of Education, Cambridge, Mass.;

Michel Debeauvais (France), Deputy Director of the Institute for Economic and Social Development, Paris;

K. Onwuka Dike (Nigeria), Rector of University College, Ibadan, and Director of the National Archives of Nigeria;

Friedrich Edding (Federal Republic of Germany), Director of the International Institute for Educational Research, Frankfurt;

Lionel Elvin (United Kingdom), Director of the Institute of Education, University of London,

Jean Fourastié (France), President of the Commission on Manpower, General Planning Commission, Paris;

Giovanni Gozzer (Italy), Director, Educational Planning and Research Division, Ministry of Public Instruction, Rome;

Frederick Harbison (United States), Professor of Economics, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey;

Torsten Husén (Sweden), Professor of Applied Pedagogy, Stockholm Teacher's College, Stockholm;

V. A. Jamin (USSR), Director of the Lenin Institute of Pedagogy, Moscow;

W. Arthur Lewis (Jamaica), Professor of Economics, Princeton University;

G. Konstantin Nojko (USSR), Director, Ministry of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education, Moscow;

Pitambar Pent (India), Chief of the Manpower Division of the Indian Planning Commission, New Delhi;

Raja Roy Singh (India), Director of Educational Research Department, Ministry of Education, New Delhi;

Bogdan Suchodolski (Poland), Professor of Pedagogical Sciences, University of Warsaw;

Anisio S. Teizeira (Brazil), Counsellor, Federal Council of Education, Rio de Janeiro;

Jan Tinbergen (Netherlands), Director of the Netherlands Economic Institute, Rotterdam;

John Vaizey (United Kingdom), Fellow of Worcester College, Oxford.

(UNESCO 30.6.1964)

CURRENT TRENDS IN SWEDISH TEACHER-TRAINING

The school is a greatly institutionalized sector of society, often to the extent that it is left far behind in the changes that take place in other sectors. Teacher-training, for various reasons, appears to be the most institutionalized part of the educational system. There seems to exist a universal tendency not to re-examine it until the school organization has been more or less profoundly changed. Sweden is an interesting illustration of the general principles of educational change stated above.

The entire school organization in Sweden has been under constant review by Governmental committees since 1940. The Education Act passed by the Riksdag (Swedish Parliament) in 1962 made provision for a nine-year compulsory basic school (*grundskola*), comprehensive in the sense that it caters for the educational needs of every child, irrespective of his social origin or place of residence. The Act put an end to the discussion of the problem of to what extent the previous dual or parallel system should be kept within the framework of compulsory schooling. The central problem was the same as in many other European countries: how to rid the educational system of a school organization that on the secondary level, i.e. among the teenagers, makes separate provision, on the one hand, for a small élite and, on the other, for the rest of the pupils, a structure that mirrors a class-stratified and relatively static society. The "parallel" system implies great differences of prestige between academic, pre-university education, on the one hand, and non-academic, vocational or "practical" education on the other.

A prestige-stratified system of schools, in its turn, has its counterpart in teacher training on different levels of esteem. Sweden has until now had two types of teachers, corresponding to the two main types of schools, i.e. on the one hand elementary-school teachers trained at normal schools or teacher-training colleges and, on the other, subject teachers who received the bulk of their training at the universities. Elementary-school teachers have since 1842 been trained at special teacher-training colleges. Subject teachers at the pre-university schools (*läroverk*) before 1865 received their entire education, earlier including a course in pedagogics, at the university. Thereafter the subject training leading up to a university degree was followed by a "trial year" with supervised and graded teaching practice.

The training of teachers

An elementary-school teacher had before 1937 to be trained for a six-grade elementary school and after that for a seven- or eight-year elementary school and was expected to teach all subjects, including the non-academic ones, such as music and arts and crafts. Since 1940 an increasing number of teacher candidates for the elementary schools have before admission passed the *studentexamen*, i.e. the matriculation examination qualifying for university admission. The percentage is now about 70. After 1907, when a special teaching degree (Master of Arts) was introduced, a teacher in the lower (*realskola*) or upper (*gymnasium*) section of the secondary school was trained for two or three school subjects at the university. A special course in psychology and pedagogics was taken as part of the degree, whereupon supervised and graded teaching practice was obtained at certain *gymnasia*, to which the teacher candidate was assigned for one year, recently in most cases one semester. A prospective head teacher had until the 1940's to pass not only the licentiate (an intermediate degree) but also the doctorate, which in many cases required more than 5-6 years of study after the master's degree.

The 1946 School Commission, which submitted its report to the Government in 1948, accepted on the whole the previous categorization of teachers, i.e. class teachers in the first six grades and subject teachers with master's degrees for grades 7 through 9. This pattern was sanctioned by the 1950 *Riksdag* which passed an Education Act under which the nine-year comprehensive or unitary school was to be introduced on a trial basis for a period of about 10 years, the introduction being dependent upon the initiative of local authorities and the extra expenditures being defrayed by contributions from the State. The new organization had been introduced for about half the school population of compulsory school age, when the 1962 *Riksdag* resolved to introduce it in the remaining part of the country.

The educational "explosion"

Both the new organizational set-up and the teacher shortage due to the educational "explosion" has since 1950 brought about a lessening of the previous dualism or dichotomy between elementary- and secondary-school teachers. An increasing number of elementary-school teachers, after an in-service training in, as a rule, two subjects, have qualified as subject teachers in grades 7 through 9, i.e. on the upper level of the comprehensive school. Under an agreement between the teachers' associations and the Government, the proportion of teachers with a master's degree to elementary-school teachers with one year of in-service training should be as 60 to 40 per cent. In order to stimulate further training, leave of absence with a moderate reduction of salary could be granted for this purpose.

Independently of the school reform, the "education explosion" after 1950 caused an embarrassing teacher shortage, especially of teachers in grades 7 through 9, but also in most subjects in grades 10 through 12. Since the subject teachers have until recently been trained for a selective and academic élite school, many of them have preferred to teach either in the remaining lower sections of the pre-university schools (grades 5 through 9) or in the *gymnasium* (grades 10 through 12). But in so far as comprehensive schools have been established for grades 7 through 9 and since the *gymnasia* have expanded at an accelerating rate, subject teachers have been absorbed by the *gymnasium*. Thus the shortage has had its most serious repercussions on the upper section of the comprehensive school, where a large number of teachers have not obtained an adequate training. The

problem is especially serious in remote areas. It can be mentioned that in northern Sweden more than 50 per cent of the teaching on the upper level is provided by teachers without formal qualifications. Answering a question in the *Riksdag* at the end of November 1963, the Minister of Education mentioned that, of 13,800 teaching posts contemplated for teachers with a university degree, about 5,500 were occupied by unqualified holders. The situation would have led to a catastrophe had not a considerable number of elementary-school teachers undergone in-service training which qualified them to teach two subjects on the upper level of the comprehensive school.

Surpassed forecasts

Forecasts have consistently turned out to be underestimations. Thus in 1958 the University Committee predicted that the universities would turn out so many teachers as to create a surplus of language teachers and of teachers of Swedish at the beginning of the sixties. The shortage of both categories is now more serious than ever.

The School Commission in 1948 proposed to the Government that teacher-training proper, i.e. courses in methods and pedagogy and teaching practice for *all* prospective teachers should take place at a new type of training institution, namely, institutes of education, where research and educational development would be promoted by establishing chairs in education and special posts in methods. The first institute of education started in 1956 in Stockholm to train teachers for grades 4 through 9 of the comprehensive school and for the *gymnasium*, i.e. grades 10 through 12. It was also assigned a considerable part of the research program of the 1957 School Committee.

Teacher-training in Sweden, as in other countries with an expanding school enrolment, is, however, not only a qualitative but a quantitative problem as well.

The shortage of teachers and the need to replace the previous training system in teacher-training colleges and special "trial year" *gymnasia* respectively made the Government appoint a Teacher-Training Committee, which started its work in 1960. Apart from suggesting provisions for future institutes of education, it had to inquire into the problem of the prospective quantitative demand for teachers. As a result of the 1962 Education Act on the comprehensive school, additional terms of reference were given to the Committee, under which it had to review radically the content of teacher training in order to make it compatible with the goals of the new school.

Impact on universities

The new terms of reference caused some concern in university quarters. The Minister of Education pointed out that a solution of the teacher training problem, as far as subject training was concerned, should in the first place be sought within the administrative framework of the existing resources of the universities and institutes of education. But if an adequate solution could not be found, the Committee should feel free to suggest provisions outside the universities.

Irrespective of the principal solution which might be found, the task of training teachers will in the future profoundly affect the working conditions of the faculties of arts and science in two ways. In the first place, it will draw very much upon the teaching-personnel resources of the universities, since prospective school-teachers are by far the largest group graduating from the two faculties. Secondly,

research workers have to be recruited among students who are also potential teacher candidates. If subject teachers were trained in the respective disciplines in accordance with plans of study which differed very much from those designed for more unspecified purposes and furthermore, if these students were trained in isolation from their contemporaries, this would, at least for some of them, imply a blind alley. Graduate studies could be taken up only after additional courses, especially in the research methods that have hitherto formed an important part of the training given to students heading for a master's degree.

Research disciplines and school disciplines

On the other hand, the lack of congruence between research disciplines and school disciplines has become more and more acute and has called for a radical revision of the former training organization. According to the regulations for the first degree (bachelor's or master's degree) in the faculties of arts and science, as a rule three university disciplines from a large number of alternatives can be combined in a master's degree, which in principle qualifies the holder to teach two school subjects. For example, zoology and botany qualify the graduate as a biology teacher. Together with chemistry, these two disciplines will, in the first place, qualify the graduate for a master's degree and, in the second place, after practical teacher-training, for a secondary-school assignment in two school subjects. Political science, economy and history together qualify a teacher in social studies and history.

Since the M.A. regulations of 1907 were introduced, the number of university disciplines in the teacher training faculties have increased from 26 to about 100. The greater differentiation has run contrary to a tendency in the schools, to bring about integration between school subjects. Experience from the experimental activities in the 1950's showed that a teacher in grades 7 through 9 ought to have qualifications in three or four school subjects instead of two. Similar problems have emerged as a result of the thorough revision of the organization and curriculum of the *gymnasium* proposed in 1963 by the Gymnasium Committee in its report to the Government. Thus the Committee has designed a system of courses for prospective teachers in social studies given by the university departments of economics, political science, sociology and geography. Since human biology has not been included in the university disciplines of zoology and botany, it will be necessary to supplement the previous studies with courses in genetics and physiology.

Thus the problem with which the universities are faced is this: training for specific professions, like the teaching profession, can no longer be structured in terms of general university disciplines, i.e. in a system of courses devised mainly to give prospective research workers their basic orientation in the discipline as such.

New examination regulations are envisaged

One semester of full-time study of one subject has been counted as equivalent to one credit in the final degree. A certain number of credits (six for a master's degree according to set combinations) make up a degree. In order to provide adequate subject training, new provisions have to be made, which call for new administrative arrangements, especially such inter-disciplinary and even inter-faculty co-operation as will be necessary when training biology or social-studies teachers. Several departments will have to contribute to the training in a given school subject and *ad hoc* committees will have to be organized. Above all, the degree

regulations will have to be changed, so that a more flexible system of credits can be arrived at, which will more adequately meet the needs of teacher-training.

At present, the prospective teachers are a diffuse part of the students enrolled in the faculties of arts and science. Most of them do not make up their minds about taking up teaching until they have taken their master's degree or even later. In some cases the choice is a negative one, other alternatives being inaccessible. The desperate need for secondary-school teachers, however, has made it imperative that planning should take place to the same extent as is the case when framing the admission policy for prospective doctors, economists or civil engineers. In short, some sort of "earmarking" will have to take place. This will imply that the Minister of Education must plan for the future "production" of teachers and that the *Riksdag* every year must make the necessary appropriations corresponding to a given enrollment of teacher candidates.

More "goal-directed" training

Most of those concerned, agree that the training of subject teachers must be more "goal-directed" than hitherto. Apart from "earmarking" the candidates, two other measures can be taken. Courses in education and educational psychology and teaching practice have to be related more closely to the study of subject matter. "Integration", however, should not be confused with "mixture". A few visits to classrooms at the beginning of his or her university studies will help the teacher candidate to a more realistic conception of the part he or she is to play. The inclusion of a brief course giving the candidate the general structure of the school subject he is going to teach will work in the same direction.

There seems to be agreement among those who have been given the task of devising the new teacher-training that will fit the new school (both the compulsory comprehensive school and the new *gymnasium*) that study will have to be made up of a fixed sequence of subject courses, integrated to some extent with certain parts of the teacher-training proper, in order to achieve greater relevancy.

Until now teaching practice and courses in methods have been conceived of as something that should entirely be provided after the university degree and outside the university.

The extent to which teacher-training proper should be a responsibility of the universities or of the schools of education is still an unsettled issue. It has been suggested that the candidates should from the outset be enrolled in institutes of education and then for a certain time be sent to the university, in order to be given tailor-made, required courses, the argument being that the universities are too conservative and inflexible to be given the administrative responsibility of training teachers. On the other hand, it has been argued that in a changing society, when the subject matter of education is under constant review as a result of very progressive research, teacher training in its full scope must be given at the universities, in order to profit from the spirit of inquiry that is an essential element of the academic atmosphere. Those who teach the methods must work in close co-operation with those who teach the subject matter. An integration of the institutes of education into the universities would avoid a dangerous dualism between, on the one hand, academic substance and, on the other, educational theory and practice.

A break from the European pattern

How the prestige-coloured dualism between elementary-school teachers and subject teachers on the upper level of the comprehensive school and the *gymnasium* should be removed is still an open question. Since all the prospective elementary-school teacher candidates admitted to the institutes of education have passed the matriculation examination and thus are eligible for the universities, they can in principle be enrolled. A unification of this kind would imply not only a break from the European pattern of training elementary-school teachers but also certain radical changes in their curriculum of studies. The multiplicity of courses will have to be reduced in favor of concentration. Thus it will be possible during training to qualify for elementary-school teaching to lay the foundations in two or three subjects for further studies, which will qualify for teaching on the upper level of the comprehensive school. In the same sense a student who has qualified for the upper section can deepen his knowledge of the subjects, in order to qualify as a *gymnasium* teacher.

It has been more and more realized that in a changing world, in which the requirements of to-morrow cannot be predicted in detail, in-service training will be of paramount importance. As one example, we may quote the requirements emerging from the new *gymnasium* inquiry. In order to be competent to fulfil their functions as teachers in social studies and biology, hundreds of history and biology teachers will have to take courses to such an extent that re-training would be a more adequate expression than in-service training. It is symptomatic that within the new National Board of Education a strong Division of Teacher-Training and Research and Development has been organized.

The reforms, both the introduction and implementation of the comprehensive school and the new *gymnasium*, imply a re-definition of the social role of the teacher. The new curricula describe his tasks not only as a transmitter of knowledge but also as an educator in the broadest sense of the word, such as a counsellor and youth leader. This pertains especially to the upper section of the comprehensive school. Previously, on that level, the *élite* conception meant that only a gradually decreasing minority could take the leaving examination. Now, all types and levels of ability and interest have to be taken care of.

TORSTEN HUSÉN, Stockholm

EDUCATIONAL BROADCASTING AND CHARLES A. SIEPMANN

Considering that educational television from space satellites may make airborne television obsolete by 1971, one may forget some of the early day pioneers in the field of educational broadcasting. Such a forerunner was Charles A. Siepmann.

He was born in Bristol, England, in 1899. During World War I, Siepmann won the Military Cross as a British artilleryman in Italy. Upon graduating from Oxford, he became an Education Officer in 1924 and then House Master of one of the Borstal reform schools for delinquent boys. In 1927, he joined the Adult Education Department of the BBC, where he organized radio discussion groups and directed and developed its educational services. He became Director of Talks (public service and school broadcasting) in 1932. Four years later he was appointed BBC Director of Program Planning.

In 1937, Siepmann came to the United States under the auspices of the Rocke-

feller Foundation to study educational broadcasting. In 1939, he served on the British Government Committee which determined radio's role in war time. From December, 1939 to March, 1942, he was University Lecturer at Harvard University, acting as adviser to the President on radio developments and conducting research on the social and educational significance of radio in the United States.

During World War II, Siepmann wrote *Radio in Wartime* and served as Assistant Director of the Office of War Information. In July, 1945, as an American citizen, he served as special consultant to the Federal Communications Commission and helped write the "Blue Book". In 1945-1946, he was special consultant to the Director of Information, UNRRA and completed his book *Radio's Second Chance*.

Siepmann assumed the position of Chairman, Department of Communications in Education, and Professor of Education at New York University in June 1946. In 1948, he wrote *The Radio Listener's Bill of Rights* and in 1950 *Radio, Television and Society*. *Television and Education in the United States* was written for UNESCO in 1952. He became a consultant for the Fund for the Advancement of Education in 1956. His book, *TV and Our School Crisis*, published in 1958, received the Frank Stanton Award for Meritorious Research on the Media of Mass Communication.

Professor Siepmann has written numerous articles about broadcasting and its relation to education, as well as its effect on our society. In addition, he has authored several reports and studies of educational television in the United States, West Germany and Canada.

Before "communication's golden age", teaching was confined to the classroom. In our present day, "we have all the instruments we need for rapid, extensive, and vivid communication, but we don't yet know the uses to which they might be put," says Siepmann. He believes that perhaps the greatest threat to our culture results from the general underestimation, in mass communication, of the public's potentialities.¹⁾ Siepmann contends: "Unless we harness the mass media to formal and informal education to help create the knowledge and the moral fiber that alone will see us through, our rivals will outbid us in the race against time that we are surely running."²⁾

Teachers are still making only partial and imperfect use of the resources offered by modern science, according to Siepmann. He asserts that the film, radio, magazines, and press are all material resources as apt to the teaching profession's purposes as blackboard and textbook. He advocates an "extensive retooling of the machine shop of education, with reference to the use of these resources." He claims that the schools have disregarded a whole dimension of modern life.³⁾

Siepmann points out that the mass media offer an easy exit from the realities of existence and "an invitation to escape into a spurious world of fantasy." Escapism, passivity, and dependence are marked characteristics of our society. The mass media of communication find mass markets for their work among millions whose thwarted lives and limited education make them easy prey for the escapist trash foisted upon them. These media, according to Siepmann, bid side

¹ Siepmann, *Radio, Television and Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1950), p. 269.

² Siepmann, "Journalism and the Crisis of Our Time," *The Journalism Educator*, XV (Summer, 1960), pp. 62-65.

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³ Siepmann, "Mass Communication - A Challenge to Teachers," *National Education Association Journal*, XXXVII (May, 1948), pp. 290-291.

by side with teachers for the loyalty of adults and children alike. He states that:

... Insofar as influence of these new and powerful rivals is good, teachers should wrest it to their advantage. Insofar as it is evil and conflicts with the ideals to which teachers owe allegiance, it must be countered.¹⁾

The crux of Siepmann's philosophy is that education must harness the power of the mass media, especially radio and television. He concludes his theory that radio can educate, with five points. He says that radio can educate:

1. If we define education in terms appropriate to the audience catered to by radio.
2. If we recognize the limitations of the medium and avail ourselves for social ends of its unique resources of technique and of appeal.
3. If we, as educators, stop barking up the wrong tree and rid ourselves of cultural preconceptions about what education means deriving from our own privileged experience of its influence.
4. If the radio industry will think a little less of quick returns of profit and more of the "public interest, convenience, and necessity" which it is charged to serve; if radio will stop hitting the public below the belt by exploitation of its weaknesses.
5. If educators and the industry get together and organize the machinery of education on a scale commensurate with the range and power and resources of the medium for purposes that will command the respect and admiration of all right-thinking people.²⁾

Superficial and meaningless facts do not constitute Siepmann's goals for the use of radio and television. He desires communication in depth, aimed at an understanding of other peoples that comprises all the subtleties and many-sided facets of their culture. He thinks this profundity may prove more fruitful of results than a more widespread dissemination of superficial information.³⁾

Siepmann believes that Americans are the most informed people in the world and in the history of man. But he thinks that what educators and society tend to overlook is that there is a fundamental difference between information and knowledge. "And to transform information into knowledge, which is the clothing of fact with meaning and significance, is perhaps the central function of educational broadcasting today," he says.⁴⁾

There are commercial and non-commercial (educational) radio and television stations in the United States. Siepmann believes that a different relationship can be established between a listener and an educational station and between a listener and a commercial station. He maintains that listeners consciously and unconsciously are aware that despite this seeming service which commercial radio offers to their desire to relax, there is an element of conscious exploitation in it all the time. He states:

... I think that the educational broadcaster has a point which gives him a tremendous premium of advantages over the commercial broadcaster. The question of his sincerity does not arise; it is reflected in his service, it is the measure of his attention to the central needs of the persons provided for.⁵⁾

In 1937, the Rockefeller Foundation asked Siepmann (who was now BBC Director of Program Planning) to come to the United States to study the state of educational radio. The report he wrote concluded that educational radio stations in the United States lacked adequate financial backing, resources of staff, adequate time, and skilled performers. He discovered that commercial broadcasting had dispersed and relatively uncoordinated work and that educational broadcasting

¹⁾ *Ibid.*

²⁾ Siepmann, "Can Radio Educate?" *Journal of Educational Sociology*, XIV (February, 1941), pp. 346-357.

³⁾ Siepmann, "Propaganda and Information in International Affairs," Reprinted from *The Yale Law Journal*, LV (August, 1946), p. 1270.

⁴⁾ Siepmann, "Philosophy of Broadcasting," Remarks made at the Seminar on Educational Radio, Allerton House, University of Illinois, July 2, 1949, (Mimeographed), p. 6.

⁵⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

was something of an *et cetera* in the general framework of entertainment and advertisers' objectives.¹⁾

The president of Harvard University cabled Siepmann in 1939 to serve as lecturer. He was asked to study educational broadcasting in the United States and advise its president on radio and its techniques.²⁾ Upon his arrival, he was appalled to discover that of 500 United States universities offering radio courses, only four considered the social implications of the medium.³⁾ He stated radio must grapple with contemporary problems.

Siepmann maintained that educators would not succeed with radio until they acquired a much fuller and more professional understanding of the tricks of the trade. He advocated methods to stir up the people's conscience with the truth. One of these techniques was the bringing of real people and real situations into the home through radio.⁴⁾

During World War II, Siepmann joined the Office of War Information and devoted his efforts to the problems of international broadcasting. After the war, he wrote *Radio's Second Chance*. The title bespoke its contents. He declared that a miracle had happened. "Radio has a second chance." This new opportunity was the technique of FM (frequency modulation) which created many new frequencies for radio broadcasting. The Federal Communications Commission had reserved 20 channels for non-commercial use. Siepmann hoped that educational broadcasting would not suffer the same fate as it had with AM (Amplitude modulation) broadcasting in the 1930's.⁵⁾ He advocated the teaching of the social implications of radio and the use of this medium as a tool of education.⁶⁾ Calling for the establishment of a production center for public service programs, he hoped this center would pool the best talent available and provide the new FM educational stations with transcriptions of quality programs.⁷⁾ The Educational Television and Radio Center became a reality a few years later.

Siepmann, who had become Professor of Education and Chairman of the Department of Communications in Education at New York University in 1946, pressed his case for educational broadcasting. He saw the need for the organization of educational broadcasters into a lobby in Congress.⁸⁾ He also believed that educational stations should publicize excellent commercial network presentations.⁹⁾ He was convinced that:

...Anyone concerned with public education in the field of social tension can ill afford to neglect radio as a resource. It provides, both potentially and actually, a social handbook with the unique advantage of being practically universally available at no direct cost to the consumer.¹⁰⁾

1) Siepmann, "Needed Techniques in Educational Broadcasts," *Education On The Air*, edited by Josephine H. MacLachy (Columbus: Ohio State University, 1940), XI, Part VII, 170-174.

2) *New York Times*, December 10, 1939, p. 39.

3) "Dynamite at Harvard," *Time*, XXXVIII (October 6, 1941), p. 57.

4) Siepmann, "Needed Techniques in Educational Broadcasts," *op. cit.*

5) Siepmann, *Radio's Second Chance* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1946), pp. 239-252.

6) *Ibid.*, pp. 263-265.

7) *Ibid.*, pp. 270-276.

8) The NAEB fulfills this function.

9) Siepmann, "A Clinic for College and University Stations," *Education On The Air*, edited by O. Joe Olson (Columbus: Ohio State University, 1947), XVIII, Part III, pp. 232-235.

10) Siepmann, *The Radio Listener's Bill of Rights*, (New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai Brith, 1948), p. 30.

In his book, *Radio, Television and Society*, released in 1950, Siepmann continued to "beat the drum" for in-school and adult education via radio. He discussed the difficulties which stood in the way of attempts to use radio in the classroom or to broadcast educational programs over commercial stations. Joseph W. Krutch and other critics, however, considered it a mistake to use radio and television within the framework of the educational system. Opponents of educational broadcasting for schools claimed that the chief result of employing what educators call the audio-visual techniques might ultimately be the destruction of the ability to read. Yet, Krutch called Siepmann's book clear and fair.¹⁾

Radio, Television and Society suggested that educational broadcasting was fated, doomed to failure if it attempted to ape or rival the commercial broadcaster. "Its real opportunity is to provide those services (and they are many) that commercial broadcasting either does not provide at all or offers in inadequate amount and quality." ²⁾ Siepmann advocated a national educational radio network financed from federal funds, but directed independently of government by a board of responsible citizens. He was aware, however, that opposition to this plan would exist.³⁾ (It still does).

While arguments raged over the use of radio for in-school broadcasts, another medium made its appearance on the scene. Television was hailed by many as being even a greater tool for education than radio. The Federal Communications Commission was asked to reserve television channels for education. Siepmann was sceptical. He remembered that the FCC had allotted frequencies in the FM band for education four years earlier. That option had been partially taken up by the educators. In terms of this precedent, he stated:

...Television for school purposes does not seem to me to have too happy a future. Even if the educators were ready to jump in, I still see obstacles. I question whether the academic world, even if it could muster the finances, could perform a really professional job? ⁴⁾

Siepmann believed that educators should continue with the development of films. He claimed that the price of classroom television was too high. Films, he thought, had greater advantage to offer schools and colleges. He placed television low on this list of priorities for the needs of education. Siepmann stated that long before the schools utilized television, provision must be made for better teachers, more rigorously trained and better paid. He also called for smaller classes and more and better equipment for the children's use. "When national expenditure on drink and sports and gambling is less than on education, instead of three, five, and six times as much, I'll say amen to television," he said.⁵⁾

Siepmann was convinced, however, that the FCC should reserve channels for non-commercial television in the interests of adults. He stated in 1951:

...I am convinced that you are witnessing today the Golden Age of Television - that there are actually more programs of quality and originality on the air today than there will be five, ten, fifteen years from now because the operation of simple economic laws will drive sponsors increasingly to the lowest common denominator program. I abandon commercial television to mass entertainment and have the smallest hope of its producing a diversity even comparable to what radio has provided. The need of our society is for choice - and a much wider choice than radio ever achieved...⁶⁾

¹⁾ Joseph W. Krutch, "Freedom For Radio and TV," *Commentary*, X (November, 1950), pp. 434-438.

²⁾ Siepmann, *Radio, Television and Society*, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

³⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 288-289.

⁴⁾ Siepmann, "Television and Education," *New Republic*, CXXIV (February 26, 1951), pp. 17-24.

⁵⁾ Siepmann, "Is Television an Asset or Liability to Education," *Bulletin of America's Town Meeting of the Air*, XVI (February 13, 1951), pp. 4 ff.

⁶⁾ Siepmann, "Television and Education," *op. cit.*

Nothing, he believed, would save the American public from the fate of mass entertainment except the reservation of television devoted exclusively to education "in the true sense of that word" and operated by persons wholly dedicated to that end.¹⁾

On April 14, 1952, the FCC reached a momentous decision. It reserved 242²⁾ channels for non-commercial use. This did not relieve commercial stations of their responsibility to serve the public, however.³⁾ Siepmann commented: "If full advantage is taken of the frequencies reserved for education by the FCC, what may ultimately emerge is a network, or series of networks, of educational stations comparable to the commercial networks now in operation."⁴⁾

Suddenly, in the mid-1950's, the American public became aware of a crisis in education. The turning point came when the Soviet Union launched its Sputnik. The United States was apparently losing its role as world leader. The plight in education in this country was not only that of not having enough scientists. The essence of the crisis in education was that there were too few teachers for too many students, and prospects appeared that things would get worse in the following years. The two main sources of the trouble were a sharp rise in the birth-rate which had resulted in rapid overcrowding of the nation's classrooms, and relative decrease in the supply of qualified teachers.⁵⁾

In 1957, Siepmann was asked by The Fund for the Advancement of Education to make a study of the first year of the national program in the use of television in the public schools. His opinion, that television was not a top priority for in-school use, changed. He visited schools and studied reports. He came to realize "how plastic and variant are the potential uses of television."⁶⁾ His attitudes toward the uses of television in education had altered. In a speech to the AAUW (American Association of University Women), he said the reasons he had changed his mind were the crisis in education and the use of television even in its rudimentary stage. "I went, I saw, and I was conquered," he told the educators.⁷⁾

Siepmann described the plight in education. He said that standards of attainment and of intellectual discipline had lapsed. Many, he thought, had lost sight of the very goal of education ("... a grasp of life in all its manifestations"). Public school graduates were ill-equipped for life or for higher education. "They are imperfect masters of English, show startling ignorance of public affairs, have no sense of history, and cannot distinguish between straight and crooked thinking," he pointed out. Siepmann contended that the defects in education stemmed from bad teaching, poorly motivated teachers, and their low pay scale. He also blamed public indifference to education and the fact that the teaching profession had not been

¹⁾ Siepmann, "Is Television an Asset or Liability to Education," *op. cit.*

²⁾ later changed to 232.

³⁾ Siepmann, *Television and Education in the United States* (Paris: UNESCO, 1952), pp. 27-28.

⁴⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

⁵⁾ Siepmann, *TV and Our School Crisis*, New York: Dodd, Mead 1958. p. 3.

⁶⁾ Siepmann, "Some Reflections on the First Year," (Study of the National Program in the use of television in the Public Schools for the Fund for the Advancement of Education, New York City, June 10, 1958). p. 3.

⁷⁾ Siepmann, "The Role and Scope of Television in Education" (Address given at the New York Area Conference of AAUW, October 4, 1958), p. 4. (Mimeographed).

made attractive to young men and women with initiative and imagination.¹⁾

Siepmann became convinced that television, "while not the *deus ex machina* to 'solve' the crisis" in education, was an indispensable tool that could and must be used to extricate the country from its educational troubles.²⁾ He optimistically stated:

...I have hopes that not only will we lick the problem of the shortage of teachers and crowded classrooms, but by the skilful and resourceful use of television, we will add a cubit to the stature of education itself.³⁾

Discussing the teacher shortage and the use of television in combating it, Siepmann pictured the shortage as being not of teachers, but of good teachers. He said that "even if we can lay hands on them, adding more indifferent teachers adds up to absolutely nothing but the more widespread and virulent contagion of a debilitating mediocrity." He believed that fine teaching must be spread, and listed how television might accomplish this:

1. Television can disseminate master teaching to thousands of students.
2. Students in the presence of a good teacher have an intensified sense of his living presence.
3. Television adds illustrative matter to the innate gifts of a great teacher.
4. Such illustrations are visible to students on television at close range.
5. Students' eyes are drawn to *what* the teacher wants them to see *when* he wants them to see it.
6. The television lessons have order, clarity and pace.⁴⁾

Siepmann stated that the three main uses of in-school television were: one, it was one more audio-visual resource for the enrichment of the classroom; two, it would fill the gap where teaching was inadequate or where no teaching was done at all; and three, it would make available to *all* students within a school system, or in as many schools participating, the experience of the *best teacher* in that system one could find.⁵⁾ He also maintained that television could improve the quality of teaching.⁶⁾

There were many obstacles in the path of educational television in 1957. Schools were faced with the problems of scheduling, classrooms ill-adapted for television use, and the redistribution of students in classes commensurate with their abilities. The educational television stations on the air were faced with the need for financing and there was a need for more of them. Teachers' colleges were in doubt about the uses of this new tool. The television production people were experimenting with demonstration methods in various fields such as chemistry and in the arts. Television teachers had not discovered the optimum length and treatment of their lectures. The major obstacle, however, according to Siepmann, was not monetary. The greatest stumbling block was, he thought:

...habitual and outworn patterns of thought, false fears among teachers that television will displace them, inflexible attitudes to the realities of education. The success of experimental educational television suggests that experimentation has gone far enough, that we are now ready for a rapid extension in the practical uses of television in the schools across our land.⁷⁾

¹⁾ Siepmann, "Mass Communication and Its Relation to the Crisis in Education," *Official Report of the American Association of School Administrators, 1957*, (Washington: American Association of School Administrators, 1957), pp. 80-89.

²⁾ Siepmann, *TV and Our School Crisis*, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

³⁾ Siepmann, "The Role of Serious Broadcasting in Today's World," *Educational Research Bulletin*, XXXVI (March 13, 1957), pp. 60-69.

⁴⁾ Siepmann, "Mass Communication and Its Relation to the Crisis in Education," *op. cit.*

⁵⁾ Siepmann, "The Role and Scope of Television in Education," *op. cit.*, p. 5.

⁶⁾ Siepmann, "The Case for Television in Education," *New York Times Magazine*, June 2, 1957, pp. 13 ff.

⁷⁾ *Ibid.*

Siepmann wanted the American people, especially parents and teachers, to know about television's role in education. He therefore wrote *TV and Our School Crisis* in 1958. The theme of the book was "the survival of our way of life and our continued prospects of world leadership — and television and education; both have more to do with this theme than most people suspect." ¹⁾ The book described the uses of television in the schools, dealt with the history of educational television, and answered critics of the medium. Siepmann discussed the crisis of education in the United States. He suggested that in certain cases classroom teachers would be unnecessary. He asked: "What... would be either gained or lost by confronting children with the electronic presence of a good teacher... instead of the physical presence of a less experienced one?" ²⁾ Television, he felt, could provide a stop-gap measure in situations where teachers were lacking. ³⁾ Siepmann demonstrated that television could contribute significantly to education.

TV and Our School Crisis reported results of several studies on the effectiveness of television as a teaching tool. The findings were that television instruction proved at least as effective as conventional instruction. In some cases, it even was more effective. Siepmann envisioned a nationwide educational network, "a national university of the air," for the future. ⁴⁾ He was convinced that educational television would not displace the teacher, but instead it would release him from the restraining shackles of the past. Siepmann predicted that:

...as we avail ourselves of television and like resources, we see nothing standing between us and a golden age of education other than petty vanities, unworthy fears and the inflexibility of habituated, outworn ways of thought. ⁵⁾

He concluded the book with a challenge that we face a crisis of enormous proportion. But, he stated:

...crisis is not to be feared but faced. It is almost to be welcomed as it invites us to resourceful ingenuities and exhibition of our collective strength and will. There are those in education already responding to such invitation, and we count among them those who have pioneered the use of television. We are persuaded that others, more timorous today, will sooner or later follow along the trail that has been blazed. ⁶⁾

John P. Shanley, writing in *America*, called *TV and Our School Crisis* an informative and enlightened study. He said that Siepmann had presented a "moderate, sensible analysis of the uses of television for educational purposes." ⁷⁾ Laurence Siegel, discussing the book in *Public Opinion Quarterly*, stated that it "neatly describes our current educational dilemma at all levels." Siegel also said that the book would prove helpful in providing ammunition to school administrators who wished to convince their teachers, school boards, and the parents of their students to embrace the opportunities afforded by instructional television. ⁸⁾

The crisis in American education still exists, but educational television has grown to the extent that there are, at present, 110 non-commercial stations operating in the United States. There are also 39 AM (amplitude modulation) and 190 FM

¹⁾ Siepmann, *TV and Our School Crisis*, op. cit., p.v.

²⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

³⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

⁴⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 160.

⁵⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 187.

⁶⁾ *Ibid.*

⁷⁾ John P. Shanley, "Review of *TV and Our School Crisis*," *America*, XCIX (May 31, 1958), pp. 297-298.

⁸⁾ Laurence Siegel, "Review of *TV and Our School Crisis*," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, XXIV (Spring, 1960), pp. 159-160.

(frequency modulation) non-commercial radio stations on the air today.¹⁾ Siepmann continues his campaign for educational broadcasting. He advocates that Congress provide grants-in-aid to expedite the activation of all the 332 frequencies reserved for non-profit educational television and for their continued maintenance in operation.²⁾ Congress had passed a \$32 million bill to provide matching funds for construction of educational television stations. He believes that the possibilities should be explored for using television as a liberal substitute for teachers, rather than as a mere supplement to teaching.³⁾

Siepmann reminds educational broadcasters that their job is to provide the listener with a diversity of choices in programs – choices which the public has little opportunity to receive from commercial broadcasting.⁴⁾ He asks the teaching profession to make use of children's outside listening habits and relate this experience to subjects taught in the classroom. He advises teachers to muster audiences for worthwhile presentations on the air. Most important, Siepmann calls on the educators to use their associations as pressure groups to continue the struggle for programs which are in the public interest. Finally, he asks that the teaching profession know what to do with air time when given the opportunity to use it.⁵⁾

Siepmann would like to see training in audio-visual instruction made mandatory in all the teacher-educating institutions in this country.⁶⁾ He recommends that a course in television appreciation be given in the schools to train students to view programs intelligently and selectively.⁷⁾ He believes that the experiments in educational television suggest a radical review and reconsideration of some cherished and fundamental tenets of educational philosophy. The notion of teacher-student ratios as the "be-all" and "end-all" of effective teaching, may be the outmoded relic of a pre-electronic age, according to Siepmann. He thinks that great teaching over television, combined with far more extensive self-dependent studies (by high-school and college students) might advance learning and independent thinking farther and faster than present classroom procedures. He states:

... Television is a revolutionary power put in our hands with which to reshape the basic structure of our educational system. It involves as a salutary redeployment of teachers to new, variant functions, the liberation of presently confined aptitudes and skills, a return to the pursuit of excellence rather than status and security as the goals of our profession.⁸⁾

Educational broadcasting is but a tool to train intelligence. Siepmann believes that we shall attain intelligence only through education. The role of the mass media of communication is "a subordinate, contributory, if vital, role."⁹⁾ He knows that without trained intelligence among the people, our democratic society can not survive.

The striving for the love of excellence by an enlightened population can be

¹⁾ *Broadcasting*, July 6, 1964, p. 95; *NAEB Newsletter*, XXVI (February, 1961), p. 3.

²⁾ Siepmann, "Moral Aspects of Television," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, XXIV (Spring, 1960), pp. 12-18.

³⁾ Siepmann, "The Role of Serious Broadcasting in Today's World," *op. cit.*

⁴⁾ Siepmann, "Philosophy of Broadcasting," *op. cit.*, pp. 10-11.

⁵⁾ Siepmann, "Radio," *The Communication of Ideas*, edited by Lyman Bryson (New York: Institute for Religious and Social Studies, 1948), Part XI, pp. 192-195.

⁶⁾ Siepmann, "Mass Communication – A Challenge to Teachers," *op. cit.*

⁷⁾ Siepmann, *Television and Education in the United States*, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

⁸⁾ Siepmann, "Mass Communication and Its Relation to the Crisis in Education," *op. cit.*

⁹⁾ Siepmann, *Radio, Television and Society*, *op. cit.*, pp. 312-313.

achieved only through education. Siepmann asks some questions about the love of excellence:

...How, in fact, do we come by it? Do we absorb it best in sugar-coated pills or by direct experience of the thing itself? It is true that we grow sensitive to truth and beauty only as we are exposed to them. For all but a few fortunate people who find them everywhere, they must be manifested to us. But what of the context in which they are manifested? Is this not also, and essentially, part of the beauty of the truth itself. And may not the context thus mar the experience which it is sought to engender? Are we aware of this in education and in television? ¹⁾

There are many unanswered questions about the state of education in the United States today. Men like Charles A. Siepmann attempt to find answers for them. The role played by Siepmann in educational broadcasting and his contributions to it only tend to enforce his own personal belief that "no man is an island." He has not forgotten his own philosophy that each man and woman on this earth must share responsibility for what is done. Siepmann has devoted his life to this principle and his writings and speeches have encouraged others to do the same.

RICHARD J. MEYER, Wichita (Kansas)

ZUR GRÜNDUNG DER „DEUTSCHEN GESELLSCHAFT FÜR ERZIEHUNGSWISSENSCHAFT“

Neben zahlreichen pädagogischen Berufs- und Fachverbänden, die die Interessen und den Gedankenaustausch der verschiedenen Erzieher- und Lehrergruppen wahrnehmen, fehlte in der Bundesrepublik und im deutschsprachigen Raum bisher ein gemeinsames Forum für die erziehungswissenschaftliche Diskussion, eine Basis für Gespräch und Kritik der Wissenschaftler, die sich mit pädagogischer Forschung befassen. Die bestehenden Organisationen geben hierfür nur unterschiedliche und partielle Gelegenheit, und auch die seit etwa anderthalb Jahrzehnten regelmäßig zusammentretende „Konferenz der westdeutschen Universitätspädagogen“, in der sich die Inhaber der pädagogischen Universitätslehrstühle und die habilitierten Dozenten der Pädagogik aus der Bundesrepublik und Westberlin jährlich treffen, ist gezwungen, sich vorwiegend mit organisatorischen, studientechnischen und berufs-politischen Fragen zu befassen, so daß ihre Zusammenkünfte keine hinreichende Basis für einen wissenschaftlichen Gedankenaustausch bieten, wie ihn etwa die bestehenden Gesellschaften für Psychologie und für Soziologie pflegen.

Aus Ungenügen an dieser Situation beschloß die „Konferenz der westdeutschen Universitätspädagogen“ am 30. April 1963 in Hamburg, eine *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Erziehungswissenschaft* zu gründen und wählte einen vierköpfigen Aufbau-Ausschuß. Da die Gesellschaft durch diese Entstehungsgeschichte bedingt zunächst fast nur aus Universitätslehrern bestand, wurde der Aufbau-Ausschuß ermächtigt, sich durch Zuwahl von drei weiteren Mitgliedern aus anderen pädagogischen Bereichen zu ergänzen und der Gesellschaft zusammen mit einem Satzungsentwurf auch Vorschläge für die Zusammensetzung, Erweiterung und Abgrenzung ihres Mitgliederkreises zu unterbreiten.

Am 28. April 1964 trat die *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Erziehungswissenschaft* in Frankfurt am Main zu ihrer konstituierenden Sitzung zusammen. Sie verabschiedete eine vorläufige Satzung und wählte ihren siebenköpfigen Vorstand, bestehend aus

¹⁾ Siepmann, *Television and Education in the United States*, op. cit., p. 126.

Professor Dr. *Otto Friedrich Bollnow* (Universität Tübingen) als erstem Vorsitzenden und Professor Dr. *Josef Dolch* (Universität Saarbrücken), Professor Dr. *Andreas Flitner* (Universität Tübingen), Professor Dr. *Wilhelm Hansen* (Pädagogische Hochschule Vechta), Professor Dr. *Erika Hoffmann* (Fröbel-Seminar Kassel), Professor Dr. *Heinrich Roth* (Universität Göttingen), Professor Dr. *Hans Stock* (Pädagogische Hochschule Göttingen).

Über Sinn, Zweck, Aufgaben und Arbeitsweise der Gesellschaft sowie über die Abgrenzung ihres Mitgliederkreises und das Aufnahmeverfahren läßt sich an Hand der vorläufigen Satzung folgendes sagen:

„Die *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Erziehungswissenschaft* dient der Förderung der wissenschaftlichen Pädagogik durch Zusammenwirken und Gedankenaustausch ihrer Mitglieder. Dazu pflegt sie Beziehungen zu anderen Wissenschaften sowie zur Pädagogik des Auslandes; sie bemüht sich um die Förderung des erziehungswissenschaftlichen Nachwuchses und um die Klärung von Ausbildungs- und Prüfungsfragen der pädagogischen Berufe. Die Gesellschaft verfolgt ausschließlich und unmittelbar gemeinnützige Zwecke“ (§ 1).

In der Regel wird die Gesellschaft alle zwei Jahre als ordentliche Mitgliederversammlung zusammentreten. Der Vorstand kann darüber hinaus Ausschüsse und Arbeitsgruppen einsetzen, um wissenschaftliche Arbeiten zu fördern oder Fragen der Ausbildung, des Prüfungswesens oder des Ausbaus erziehungswissenschaftlicher Disziplinen klären zu lassen, wobei auch sachkundige Nichtmitglieder zur Mitarbeit berufen werden können.

Der Mitgliederkreis soll sich aus Personen zusammensetzen, die sich durch wissenschaftliche Arbeiten so ausgewiesen haben, daß sich die Gesellschaft von ihrer Mitarbeit Gewinn versprechen darf; in der Regel sollte es sich bei diesen Arbeiten um einige beachtenswerte erziehungswissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen über die Dissertation hinaus handeln. Dieser Grundsatz bedingt, daß es einerseits keine Verbandsmitgliedschaften gibt, und daß auch andererseits Einzelpersonen sich nicht selber um die Mitgliedschaft bewerben können, sondern daß die Aufnahme neuer Mitglieder nur auf Vorschlag von mindestens zwei ordentlichen Mitgliedern und nach Zustimmung von wenigstens fünf Vorstandsmitgliedern durch Einladungsschreiben des Vorsitzenden geschehen kann. Persönlichkeiten, die sich um Erziehungswissenschaft oder Erziehungswesen besonders verdient gemacht haben, können auch zu Ehrenmitgliedern ernannt werden.

Sitz der Gesellschaft ist der Dienort des Vorsitzenden (für die nächsten beiden Jahre: 74 Tübingen, Münzgasse 24).

HANS SCHEUERL, Frankfurt/Main

THE EXCHANGE AND PUBLICATION OF RESEARCH WORK IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION ¹⁾

We are faced with three problems:

- (i) how do we organize internationally the exchange of research information, while the work is in progress?
- (ii) how do we circulate quickly and certainly to the expert researchers in different countries the ascertained results of investigations?

¹⁾ Notes of a talk given at Frankfurt 6 February 1964.

- (iii) how do we circulate among key people in different countries in administrative and executive positions in national and local education a comprehensible account of the research that is relevant to people responsible for running schools and universities etc.?

Research information

To a man who is at the moment trying to organize an international intelligence service for the new research year-book *Paedagogica Europaea*, it has become evident what a wealth of new material there is in the European countries, and how difficult it is for workers in the field to keep track of it.

In England there is the National Foundation for Educational Research. Apart from their own massive research output, they co-operate with some national research centres in other countries in carrying out international research studies in particular fields, and they co-operated in the UNESCO Institute for Education study of *Educational Achievements of 13 year olds*. They publish standard works and have sponsored the excellent *lists of researchers in Education* pioneered by Mrs. Blackwell. Just to keep track of every item of their output is a considerable undertaking! But every University Institute of Education in the country puts out a spate of journals and occasional publications, bibliographies etc. etc. The national journals concerned with educational matters just cannot cope with the range and bulk of the work which could profitably be in circulation in some form, but which finds an outlet in small symposia, at which specialists in particular topics exchange ideas. These small meetings of, say, eight people, sometimes with guests from other countries, are engaged in hammering out ideas, working on the fringes of knowledge: Perhaps I may mention my little group which meets at Trinity College in Cambridge once a year. We meet for 36 hours, hear three papers on research carried out during the previous twelve months by members of the group, and we do our best to criticise each other quite objectively. These papers represent knowledge in the making and should not be lost to view in our concern for completed work that appears in official lists. To read them gives a valuable insight into the process of scientific investigation.

If we cross to France, we find an equally alarming state of affairs. Not only M. Gal's organization in the rue d'Ulm (which has produced a new volume overnight; — *Repères*), but all the useful material to be found in some two dozen regional centres and 45 national organizations concerned with some aspects of psychology alone quite apart from the University researchers! There is little need for me to pile on the evidence, because the list of Documentation Centres, at least, is set out in a Council of Europe document. Life is made just a trifle easier by such an excellent report as that by my friend Professor Sandven on *Educational Research in Norway in the Twentieth Century*, which provides an historical review of development up to 1950 and detailed references to publications thereafter. Perhaps I should add that this brochure is put out by the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, a reminder that we should not limit our search for European research to Europe itself.

May we take the evidence from England, France and Norway as sufficient proof of the richness of the material to be indexed, circulated to interested people wherever they may be in Europe; and published, in two forms: one for the specialists who are research-centred and one for all those who are in positions of responsibility in general and technical education and who need to be kept informed of the findings of the experts outside their own fields?

Central Index

Many years of research supervision have convinced me that the only hope of keeping track of all that is going on, is to make a huge card index with a *single* reference on each card, with appropriate documentation and translation. This brings us up against the choice of system for the index, and until we hear the recommendations about indexing of the *Fédération Internationale de Documentation*, some time this year, I am going to use the original plan devised by my friend Jean-Louis Claparède and put out by the I.B.E. It is very far from perfect, but it will serve for the present. This is the Dewey Decimal 37, suitably expanded, but as it is twenty-five years old, it badly needs revision.

How shall we use the material accumulated in the Index? Our selfish reason inside *Paedagogica* is simply to keep ourselves and our contributors informed of every significant item of educational research after a certain date, say, January 1st 1960. But we would not wish to keep our riches to ourselves, and would supply any serious scholar with a photographic copy of all the cards on a given topic. For many topics, this would provide a sufficient circulation and an absolutely accurate copy for all the people likely to need them, and the expensive business of printing bibliographies, which very soon require to be extended, is avoided. Most major administrative offices now have rapid photographic copying machines and the work of photographic copying is largely mechanical. Once the index is established and known, it will, I hope, attract up-to-minute material from keen researchers and there should be no difficulty in keeping up-to-date within three months of publication in Europe of any article. Ideally the card index needs to be supported by a *complete* set of all the papers, books, reports etc. mentioned in the index. At the moment, we are using only 150 international journals, which obviously gives quite inadequate coverage. If scholars could be assured that their "off-prints" would be carefully catalogued and preserved, I have no doubt that a very substantial collection of "off-prints" would soon be amassed.

Paedagogica Europaea

The publication of research results among specialists is already provided for in a bewildering array of journals. My special interest in working for our new European Year Book is to get into circulation among high administrators and officials, and also among specialists who want to know what is happening in other people's gardens, absolutely reliable accounts, of sufficient length, of all the growing-points of educational research in all our countries. *Paedagogica* will be a substantial volume of 300 pages, covering either 25 topics in 5,000 word articles, plus briefer notices of various kinds, or, a slightly larger number of topics, some in shorter compass. My hope is that the whole wide front of educational research shall be represented authoritatively once every three years.

Our main purpose is to help forward the integration of European education by bringing together the work of those who are developing education, whether as administrators, as teachers, or as investigators. We shall not limit our interest to narrowly academic research enquiries, but will provide also reports on the development of education by national governments; discussions by top-ranking experts of major reports, like *The Robbins Report on Higher Education* in England or the *Newsom Report on Secondary Education*, reports of the deliberations of seminars, discussions of practical developments in teaching techniques and so on.

A good deal of space will be given to clearly-written accounts of established research findings in all the fields of educational effort.

The long articles will be written by experts and they will serve to convey to other experts, whether in the national administrations, in the universities and teachers colleges, in local government etc., a clear and authoritative review of the present state of knowledge in the particular fields under discussion. Jargon will be avoided and any necessary technical terms will be defined clearly. It may prove useful to provide short international bibliographies of further reading for those wishing to follow up particular subjects.

An editorial board has been established with members at present living in Holland, France, Germany and the United Kingdom. An editorial office has been established in Cambridge, but the editors will move about in Europe, keeping in touch with new developments. There will, of course be numerous 'contact-men', consultants, who will be responsible for reporting on special fields of work in their countries. The intention is to select correspondents who will represent particular subjects and fields of research in as many countries as possible, rather than to have national representatives.

Every four years the Book will have the benefit of the deliberations of the *International Association for the Advancement of Educational Research* (which will meet in Cambridge in 1965, having met at Florence and Oslo previously). As the Association discusses a single theme at its congress, it is likely to provide a selection of papers of high quality grouped round some central idea. In 1965 we are going to discuss different aspects of "Continuity and Change in Education, in a changing world."

The Year Book will be published in three languages: English, French and German, and each article will be followed by summaries in the other two languages.

It is hoped that the Year Book will provide a forum of discussion for those who are involved in practical responsibility, whether as educators, administrators or scholars. My guess at the moment is that European co-operation in the field of education is limited to about 2,000 people who at least know each other by name, and that in the field of educational research the number is under 200. One of the really important jobs is, as I see it, to multiply these figures by 10 in the next decade and to make certain that these numbers represent human, personal relations rather than correlations or computer-relationships. I hope *Paedagogica Europaea* will contribute to this aim.

W. ARNOLD LLOYD, Cambridge

CONFERENCES – KONGRESSE – CONGRÈS

Vocational Education for Girls

Oxford, 16–23 March 1964

The conference convened at Oxford by the Council for Cultural Cooperation of the Council of Europe, dealt with the preparation for life in modern society in which young women may wish or need to fulfil simultaneously the roles of homemaker, mother and wage earner. The importance of the theme lies in the need of the modern community to consider women-power as an important resource. Such a need is caused by social and cultural developments, the rise in the standard of living, increasingly early marriage, and the demands of science and technology in the conditions of modern life. Therefore, the seminar theme was broad and challenging for the female delegates from Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Iceland, Ireland, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Turkey, and male delegates from Luxembourg, Ireland, Greece and Italy. The ratio of men to women was 1 to 8.5.

At the beginning of the conference, there was general consent that education of girls cannot be discussed as isolated from the education of boys; co-education was considered as contributing to a democratic pattern of life. It was with such an understanding that the recommendations were made on a general basis, but with an emphasis on the education of girls.

The seminar first studied national reports, thus giving participants an opportunity of seeing where each country stands in terms of educational theory and practice in a specific area. In principle, boys and girls have the same educational opportunity during their compulsory education in all the participating countries.

Reports from different European countries show that secondary education is being re-organized in most of these countries.

Attempts are observed in reports to do away with the traditional selection of students in terms of their I.Q. scores or socio-economic backgrounds. In almost all the participating countries there is a strong trend to make the vocational guidance system functional in school and in community.

After discussing the national reports, the members of the conference formed four groups to draft recommendations. One of the groups discussed the preparation of girls for positions demanding high academic attainments, and others were concerned with the education of girls who wish to take up a career in a technical or practical field.

The following recommendations were made as a result of group and plenary discussions:

1. That a broad general education for all should be provided at least until the age of 15–16, or the end of compulsory school age.
2. Within the field of general education for boys and girls, there should be included aspects of social and economic studies, consumer education, and the study of interpersonal relationships in the family and the community.
3. That girls should be encouraged to stay in full time education as long as possible after reaching the minimum statutory school leaving age.
4. That continued general education should be given at least at the earlier stages of specialized vocational training.

5. That home economics should be encouraged as a subject in the general education of all girls.

6. That part time education should be encouraged for those who do not continue education after school leaving age.

7. That there should be the same opportunities for working boys and girls for part-time continued education. This entails equal rights to be released from employment for this purpose.

8. That foundations for leisure time interests should be laid in school.

9. That, throughout the education and vocational training of girls, account should be taken of technological changes and developments.

10. That vocational guidance should be the joint responsibility of educationists with supplementary training, and well-trained counsellors.

11. Vocational guidance of girls should aim at making girls fully aware of the wide field of choice of a career open to them. To achieve this, the necessary information should be given to parents and employers as well as to girls.

12. That when girls do not complete training before marriage, facilities should be provided to enable and to encourage them to complete training after marriage.

The above recommendations can be considered as ideal and useful guidelines. But they are not the only outcome of the meeting. Of equal value is the effect of the meeting upon the participants. It is through such opportunities that an individual with deep roots in her own culture, learns to develop a healthy attitude toward other cultures, identifies with other people, listens, learns and shares with them, and respects and accepts people from other countries. The recent Oxford conference has also helped to build a general basis for understanding and appreciation.

FATMA VARİŞ, Istanbul

Colloque de Pédagogie expérimentale

Liège, 24-26 mars 1964

Le XI^e colloque de l'Association Internationale de Pédagogie Expérimentale de Langue Française s'est tenu du 24 au 26 mars dans les locaux de l'Université de Liège. L'assistance comprenait, outre les délégués habituels de France, de Suisse et de Belgique, des représentants de centres d'Algérie, du Canada, du Congo Brazzaville, de Madagascar, du Maroc, de Sénégal, de Tunisie.

Une assez large part des séances fut consacrée à l'établissement du bilan de la situation actuelle de la pédagogie expérimentale. Le Professeur *Clausse* (Liège) posa le problème de la recherche au sein des sciences de l'éducation. Monsieur *Pire* (Liège) rendit compte des principales activités en cours dans les centres affiliés. Le Président *Mialaret* (Caen) dressa le tableau des apports des recherches antérieures à la pratique scolaire. Certains travaux de psycho-pédagogie appartiennent au domaine de la recherche fondamentale; la plupart cependant visent à la solution de questions concrètes: organisation de l'école, programmes, didactique spéciale, examens et évaluations, préparation des éducateurs.

Le programme des colloques comprend généralement un exposé technique; il fut présenté cette année par Monsieur *Rigaux* (Bruxelles) et porta spécialement sur l'examen critique des méthodes d'analyse interne des articles d'un test scolaire.

Monsieur *de Landsheere* (Liège) fit une communication sur un indice objectif de lisibilité des tests et des manuels scolaires et l'appliqua à divers ouvrages existants.

Monsieur *Roller* (Genève) exposa les résultats de l'application comparée de tests de contrôle à deux groupes de classes ayant reçu l'enseignement du calcul, d'une part selon un système utilisant les réglottes Cuisenaire, d'autre part selon une méthode traditionnelle.

Monsieur *Tardy* (Saint-Cloud) développa une méthodologie de la recherche, spécialement dans le domaine audio-visuel, compte tenu des déterminants scientifiques, non scientifiques, épistémologiques, éthiques de l'acte pédagogique.

Plusieurs séances furent consacrées à l'étude des moyens d'intensifier les relations entre les centres de pédagogie expérimentale d'une part, les autorités et les enseignants d'autre part. Le prochain colloque se tiendra à Morlanwelz-Mariemont (Belgique); il aura pour thème principal l'enseignement programmé.

F. HORYAT, Morlanwelz

BOOKREVIEWS – BUCHBESPRECHUNGEN – ANALYSES BIBLIOGRAPHIQUES

L'Organisation de l'Orientation Scolaire et Professionnelle. Geneva/Paris: B.I.E./Unesco 1963. Publ. No. 253. liv + 188 pp. FS 9.—, FF 10.50, \$ 3.

Organisation of Educational and Vocational Guidance. Geneva/Paris: B.I.E./Unesco 1963. Publ. No. 254. liv + 188 pp. FS 9.—.

This report, based on replies to questionnaires received from 73 governments, is a survey of the organization of counselling and guidance in the various countries. To ensure that young people are led to appropriate educational and vocational choices is not easy, when the abilities and tastes of the individual have to be matched to the needs of a society of ever-increasing complexity. That the world is alive to the problem is demonstrated in the findings of this book, which describes clearly and succinctly the present situation.

Its most striking feature is the great enlargement in the concept of guidance that has taken place. Until comparatively recently the main role of vocational guidance was fulfilled at the school leaving age. But this point of decision for the young person has been affected throughout school life by a whole series of other crucial choices. Consequently, educational, as well as vocational guidance has grown more and more important, for example, the 'guidance periods' in the early phases of secondary education, with which many nations are experimenting. Counselling has indeed become a continuous process begun early in the child's career. This new concept poses many problems, not least of which is the training of personnel. Nor is the counsellor's task completed when the school leaver begins employment. "Follow-up" is essential, for many start work when their aptitudes and inclinations are still developing. Inevitably, some will need to re-orientate their careers later – indeed, with the transformations in the job structures of future technological society, this will become common. The report reveals that countries are not entirely satisfied with either the prevocational or the post-school leaving systems of guidance.

Moreover, many questions are raised in the reader's mind that the report lays no claim to answer. How, for example, can countries equate the individual's preferences with future trends of the labour market? With the exception of France, whose Commissariat Général au Plan uses data supplied by special education and manpower committees, little is known of procedures. Nor has the question of who should be responsible for guidance been resolved. Recently the organization has devolved increasingly upon educational rather than placement agencies. Again, we learn that most countries use psychological techniques in vocational counselling. An evaluation of their effectiveness, obtained by the pooling of information, would surely be rewarding. Indeed, what emerges most distinctly from this survey is the desire of governments to know what is happening elsewhere in this expanding field of educational activity, so that such questions as these may be solved.

W. D. HALLS, Oxford

La Pénurie de Personnel Enseignant Primaire. Geneva/Paris: B.I.E./Unesco 1963. Publ. No. 255. lxiv + 204 pp. FS 10.—, FF 11.50.

Shortage of Primary Teachers. Geneva/Paris: B.I.E./Unesco 1963. Publ. No. 256. FS 10.—, FF 11.50

This report, with a summarising introduction by Anne Hamori, of the Research Division of the Bureau sets out the views of 83 Ministers of Education on the supply of primary teachers in their countries. Three countries have an excess of primary teachers. By what criteria? Certainly not any suggested by the Bureau. Similarly what does "shortage" mean? However, three quarters of the countries claim shortages, often dating from the second world war and most commonly in rural areas. They attribute shortages to familiar causes (most of them either foreseeable or controllable) such as a rising birth rate, a lengthened school life, a spread of education, whether or not accompanied by compulsion, poor salaries. Most have had to take emergency measures including the employment of unqualified teachers and the provision of accelerated courses of training: half wished for outside assistance to solve particular problems. The Report sets out the 22 questions (the facts, the causes of shortage, remedial measures, international help, miscellaneous) which were addressed to countries as non-comparable as, on the one hand, the U.S.A., Denmark, the U.K. and, on the other, Madagascar, the Sudan and Nepal, and gives a comparative study of the answers to each question as well as a more full account for each country. These fuller accounts are perhaps the most valuable part of the report. To individuals and organisations interested in particular countries they convey, often between the lines, valuable clues on educational attitudes and competence. Pakistan had in 1959/60, for example, the not unsatisfactory pupil teacher ratio of 37 (4.7 m. pupils) but 29.2% of teachers were unqualified. This is an honest objective look at a problem. So is Niger's statement that 5.7% of eligible children are in school. Thailand speaks of the extension of school life from four to seven years as the main shortage factor, says that 97% of the children are in classes I to IV and that staff needs for the next ten years are now being studied. Greece "far from being short of primary teachers, has an excess of them": the pupil/teacher ratio is 46. For Indonesia it is reported "if one accepts the principle that 50 pupils need one teacher, then there are more than enough teachers". In many of the developing territories there must be budgeting difficulties of appalling dimensions but the report fails to bring them out. The developed countries have problems so different in nature and magnitude that it is only convenient rather than useful to include them within the same volume. The comparative section of the report includes excellent summaries of the answers to each question. The question on the employment of untrained teachers, for example, brings the comment that 16% of countries replying "affirm" that they employ only qualified staff. A question on recruiting difficulties showed in summary that one third of the countries found lack of interest in teaching and one third found no lack of interest in teaching. The deeper one reads, the clearer it becomes that expression of opinion in the country of origin of an answer governs much of what is said. It is a great pity that a report like this cannot set up some objective standards. It could at least define shortage and show specifically whether shortages are genuine shortfalls on a plan or simply reckless expenditure of non-existent teaching resources in a politically inspired programme of expansion. And a

chapter of informed personal comment would have helped so much – although it would have upset many of the contributing countries.

STEWART REDMAN, Oxford

XXVI Conférence Internationale de l'Instruction Publique 1963. Genève/Paris: B.I.E./Unesco 1963. Publ. No. 259. pp. 188, FS 6.—, FF 6.—.

XXVIth International Conference on Public Education 1963. Geneva/Paris: B.I.E./Unesco 1963. Publ. No. 260. pp. 181. FS 6.—, FF 6.—, \$1.75.

Der Abschlußbericht über die vorjährige Genfer Erziehungskonferenz, an der Vertreter aus 97 Staaten – darunter erstmalig auch aus einer größeren Anzahl afrikanischer Länder – teilnahmen, enthält in seinen Hauptteilen die einführenden Grundsatzreferate von Mr. Chavanne, Mr. Maheu und Mr. Piaget über die beiden Tagungsthemen: den Lehrermangel und die Organisation der Erziehungs- (Schul-) und Berufsberatung, weiter den vollständigen Text der Plenarentschließung zu diesen Problemen und Ergebnisprotokolle über die Plenarsitzungen, in denen vorwiegend die von den Teilnehmerstaaten vorgelegten Jahresberichte über die jeweilige Entwicklung des Erziehungswesens erörtert wurden. Die letztgenannten Protokolle werden daher erst voll verständlich, wenn man die Länderberichte mit heranzieht, – in allen Fällen ist dies jedoch nicht erforderlich, zumal dann, wenn die Diskussionsteilnehmer entgegen der Aufforderung auch Fragen stellten, die durch eine Einsichtnahme in das *International Yearbook of Education* oder in die *World Surveys of Education* schnell hätten beantwortet werden können. Besonders aktuell erschien die Auskunft des Vertreters der USA zum programmierten Lernen: nach dem gegenwärtigen Stand der Erfahrungen seien sichere Urteile über den besonderen Nutzen der Programme und die dabei praktizierten Methoden noch nicht möglich. Tröstlich war für viele Länder, daß der weibliche Anteil in der Gruppe der *primary school teachers* in den USA bereits 85% beträgt (1962 in der Bundesrepublik 48%) und daß in England ein unerwartet hoher Prozentsatz der Lehrerinnen trotz Heirat im Schuldienst verblieben ist (42% der englischen Lehrerinnen sind verheiratet).

Der „Empfehlung zum Lehrermangel“ liegen die in den einzelnen Ländern getroffenen Maßnahmen zugrunde; sie spiegelt daher weitgehend Bekanntes wieder (notwendige Analyse der komplexen Ursachen als Voraussetzung für eine erforderliche Gesamtplanung, Ausbau der Lehrerbildungsinstitutionen und bessere Standortplanung, Hebung des Sozialprestiges und des Lebensstandards des Lehrerstandes, Intensivierung der Studienförderung, Kurzausbildung nur als Notmaßnahme, Weiter- und Wiederbeschäftigung verheirateter Lehrerinnen, technische und personelle Hilfen im Unterricht, moderne Werbung). – Angesichts der zunehmenden Interpretation des Lehrermangels als Symptom einer „Bildungskatastrophe“ wirkte die Feststellung des Generaldirektors der UNESCO klärend, daß es „unter den Ursachen des Lehrermangels eine gäbe, über die man sich nicht beklagen, sondern zu der man sich beglückwünschen muß: die Ausweitung der *primary school education*“. Entsprechendes ließe sich für die zahlreichen schulpolitischen Verbesserungen sagen (kleinere Klassen, bessere *teacher-pupil ratio*, verminderte Pflichtstundenzahl), die alle den Lehrerberuf vermehren

und daher ggf. auch einen Lehrermangel hervorrufen können. Übrigens verzeichnen in den letzten Jahren fast alle europäischen Staaten ebenso wie die USA einen verstärkten Zugang zum Volksschullehrerberuf. – Die Notwendigkeit von Besoldungserhöhungen wurde – abweichend von herkömmlichen Begründungen – aus der zunehmend anerkannten Interdependenz von Erziehung und wirtschaftlichem Wachstum gefolgert. – Ein mit anderen akademischen Berufen vergleichbares *intellectual prestige* (so Mr. Piaget) werde dem Erzieherberuf erst dann zuwachsen, wenn sich die noch im Anfangsstadium befindliche Erziehungswissenschaft in Lehre und Forschung voll entfaltet habe. Zu häufig höre man noch die irrtümliche Meinung, „der *primary teacher* müsse nur das wissen, was er lehren soll, plus etwas Kinder- und Erwachsenenpsychologie,“ – hierzu wäre in der Tat kein Universitätsstudium erforderlich, sondern genüge die Ausbildung in den herkömmlichen *Teacher Training Colleges*.

Die „Empfehlung zur Gestaltung der Berufsberatung“ läßt bei allem Respekt, den sie bewährten verschiedenartigen Organisationsformen erweist, dennoch erkennen, daß die erzieherische Komponente und damit der Einfluß oder die Mitwirkung von Schule und Schulverwaltung verstärkt werden sollte. Es war sicherlich auch kein Zufall, daß die zu gleicher Zeit in Genf tagende *International Association for Vocational Guidance* eine Namensänderung vornahm, indem sie die Erziehungs- (Schul-)beratung mit einbezog. Die Sympathien verlagerten sich also mehr zu der u.a. auch in Frankreich praktizierten Lösung, wo Schule und Schulverwaltung für die Berufsberatung und zugleich für wesentliche Teile der beruflichen Grundausbildung zuständig sind; – in Westdeutschland ist hingegen die Berufsberatung der Arbeitsverwaltung zugeordnet und mit der Lehrstellenvermittlung gekoppelt, was wiederum mit dem deutschen System der betriebsgebundenen Lehrlings- und Facharbeiterausbildung zusammenhängt, in der der Berufsschule eine mehr unterstützende Funktion zuerkannt ist. Als Vorzüge der u.a. französischen Regelung werden genannt: sie gewährleistet eine kontinuierliche und dadurch wirksamere Beratung durch die ganze Schulzeit und vermag dem schnellen Wandel in der Berufsstruktur (Verlagerung zum sekundären und tertiären Sektor, Änderung der Berufsbilder) besser Rechnung zu tragen als die klassische Berufsausbildung mit dem fragwürdig werdenden Ziel der abgeschlossenen Lehre. Zeitgemäßer erscheinen – neben einer intensivierten Allgemeinbildung – eine möglichst breite berufliche Grundausbildung, weiter eine Weckung und Schulung der Anpassungsfähigkeit an jeweils neue Arbeitsbedingungen – *the faculties for adaptation and re-adaptation gradually become more important than basic aptitudes* (Mr. Mahen), – und schließlich auch die Hinführung des Berufsanfängers auf die Verpflichtung zur *permanent education* (*teaching how to learn*). In einer Zeit der wachsenden Integration von Erziehungs- und Arbeitswelt benötige der Berufsberater in beiden Systemen für seine sicher zunehmenden Aufgaben eine umfassende psychologische Ausbildung und eine gründliche Vertrautheit mit der komplizierten modernen Berufsstruktur.

„Internationale Empfehlungen“ der vorliegenden Art müssen die nötige Abstraktheit und innere Weite besitzen, um verschiedenartigste Wirklichkeiten zu umfassen und anzusprechen. Ihr besonderer Wert liegt darin, daß sie an einer rationalen Erfassung und Ordnung bedeutsamer gewordener Bereiche des modernen Lebens mitwirken, indem sie deren Problematik deutlich machen. Eben deshalb sei angesichts der – wie der Bericht zeigt – ebenso zeitraubenden wie besorgniserregenden Auseinandersetzung auf der letzten Genfer Konferenz über

die Teilnahme Portugals abschließend auch die Hoffnung Mr. Chavanne's nachdrücklich wiederholt, *that international regulations would be drawn up which would make it possible to carry out their (d.h. der Konferenz) work without disturbance from outside.*

ANDREAS ZIEGENBEIN, Kiel

DOBINSON, C. H., *Schooling 1963-1970*. London: Harrap 1963. pp. 181. 15s.

The Crowther, Newsom and Robbins reports have emphasised not only the sheer magnitude of the problem which Britain faces in the near future, but also the numerous considerations such as financial commitments, building requirements and teacher training which would have to be taken into account in order to maintain educational standards. But yet it cannot be said that in the controversies that have arisen out of these reports, proper attention has been given to the *educational* aspects of the various recommendations.

Professor Dobinson's book comes at a very opportune moment in the developing debate on the whole problem of how to meet the educational needs of the country in the immediate future at all levels. It is a thoughtful book which concentrates its attention (except for very few political excursions) on the *educational* nature of the problem and the planning that will be needed to attack it successfully. Its object is to stimulate public debate on the essential desiderata of a later twentieth century modern technological society. In this, Professor Dobinson has eminently succeeded.

Professor Dobinson's concerns extend over a wide range – from infant to higher education including technical education in which he is already a recognised authority. At the root of his thesis there are a few simple but nonetheless vital considerations of a general nature. Although Britain can no longer be a great wielder of power, she can give leadership in the realm of mind and culture. Educational problems can no longer be discussed in the narrow national context but have to be thought out in the broader context of the world. On the one hand, Britain must keep pace with the technologically advanced parts of the world and prepare for the age of automation and highly specialised technology. On the other, she must provide leadership and assistance in matters of education to new members of the Commonwealth. Thirdly, the age of war must yield place to a period in which war will not be resorted to, at any rate by the Big Powers, and Britain must define her role in the world in an age of peace. Lastly, education can no longer be regarded as a terminal process. It is increasingly becoming a life-long process.

The author's main attack is concentrated upon, first, the undue emphasis which continues to be given to written examination even though there is a considerable body of evidence gathered from research to show that this is lopsided, and second, the artificial and all too early stratification of talent in the school-going population of Britain – a stratification which has perpetuated invidious and unjustified distinctions between people of different classes. He employs his sense of humour and irony effectively to give unusual punch to his argument.

"So the Divine Providence created man not in one image but in three, one for the English Grammar School, one for the Secondary Technical School and one (perhaps many more than one) for the Secondary Modern School." (p. 84)

Professor Dobinson deprecates the general reluctance to profit from the results of research in the fields of education and psychology; the hopeless inadequacy of vocational guidance facilities available in schools; the general backwardness of England in technical education and apprenticeship in comparison with more advanced nations such as Sweden, Germany, France, the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. He also discusses the vast reservoir of qualified teaching personnel at the primary level whom the government and Local Education Authorities have failed to attract back into the profession when their own children no longer need their full attention, and the unwillingness of authorities to expand higher education by making better use of summer opportunities as well as by establishing a greater variety of higher educational institutions.

Only under the most optimistic conditions will all Professor Dobinson's demands have been met and all his reasoning have taken root in the educational thinking of Britain before 1970. His book, therefore, will still be topical long after 1970, although it might help to bring about some important changes before then. This book should be read and pondered over by educators, politicians and the general public not only of Great Britain but of all the Commonwealth countries which have inherited the British philosophy of education.

T. V. SATHYAMURTHY, Singapore

KING, EDMUND J., *Other Schools and Ours*. Revised Edition. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1963. pp. 253. \$4.25.

In this publication, King writes not for the comparative educator but rather for the student and the interested layman. King points out in his preface that his book is intended to be "read rather than studied". His writing style is more conversational than pedantic and he seems to take pains to omit what might strike some as dry facts. While there are hazards in comparing things which may actually be incomparable, King urges his readers to "try first to see every system as a dynamic whole, a complex of answers to many inter-penetrating human problems." First one must get a global view, then examine the details - always trying to see the significance of the details in their own context.

King's approach in *Other Schools and Ours* is that of "a sympathetic case study" - a total of six case studies, in fact. His countries include Denmark, France, England and Wales, United States, Soviet Union and India. Each nation is selected as an illustration of a particular kind or stage of development. The stage is set in the opening chapter as King contrasts American, Frenchman and Englishman and the socializing process which results in basic social differences. Examining the school's part in creating distinctions, King proposes to look at "our own homes and schools as merely passing expedients, evaluating them in the light of others' experiments and priorities."

Similar format runs through the six chapters which describe the educational systems. There is a diagram of the system structure but very few statistical data or basic facts. Instead, King attempts to give a picture of the school which will help the reader identify with the system. While his descriptions are analytic and while he tries to be objective, King is far from detached. He clearly indicates his own values and the bases on which he makes his observations and judgments.

He has tried to be provocative, stimulating his readers to inquiry and discussion. Consequently, readers will respond in different and personal ways. Since King is interpreting (and often extrapolating), readers can argue whether the interpretations are correct; whether the descriptions and the analyses are accurate and balanced; and, most of all, whether the sources used by the author are as comprehensive and timely as they could be.

In his final chapter, King avoids re-stating the preceding six chapters and simply reviews the key items in the survey. It is here that he attempts to look back and then forward, to interpret some of the meanings which seem to have emerged from his analyses. This chapter is both the strongest and the weakest because the task King sets for himself is the most difficult to accomplish.

Although the reader is warned against doing so, presumably each will look at the one or two systems which he knows best and ask himself how well King has captured the essence of that system. He will ask whether the details the author selected are the most significant, whether the issues highlighted are indeed the most significant ones, and whether his predictions are soundly based. And, inevitably, the reader will judge the rest of the book on this basis although King warns him not to do so. The author's belief is that "it does help us to understand one woman a little if we have read, heard, or discovered something about the others." Taken on its own terms, *Other Schools and Ours* is a well written, balanced capsule description and analysis of six educational systems and the settings from which they emerge and which they in turn affect. For the more sophisticated comparative educator, the book would fall short in many respects.

Finally, if this book is treated as a "revised edition", the nature and the quantity of revision is disappointing. The 1963 edition is completely reset in a more attractive type and format than the first text. However, a page-by-page and almost paragraph-by-paragraph comparison of the 1958 and 1963 editions suggests relatively little material has been altered. This reviewer's impression of the ferment and change in American and English education during the past five years causes him to believe that far more should have been done than Dr. King has attempted. Even the very minimal selected bibliography has hardly been updated. While the book does serve the student and layman as a good introduction to one style of comparative education, the warrant for a revised edition is somewhat questionable.

A. HARRY PASSOW, New York

Schools for the Sixties. A report of the N.E.A. Project on Instruction. New York/London: McGraw-Hill 1963. pp. 146. 31/-.

"Learning always lags a generation behind life" wrote Harold Butler, the maker of the International Labour Office some thirty years ago. It was true then; it is even more true today, in a world of accelerating change.

It would now be more exact to say "Learning lags *at least* a generation behind life, even in the most advanced countries." Indeed, as one listens today to the lessons given in some classrooms of advanced countries one may justifiably suppose that the object of education is surreptitiously to slow down all change and to condemn all the changes which cannot be ignored.

In complete contrast to this outlook we find, in this book, the following surprising statement: "Contemporary society is changing so fundamentally and so rapidly that we must look to the schools for help in understanding, living with, and directing social change" (Reviewer's italics). This concept of schooling, if it is justifiable, makes demands upon teachers such as have seldom, if ever, been made before. Accordingly, the National Education Association of the U.S.A., to incite its members, at all levels, to embark upon the extremely difficult tasks that are spread before them, has produced this well-planned and extremely readable little book. The final writing is the work of five or six people, and, in consequence, there is some variation in standard among the chapters. But the views here crystallized represent the distillation of thoughts contributed by a great company of educators: professors of education, superintendents of school systems, directors of research institutes, presidents of colleges, directors of graduate studies, principals of schools, and so on. Indeed, in Appendix Three, we are told "Literally thousands of people have helped at various stages in the preparation of this report." This book is but one of the series of reports produced by the N.E.A. Project on Instruction and it is important to name here the other three major reports of this project because *Schools for the Sixties* builds up 33 carefully phrased recommendations upon the solid foundation of three volumes which are much more detailed, namely, *Planning and Organizing for Teaching*, *Education in a Changing Society*, and *Deciding What To Teach*.

The great labour involved has been well done and, in particular, those who have contributed to *Education in the Sixties* have every reason to be proud of the production. It is, of course, geared to the American situation and many resolutions must sound absurd in the ears of educators in countries where there is a centralised system or where the curriculum is, in effect, dictated by the various Examining Boards. Such are:

Recommendation 3: "Local school faculties should have the freedom and the authority to make decisions about what to teach – within state and local requirements – and how to teach. Final instructional decisions should be made by the teacher, taking into consideration recommendations from appropriate local, state and national groups representing the teaching profession, academic scholars, and the public."

Recommendation 16: "The objectives of the school, with a clear statement of priorities, should give direction to all curriculum planning. This applies to adding content, eliminating content, or changing the emphases on various topics and fields of study."

Recommendation 17: "Each curriculum area should be under continuous study and evaluation and should be reviewed periodically. One purpose of such reviews is to determine whether recent findings in the academic disciplines are, or should be, reflected in the instructional program. These reviews should utilize the knowledge and skills of the teacher, the school administrator, the scholar in the academic disciplines, the scholar in the profession of teaching, and the lay citizen, each contributing his special competence to the total task."

These three recommendations clearly contain much that is desirable if schooling is, in any marked degree, to keep abreast of life, although the objectives would need to be achieved by somewhat different methods in different countries.

A resolution which educationists in all nations working under a capitalist eco-

nomic system would gladly accept - indeed, the principle is essential to their mental health - is No. 12:

"Rational discussion of controversial issues should be an important part of the school program. The teacher should help students identify relevant information, learn the techniques of critical analysis, make independent judgments and be prepared to present and support them. The teacher should also help students become sensitive to the continuing need for objective re-examination of issues in the light of new information and changing conditions in society."

On the other hand, a recommendation which will create some concern in the minds of teachers outside the United States, is Recommendation 14:

„The school curriculum should include a study of political and social ideologies focussing upon communism. The methods of rational enquiry should be stressed. The study should be set in the perspective of the modern world and be incorporated into an instructional program at appropriate points. If a special unit on communism is deemed desirable in the secondary school, it should supplement and complement earlier studies of these topics."

One would like to think that the sentence "The methods of rational enquiry should be stressed" meant what the words say and that the object of the exercise is to prepare future citizens of the U.S.A. for that rapprochement towards communism, perhaps through the development of a National Health system and other forms of "creeping socialism," which is necessary for the development of a harmonious co-operating world. But alas, we have no more reason to believe that this is the intention of the resolution than to believe that the teaching of Marxism-Leninism in the U.S.S.R. is aimed at any form of rapprochement with capitalism based upon "methods of rational enquiry".

But, to be fair, we must quote from the text (p. 45):

"The study of communism and other ideologies should do more than simply indoctrinate students on the good of democracy and the evils of communism. A black-and-white approach, by denying the very essence of the democratic way, defeats itself."

Nevertheless, the contrast between a communist and a capitalist society is not likely to be squarely faced by educators who, a few pages earlier, have stated (p. 37):

"The nation's fourteen largest cities have a steadily increasing number of culturally deprived young people. In 1950, one child in every four of these cities was culturally deprived. In 1960 the figure was one in three. By 1970 there will be one deprived child for every two. Actually, this ratio already exists in four of these fourteen cities."

This is an awkward statement for those who dwell on "the good of democracy and the evils of communism". But few educators in the U.S.A. are likely to admit to their pupils that cultural deprivation hardly exists in the U.S.S.R., because of all the economic, social and educational measures which are taken to prevent such deprivation arising. Indeed in the U.S.S.R. it will soon be purely of historic interest, even though David Copperfield will perhaps still be studied in the schools of the U.S.S.R. to explain the evils of modern British capitalism! When the educators of all nations themselves use "the methods of rational enquiry," as urged in this book, the outlook for the world's children will be much brighter.

Meanwhile no teacher can read this challenging book without benefiting and all teachers are in debt to those who have helped to make it.

CRESSAC, J., *Science teaching in the secondary schools of tropical Africa*. Paris: Unesco 1963. pp. 79. FF 7.75, \$2.25.

This is the book of a conference. It gives a miscellany of facts and ideas related to science teaching in Africa, based on the proceedings of a meeting of experts on the teaching of science in tropical Africa organised by Unesco and held in Abidjan in December 1960. Sections deal with syllabuses, time-tables, text-books, laboratory design, equipment, recruitment and training of teachers and the popularization of science. There is much good advice but some of it may be questioned and much is not specially relevant to Africa.

The author recommends a "strict formula" for recording practical work from the first year of the secondary school course, and the delay of project type experiments until the sixth year. This could reduce science to form-filling and kill the sense of discovery. Even physics can be introduced as a field science, based on the observation of everyday events, and this is especially appropriate to Africa. One of the many details discussed is the problem of producing distilled water at low cost, and ion exchangers are recommended. Solar stills made from cheap locally available materials have worked well in parts of Africa and serve also to demonstrate the use of solar energy.

The national reports on laboratories and equipment are a mixed bag. We learn the number of sinks in biology laboratories in Nigeria (with "sinks" mis-printed in the table on page 30) but most reports do not indicate even the number of schools or laboratories. A questionnaire may have given a more balanced picture. There are eleven plates of laboratory plans. Six are labelled "French-speaking Africa" though according to the text they refer to France rather than to Africa. The second plan of plate 1 does not allow the through-ventilation that is found desirable in the tropics. By contrast the plan for a laboratory in Tanganyika relates climatic and scientific needs by using its central "Garden with pond" for vivaria and small animal houses.

There are a number of irritating faults in this book. The lay-out on page 28 is confusing. The laboratory space per student for English-speaking African countries is given in both square feet and square metres, that for France only in square yards. The heading "Recruitment of students in secondary schools" covers only examinations at university level to select students who will become teachers. All this suggests a hurried preparation, but 1963 is rather late for information on a 1960 conference.

The author assumes that African students want to study science and that the acute problem is the shortage of science teachers. But in many parts of Africa students avoid science subjects and give as their reason that they think scientists will have to teach. Those who do study science prefer being teachers to technicians, and nearly all African students who complete school certificate science continue their studies to a university degree either in their own countries or overseas. It seems impossible to meet the demand for technicians caused by industrial development. The author quotes the delegates to the Abidjan meeting on the task of popularizing science in tropical Africa as saying "everything remained to be done."

DENIS G. OSBORNE, Legon (Accra)

NIBLETT, W. R., *Moral Education in a Changing Society*. London: Faber & Faber 1963, pp. 172. 21 s.

Treatments of moral education commonly consist of platitudes, warnings, and exhortations rather than illuminating analysis. The nine lectures printed in the present volume are a happy exception to that rule. The authors of this series, delivered at the University of London Institute of Education, provide a thoughtful and many-sided orientation to what is perhaps the most difficult and important of all educational problems, that is, how to foster good character.

Although each lecture is independent and self-contained, the series amounts to more than a miscellany dealing with one general topic. Because of the different academic specialties represented by the authors, the lectures complement each other so as to yield to one who searches for it a broad and balanced view of the problems of moral instruction.

As W. R. Niblett points out, morality is concerned with responsible choice-making by individual persons. Hence it is not enough to teach facts or to inculcate habit of group conformity. Young people need practice in making their own decisions. The variety of possibilities open to youth today impose anxieties upon them that were not present in more settled periods. Correspondingly, the ability to decide wisely is more imperative than ever before.

How is the requisite maturity of judgment to be fostered? D. W. Winnicott, speaking as a child psychiatrist, insists that the groundwork for good character must be laid in infancy. Morality cannot be injected into the young; they can become good people only by having their elemental physical needs supplied by truly loving parents. Good care facilitates developmental processes that promote the natural growth of moral dispositions. The moral self is one that is true to its own nature; the essence of immorality is being a false, copying, complying self. Parents do not and cannot *make* their children good. They can only provide the conditions in which a sense of authentic personal creativeness and responsibility can emerge.

Moral consciousness develops because conflicts arise between the child's impulses and the social and natural world surrounding him. Life is lived amid necessity and limitation, to which the child must come to terms. A. H. Halsey, as a sociologist, sees moral education as a means of social integration and role allocation. The conduct of a person must be adjusted to take account of the needs and wants of other people as well as his own. From a sociological standpoint, moral education consists in inculcating the common commitments of the society, particularly as regards each person's role performance, whether within the typical American achievement pattern, the typical European pattern of status differentiation, or any other social system.

From the vantage point of the historian, Marjorie Reeves extends even further this emphasis on the restrictive elements in moral education. The open, welcoming situations must be supplemented by hard experiences too, at all stages of development. For the young adult the valuable hard experiences are chiefly those of accepting one's own limitations, choosing a career and investing effort in it, and renouncing a many-sided but superficial experience for the sake of doing one or a few closely related things really well. Moral maturity requires enduring exclusive commitments, shaped in a continuing dialogue with other concerned and sensitive persons.

To make wise decisions, a third element besides creativity and understanding of the limitations imposed by reality is clearly required. This element is reason. It is a little surprising that of the nine authors only one, *R. S. Peters*, the philosopher, deals explicitly with the place of reason in moral instruction. He reminds us that moral conduct, properly conceived, "is concerned with what there are reasons for doing or not doing". Hence, the moral life involves the use of critical intelligence. The difficulty is that with young children reasoning processes are ineffective, and moral education must proceed through habit formation. However, as Peters shows, there is no necessary contradiction between forming good habits and the progressive development of intelligence in the organization and application of those habits.

Less directly, the lecture by *F. A. Vick*, a physicist, also bears on the rational element in moral education. His theme is that science is a profoundly moral enterprise, involving free creative imagination, intellectual and social responsibility, loyalty to truth, humble awareness of limitations, and commitment to rigorous standards of professional discipline. For this reason the study of science, often considered morally neutral, affords important means of moral instruction.

The theologian, *A. R. Vidler*, adds faith as a final dimension of moral education. By faith he does not mean merely conventional religious belief, which appears to have little correlation with moral excellence. He is concerned rather with commitment growing out of deep reflection on the human condition, in which a person sees himself as free and self-transcending, as responsible to God, the ultimate Ground of Being, and as a unique person called to live in loving relation with other unique persons.

The two lectures by *E. M. Eppel* and *H. Louckes*, both presented, like Dean Niblett's, from the standpoint of professional education, add two characteristically pedagogical aspects to the picture of moral education emerging from the other contributing disciplines. Both lectures deal with adolescents. Mr. Eppel analyzes the conflict between adults and adolescents, and suggest that we need more sympathetic understanding of adolescents, more faith in them, and better communication with them, rather than writing them off when they do not conform to adult expectations. Mr. Louckes describes the special physical, economic, and personal stresses to which adolescents are subject and emphasizes the need for compassion by adults in relating to them. He also shows that the two areas of sex and religion provide exceptionally favorable but now largely misused opportunities for sensitive and positive moral instruction.

In sum, a mature moral person makes wise decisions by virtue of his creative freedom, social awareness, critical intelligence, and personal commitment. These capacities are fostered by love, the discipline of social reality, rational deliberation, and continuing dialogue. Such insights from the book under review, communicated with wit, grace, and sound scholarship, provide welcome help with the difficult problems of moral education in a changing society.

PHILIP H. PHENIX, New York

RICHMOND, W. KENNETH, *Culture and General Education*. London: Methuen 1963. pp. 184. 21s.

The concern of British educators that highly trained specialists leaving the universities of the modern world should not be deficient in general education but should as far as possible be men of all-round "culture", has led to much discussion of suitable syllabuses of instruction and even to the inclusion of papers in general knowledge in school leaving examinations. And it has led to an extremely interesting attempt to devise an objective test of "academic or minority culture" suitable for adults and for pupils in the senior forms of secondary schools.

The attempt to define general culture, to distinguish "breadth" from "depth", and to devise "culture" tests for relatively well-educated people is one that is fraught with difficulties. In the U.S.A., organisations like the Educational Testing Service have seriously grappled with the problem, but for Britain there are few guides to follow, and for this reason Kenneth Richmond's work is of importance. It is certain that his tests, being pioneering efforts, will prove to have many defects, and that they will be superseded by technically better models. But the value of his work lies not mainly in the tests he has devised, but rather in the way that he has attempted to use them as a means of examining some current views about the level of education and culture in the community.

In particular, Mr. Richmond has been concerned to examine Sir Charles Snow's view that there is a basic division of modern culture into two discrete parts, the arts and the sciences; and in attempting to answer some of the crucial questions that arise, he presents original and stimulating results of testing sixth-form pupils, undergraduates and graduates, teachers in training, members of Adult Education classes, members of the armed forces, and so on.

The findings are not to be regarded as conclusive, but they are important as showing the way to a better appreciation of the situation than has ever been available before. It may not be out of place here to note some of the tentative conclusions of the study. (1) There seems little doubt that persons of well-rounded culture are extremely rare, and it is disquieting to read that "the person who measures up to its requirements is often penalized, and nowhere more surely than in our universities". (2) While there would appear to be a high relationship in the general population between what is measured by "culture" tests and what is measured by general "intelligence" tests, in the highly educated sections of the community the relationship is not very high. In part, this is no doubt an example of the lowering of correlations usually found in selected groups, but in part also it appears to be caused by the effect of differences in home, school, and cultural environment upon young people of similar levels of intelligence. (3) In Britain it would appear that even a moderately high level of "academic culture" is confined to a very small fraction of the whole population - to those who are fortunate enough to pass through the selective secondary schools and the universities. (4) University courses differ considerably in their bias towards arts or science. Results from one university showed that students of law, divinity, geography, and social science had more balanced "culture profiles" than did students of arts, science and applied science. (5) While there appeared to be steady increases in culture-test scores during the sixth-form years at secondary school, no similar increase occurred during the years spent at university. The influence of some university courses, remarks Mr. Rich-

mond, is anti-cultural. (6) The tests distinguish clearly between the pupils of schools that are, on other grounds, generally judged to be "good" and those not so good. The "independent schools" and "direct grant schools" were clearly superior to L.E.A. grammar schools on the culture-test results.

It would be possible to continue this list further, but enough has been shown to indicate that Mr Richmond's study is full of stimulating conclusions. Admittedly they are all to be regarded as suggestive rather than definitive, for his tests are open to much improvement and his samples of students are far from representative. The greatest value of his study, however, may well be that it should make it no longer permissible for scholars to put forward the sort of statements that have been usual in past discussions of "culture" and "general education", unless they can be supported by even better evidence than Mr. Richmond has adduced.

G. W. PARKYN, Wellington (New Zealand)

SUCHODOLSKI, BOGDAN (ed.), *Zarys Pedagogiki*. Tom I. Warszawa 1962. pp. 599.

This "Outline of Education" published by the State is meant for university students of education. It is edited by Bogdan Suchodolski and written in collaboration with T. Dowjat, S. Woloszyn and Lidia Woloszinowa. It is a second edition, revised in accordance with criticisms and changed circumstances. In the first edition Stalin was regularly mentioned, in the second edition his name is entirely omitted and the place of honour is given to Krushchev.

The point of view is the Marxist theory of class struggle and the dependence of education on the ruling class. The whole history of education is dealt with from this point of view and the influence of the Russian Communism is evident. Education is considered from historical, philosophical, biological, sociological, psychological and medical points of view. Comparative Education is given a separate chapter.

The first part, written by Stefan Woloszyn, deals with history of education. He gives a thorough list of bibliography, mainly Polish. Woloszyn begins with primitive communities and follows up with all the centuries including the present. However, he missed points which would interest his students. Luis Vives is represented as a leading humanist of Spain, but the fact that his father was a Jew burned by the autodafé is not recorded. Sir Thomas More is represented as a member of the new capitalist class favouring slavery. Six pages are devoted to John Locke, but Woloszyn missed his personal relations with Polish Arians and the Polish influence on Locke's thought derived from books of Rakow in his possession. Rousseau's *Considerations sur le Gouvernement de Pologne* is only mentioned in spite of its importance for Polish readers. Woloszyn completely missed Rousseau's treatise on political economy, published in the *Encyclopedie* in 1755. The educational ideas of the French Revolution, Pestalozzi, Herbart, Spencer and others are presented on familiar lines, though in Marxist interpretation.

The next pages (168-173) are devoted to "scientific" educational theory of Marx and Engels. The outdated English "bourgeois" ideology is especially attacked. Engels's criticism of contemporary English practice is given a full place. After a short excursion into the proletarian character of the Paris Commune of 1870 the

history of education deals with Russia (175-185) and the 19th century in Poland (185-205). Before the Russo-Polish war of 1830 the Russian parts of former Poland developed Polish schools freely. The leading Polish men were Staszic, Kollontay, Czacki and Prince Adam Czartoryski, the son. Pages 206-230 describe the "bourgeois" pedagogical activities of the 20th century. The educational naturalism and child-centred ideology are severely criticised. The notion (bourgeois) of heredity is contrasted by proletarian development of masses. The following 35 pages expound education in U.S.S.R. Lenin and Makarenko take the lion's share.

The second part of the book is of theoretical importance and expounds education from the social point of view. It is opened by an analysis of present technological changes by B. Suchodolski. Among the changes Suchodolski mentions international relations, the growth and migration of population, the new organisation of production etc. The necessity of planning future developments is recognised and the education of masses in all countries is clearly demanded. According to Suchodolski socialist countries are best prepared for an advance.

The following chapters, written by S. Woloszyn, criticise "capitalist" countries. All these countries have the following defects: (1) class dualism; (2) difference between the formal and actual admission to schools; (3) discrimination of races; (4) illogical realisation of secularism and (5) inequality of women in education. Most of these defects have been surpassed in many "capitalist" countries and should be treated in the historical part. In contrast Russia is described on 27 pages as the advanced country of Marxism.

Most interesting are the chapters devoted to Poland (pp. 343-388). The most important was the law of 25.1.1958 establishing universal eight-years education followed by post-primary schools of various curricula. The national minorities are catered for by 215 primary and six secondary schools with non-Polish languages as medium (German, Lithuanian, Jewish, Ukrainian, Czech, Bielorrussian). Marxist-Leninist ideology became dominant after 1949. The influence of the U.S.S.R. is evident in the organisation, methods and curricula. In view of rapid increase of children of school-age two and three shifts were introduced in 1959/60. Thus in 1960 63,900 school-buildings had two shifts and 1,422 three shifts.

The chapter on Comparative Education is written by B. Suchodolski. He did not mention Sergius Hessen, whom he knew personally at Lodz. Hessen was one of the pioneers of Comparative Education and his Polish works are mentioned five times by other authors of the book. Suchodolski points out the following problems which Comparative Education could help to solve: (1) Illiteracy in underdeveloped countries; (2) universal compulsory primary education; (3) the development of secondary education adapted to technological advance; (4) vocational education as preparation for industrial occupations.

The most important in his view is the problem of youth and its moral and intellectual training. In all these questions Comparative Education can help to find the right solution, of course according to Marxist views.

The third part of the book is devoted to psychology and anthropology. Psychic events are based on highly organised matter and are only its functions. From this Marxist point of view Lidia Woloszinowa explains the philogenetic growth of psychic life, history of psychology and child's growth. Pavlov's reflexology is accepted as dogmatic foundation.

The last chapter on philosophic anthropology is written by B. Suchodolski. His synthesis is based on Marx's theory of man. All other ideologies are severely

criticised. The metaphysical attitude of Christianity and Platonism, the empirical philosophy of England, German idealism, modern existentialism and the rest are all pre-Marxian. Marx is declared to be the last prophet of anthropological philosophy. Suchodolski finishes the book by a Utopian picture of the communist society, where every individual receives his due.

The book is written for Polish students, trained in Marxist ideology, and is hardly suitable for students of Western Europe or America. Should the reader be able to distinguish the Marxist interpretation from historical and other facts, he could use the book with profit.

NICHOLAS HANS, London

BREZINKA, WOLFGANG (Hs.), *Weltweite Erziehung*. Zentralfragen der Pädagogik aus internationaler Sicht. Als Festgabe für Friedrich Schneider zum 80. Geburtstag mit Beiträgen von Hans Asperger, Innsbruck; George Z. F. Bereday, New York; Wolfgang Brezinka, Innsbruck; Adolf Busemann, Marburg; Josef Derbolav, Bonn; Josef Dolch, Saarbrücken; Leonhard Froese, Marburg; Nicholas Hans, London; Gottfried Hausmann, Hamburg; Albert Huth, München; Theoderich Kampmann, München; Martin Keilhacker, München; Joseph A. Lauwerys, London; Ernst Lichtenstein, Münster; Richard Meister, Wien; Eduard Spranger, Tübingen; Richard Strohal, Innsbruck; Robert Ulich, Cambridge, Mass.; Erich Wasem, München; Aloys Wenzl, München. Freiburg: Herder 1961. pp. 320.

El Willmann Institut, a través de la editorial Herder, y bajo la dirección de Wolfgang Brezinka, profesor en Innsbruck, ha ofrecido a Friedrich Schneider en su ochenta aniversario el tomo *Weltweite Erziehung* (*Educación universal*), redactado por buenos y conocidos especialistas, entre los que cabe destacar a Eduard Spranger, en lo que probablemente haya sido uno de los últimos trabajos de su vida.

El carácter misceláneo de la obra en la que no cabe intención sistemática viene compensado por la amplitud de los temas tratados.

La primera parte del libro está destinada a lo que podría llamarse teoría de la educación. Se inicia con el estudio de Brezinka sobre el problema de la función educativa de las instituciones y viene a cerrarse con los trabajos de Huth y Kampmann sobre la organización de las escuelas y el sentido de "lo académico". Dentro de esta primera parte se han de mencionar el problema de los educadores, planteado - por Derbolav y estudiado por Spranger con especial referencia al profesor universitario. La nueva cuestión del influjo de la técnica en la formación del hombre se halla tratada por Keilhacker.

La segunda parte se halla dedicada a los estudios de Pedagogía comparada iniciándose con un estudio de Bereday sobre el difícil problema del método de la Pedagogía comparada.

En esta parte la idea de Europa ha sido tratada por los profesores Hans y Lauwerys.

La tercera parte es la que menos unidad tiene, si bien los trabajos de Busemann,

Asperger y Wasem plantean una problemática semejante, la de los sentimientos negativos.

La cuarta parte está formada por una bibliografía selecta de Friedrich Schneider.

En general estamos frente a un grupo de trabajos de calidad. Hemos de lamentar la ausencia de firmas del mundo latino, donde, sin duda ninguna, Friedrich Schneider goza de general estimación y donde hay por otra parte, plumas calificadas que hubieran enriquecido los trabajos de *Weltweite Erziehung*.

VICTOR GARCIA HOZ Y ROSALES, Madrid

MUSSEN, PAUL H., CONGER, JOHN J., & KAGAN, JEROME, *Child-Development and Personality* New York: Harper & Row 1963 (2nd ed., 1st ed. 1956).

Es ist für den aufmerksamen Leser eine erfreuliche Tatsache, wenn bei Durchsicht der zweiten Auflage eines Buches sich diese auch wirklich als eine solche ausweist. Den Autoren H. P. Mussen (bereits bekannt als Herausgeber des sehr guten *Handbook of Research Methods in Child Psychology*), J. J. Conger und J. Kagan ist es gelungen, die jetzt vorliegende zweite Auflage ihres Buches *Child Development and Personality* so umzuarbeiten, daß die seit 1956 erschienenen Veröffentlichungen von Untersuchungen, die wesentlich zur Validisierung damals noch ungenügend gesicherter Ergebnisse beigetragen haben, berücksichtigt werden konnten.

Die als angenehm empfundene Breite des verarbeiteten Materials und die große Anzahl bedeutsamer Literaturangaben erfahren hierdurch ebenfalls eine notwendige Ergänzung.

Die theoretische Konzeption des Buches ist gegenüber der ersten Auflage nur geringfügig verändert worden. Es erscheint bemerkenswert, daß die Autoren zur Analyse kindlichen Verhaltens aktuelle lerntheoretische Erkenntnisse heranziehen, dabei aber nicht auf psychoanalytische Einsichten zur Erfassung des psychischen Geschehens, das letztlich das sicht- und meßbare Verhalten wesentlich determiniert, verzichten können.

So wie es den Autoren gelingt, in ihrer Darstellung diese beiden theoretischen Ansätze miteinander zu integrieren, stehen auch die verschiedenen Aspekte der menschlichen Entwicklung – körperlich, intellektuell, sozial, emotional – nicht isoliert nebeneinander, sondern werden unter Ordnungsgesichtspunkten, die eine langweilige Aneinanderreihung von chronologisch geordneten Daten verhindern, sinnvoll zueinander in Beziehung gesetzt.

Obleich sogenannten "kritischen Abschnitten" der Entwicklung in den Ausführungen besondere Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt wird, werden auch ruhiger verlaufende, in der Literatur oft vernachlässigte Entwicklungsperioden, wie z.B. die ersten Grundschuljahre, ihrer Bedeutung entsprechend bearbeitet und dargestellt.

Erfreulich ist ferner, daß im Hinblick auf einige spezielle Aspekte der Entwicklung im Kindes- und Jugendalter eine Zusammenfassung neuerer Erkenntnisse gegeben wird. So findet sich u.a. eine gute Darstellung der Entwicklungsvorgänge im pränatalen Stadium, wobei die von der Mutter und auch die von außen kommenden physischen und psychischen Einflüsse Erwähnung finden und ihre Wirkungen auf das ungeborene Kind beschrieben werden.

In gleichem Maße hervorzuheben sind u.a. Abhandlungen über konstitutionelle Unterschiede bei Neugeborenen, über Beziehungen zwischen intellektueller und

Persönlichkeitsentwicklung, sowie über das Auftreten von psychischen Konflikten im Zusammenhang mit körperlichen Veränderungen in der Pubertät.

Die Fülle systematisch verarbeiteter empirischer Untersuchungsergebnisse, unterstützt durch gute graphische Darstellungen, machen das vorliegende Buch zu einer empfehlenswerten, aktuellen Informationsquelle über die Entwicklung der Persönlichkeit im Kindes- und Jugendalter.

GERHARD PAUSE, Hamburg

GORDON, JESSE E., *Personality and Behaviour*, New York: Macmillan 1963. x + 597 pp.

One of the biggest problems in introductory psychology courses is that of attempting to present to the student all the many and varied aspects of psychology and at the same time preserving the unity of the subject: so many current texts hide the wood of psychology with the trees of learning, perception, individual differences, motivation, thinking, personality, and so on, as if these were unique and self-sufficient disciplines in their own right, Dr. Gordon's book represents a much-needed step in the other direction. Although the book was written with an emphasis upon personality and adjustment, as a text for his own courses, it would in fact be of considerable value in a general course since a very wide range of material is covered, yet the stress is all the time on the relatedness of the various branches of psychology. Moreover, despite the wide scope, Dr. Gordon has omitted material that he feels cannot be covered in sufficient depth. He thus steers a very narrow course between the Scylla of specialisation and the Charybdis of shallow "interest" treatment and it must be said immediately that his navigation is skilful and secure.

Part of the reason for Dr. Gordon's success is due to his theoretical orientation. After McClelland, he defines personality as "the specific contents and consequences of behaviour and the processes responsible for these contents and consequences." In other words, personality is the study of how what has gone on in the past between the individual and his environment, influences what happens to him in the future. Thus, in order to understand the specific contents arising from the individual's interactions with his environment we need to study physiology and the general processes in learning, perception, motivation, etc. The first part of the book is therefore concerned with these basic processes. The second part, following the definition, is a study of contents: *what* is learned by the developing child in a Western society, i.e. the socialisation of primary and acquired drives, and of thinking. The final section, on consequences, deal with the study of personality in the narrow sense: conflict, anxiety and normal and abnormal patterns of behaviour.

In Dr. Gordon's view personality, normal and abnormal, is the result of early learning. This is a truism, but its implications are explored in detail; in particular, the language and concepts of a generalised S-R reinforcement theory are used to describe and explain phenomena that are more usually expressed psychoanalytically. In this, Dr. Gordon is strongly reminiscent of Dollard and Miller's approach. However, as he admits, he could have used other than learning-theory language, but (a) the latter is sounder methodologically than other languages, and

(b) its use emphasizes the unity and inter-relatedness of many branches of psychology, a point that rightly needs re-emphasising. This bias does not however prevent him from exploring in "depth", as distinct from the Maudsley behaviour therapy approach. There is, incidentally, no mention of Eysenck's quite different approach to integrating learning and personality theories; this is a disappointing omission, which may even be regarded as serious.

Conflict is seen as fundamental to the study of personality, and anxiety as the inevitable consequence of conflict. Following anxiety reduction, two classes of response become learned: instrumental, which is both anxiety reducing and conflict resolving; and non-instrumental (the Freudian defence mechanisms), which does reduce immediate anxiety but does not resolve the underlying conflict. Everyone acquires both types of response, but the abnormal (both neurotic and psychotic) has had previous learning experiences, especially in socialisation, such as to make him susceptible to *intense* conflict. This solid background of learning non-instrumental responses will also have a specific character that will determine the kind of neurosis or psychosis, although Dr. Gordon is careful to allow that there may be constitutional determinants in addition. However, the precipitating factor is in the last analysis the environment: severe stress, as in war, may trigger neuroses and psychoses in the most seemingly unlikely people.

The chapters in the earlier section on learning, motivation and physiology are very sound and up to date but the chapter on thinking and perception is perhaps less satisfactory. Although some alternatives to drive-reductionism are mentioned, it must be admitted that the search for alternatives is not very intense; little use is made here, or elsewhere for that matter, of the cognitive theorists. Dr. Gordon himself enthusiastically embraces the drive-reduction concept and is consequently versatile in his application of it. For example, "fantasizing" recurs because it is drive-reducing; but then the habitual resort to drive *inducing* fantasies (e.g. of aggression or of sex) becomes very hard to explain, unless they are carried out to reduce a boredom drive. But clearly, this kind of reasoning makes learning theory concepts almost as "ungetatable" as any psychoanalytic ones.

Nevertheless, Dr. Gordon's ingenuity in applying concepts from learning to examples from the personality field is thoroughly admirable. For example, consistency of parental discipline — whether harsh or permissive — is predicted to lead to a *lack* of rigidity in adult behaviour, e.g. in problem solving. This is based on an extrapolation from the familiar finding that responses learned under total reinforcement (consistent discipline) are more easily extinguished than those learned under partial reinforcement (inconsistent discipline). More specific predictions in relation to weaning, toilet training, sexual behaviour and so forth are likewise made on the grounds of stimulus generalisation, drive reduction, reinforcement schedule, etc.: given the premises, these are always logical and are in equal proportions of commonsensical to non-commonsensical. Often they coincide with psychoanalytic explanations, but rarely have they unequivocal empirical support and, as in the case of psychonalytic concepts themselves, it is difficult to see how they could. However, non-behaviourists need not despair: Dr. Gordon is not rigidly dogmatic, and if this kind of presentation, particularly if it is alongside other kinds, serves to help the student integrate the subject matter of psychology, it is more than justified.

Although the book's virtues heavily outweigh its vices, the latter do occur, the more annoyingly when they are avoidable. For example, the practice of locating

reference footnotes in the back of the book is utterly infuriating: its only virtue, and that a doubtful one, is to unclutter the main text. Possibly all this indicates is that Dr. Gordon's mother – or is it the publisher's? – was severer in toilet training than the reviewer's mother: certainly the latter's son finds an informative page more drive-reducing than a compulsively tidy one. There are also tendencies to employ jargon and to adopt a certain fulsomeness of expression that may make heavy going for the student: both these could be ameliorated, if not eradicated, in a second edition. But these are minor flaws; the book as it stands is erudite, comprehensive and challenging and should prove to be most useful in both general and in more specialised courses in psychology.

JOHN BIGGS, Armidale (Australia)

THORNDIKE, ROBERT L., *The Concepts of Over- and Underachievement*. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University 1963. pp. 69. \$3.25.

This is an admirable little book, marked by clarity and a dry wit. For reasons implied rather than stated, the symmetry of the title is not maintained beyond the opening pages. For, as the author says, the concepts refer to such facts as that a group of pupils all of the same age, the same I.Q. and the same type of home background, will still vary in their educational achievement, and our problem is to try to understand how and why these differences arise, and to determine how those who achieve less well can be brought to achieve better. If, as a by-product, those already doing well are brought to do better still, there is no cause for complaint. The object is to raise the average level, and not to close the gap.

"If we recognise that the prediction of academic achievement is just one example of the general problem of prediction, and that labelling a test a "scholastic aptitude test" confers no special status upon it, then we can approach the problem of "underachievement" as an example of the general phenomenon of errors of prediction or failure to predict. We can ask the perfectly general question: Why do we fail to achieve perfection in our attempts to predict? Answering the question in general terms, we can then apply the answer to the concrete case of academic achievement, and study the strategy of research dealing with failures to predict."

Professor Thorndike then goes on to examine four sources of error, namely (1) errors of measurement, (2) criterion heterogeneity, (3) limited scope in predictors, and (4) intervening experiences. What is considered under the last two heads can alternatively be classified as (a) essentially unmodifiable factors in the nature and background of the person, and, only finally (b) personal and educational factors that are subject to manipulation or modification.

"Sex and socio-economic status are not things that the school is going to modify. Like aptitude, they are predictors of certain indicators of achievement. The investigator concerned with underachievement must be concerned with these factors, but his concern is to identify them and use them as additional variables in his prediction equation, not to manipulate them experimentally or use them in some practical way." This is perhaps a little too sweeping, as may be seen by considering the case where the experimenter is named Lenin or Hitler, or even Franklin Roosevelt or Clement Attlee. But although there are few if any static societies in the world today we can agree that some things are harder to alter

than others, and that altering them is not the immediate concern of the educational researcher, although his work may lend extra weight to the arguments for alteration. His immediate task, says Professor Thorndike, is to study the relatively stable background factors and incorporate them in his prediction so that it becomes maximally accurate, and then to study, and if possible manipulate, the plausible modifiable variables in order to learn to what extent education can overcome whatever real discrepancies between actual and predicted achievement still remain. This is unexceptionable as a statement of the researcher's task. But the teachers task is rather different. His job is to do what he can to confirm predictions when they are favourable, and confute them when they are unfavourable. In this way the stone that the builders rejected sometimes becomes the head of the corner. The gradually changing pattern of education in the United Kingdom bears witness to the success of this policy over many years.

In his subsequent chapters Professor Thorndike divides his subject into the experimental manipulation of variables, and the correlational studies of relationships. Since the main object of the latter is to discover "soft" variables for the former there is something to be said for reversing the order. Correlational studies go back a long way. It was in 1907 that Yule devised his elegant notation and used it to explore the algebra of partial correlations and beta weights. Those of us who sat at his feet at Cambridge (England!) 40 years ago must regret that the electronic computer did not then exist to enable him to exploit his invention. The elegant algebra leads to some uncommonly tedious arithmetic, whose sheer weight made it impracticable to deal with matrices of many variables before the computer came to our aid. Today mere weight of arithmetic can be overcome, as is shown by the following table, extracted from figure 9.4 of monograph No. 2 in the "Project Talent" series. The criterion variable is the school mean score in an abstract reasoning test for grade 12 students. The other variables are introduced one by one. At any stage the next variable to be brought in is the one which, at that stage, makes the greatest contribution to the assigned variance.

Variable

Variables included	1 Teachers' Salaries	2 Housing Quality	3 Teaching Experience	4-32 Others	Assigned Variance R^2
1	30%	—	—	—	30%
1 and 2	23%	21%	—	—	44%
1, 2 and 3	24%	18%	8%	—	50%
1-10	16%	14%	8%	28% for 7 more variables	66%
1-20	10%	11%	7%	41% for 17 more variables	69%
1-32	10%	10%	7%	43% for 29 more variables	70%

Each entry in the body of the table is the product of a beta weight and a first order correlation, the latter being constant down each column. The former, and therefore the product, gradually declines during the descent of the column. Thus in the first row the first variable accounts for the whole 30% of the variance assigned at that stage. In the next row it accounts for 23% out of 44%, the second variable accounting for the other 21%. By the time ten variables are included the contribution of the first has dropped to 16% out of 66%. During the introduction of the next ten variables there is a further decline, to 10% out of 69%. Thereafter the contributions of the first three variables remain constant until the full quorum of 32 variables has been introduced.

The reason for the decline down each column is that in the early stages each variable is in effect borrowing from its successors. This may be seen by considering the simple example of the relation between stature in parents and children. Parents correlate with each other at about .3, and with their offspring at about .5. Consequently fathers' statures alone account for about 25% of the variance of childrens, and the parents together for 38%, each contributing 19%. Tall men tend to have tall sons partly because they tend to marry tall wives. Consequently the fathers' initial 25% really includes a contribution from the mothers. Hence the mothers, if they come second, only bring in 13% more, although their real contribution is 19%. It is instructive to consider what would happen if the correlation between parents were zero, or negative.

The table above perhaps throws some light on what Professor Thorndike calls the problem of excessive overlap. "We are then" he says "in something of a dilemma. We need a measure of potential that bears some substantial relationship to our index of achievement. However the measure of potential should not include within itself any of the specific components of the achievement measure. Nor should it be elevated or depressed (i.e. biased) by any of the background factors that have elevated or depressed the achievement measure." This is a hard saying, but we might deal with it somewhat on the following lines:

1. A variable is either relevant or irrelevant to the criterion. It is irrelevant if the first order correlation does not reach significance, and in that case we may follow Dogberry's recommendation ("Why then, bid him go, and thank God you are rid of a knave.")

2. If it is relevant it is either directly or indirectly so. It is indirectly so if its beta weight tends to zero as other variables come in. If so, Dogberry again applies.

3. A directly relevant variable is either malleable or not, or, more probably, in between. Educational variables tend to be more malleable, and sociological variables less so, though this depends to some extent upon time and place, as was remarked above. The Newsom Report showed that the influence of parental occupation on the child's school achievement in England was less in 1961 than in 1953. However, apart from sociological changes with the efflux of time there is something to be done by experiment, most hopefully with directly relevant variables that look "soft" - that is, that offer some prospect of being malleable.

This brings us back to Professor Thorndike's second chapter. "Overt manipulation of experimental variables is always a satisfying approach to understanding, and even to controlling, educational and psychological outcomes; so this pattern for investigation is a very appropriate one. The educator's practical concern with deficient educational achievement is to remedy the condition." This is one of the difficulties about securing an adequate control group. "Really

random assignment to treatments has been extremely rare in educational investigations concerned with overcoming deficiencies in achievement. Educational concern has typically been practical and humanitarian. Educators have been loath to deny a treatment to a student they thought might be helped by it. They have been concerned primarily with using their techniques, and only secondarily with evaluating them." This difficulty does not apply to the regression fallacy, against which the author gives a salutary warning that might be thought otiose were it not for the frequency with which this fallacy continues to appear, even in the work of eminent hands. It would be easy, but invidious, to quote examples. Other difficulties with which the author deals are the Hawthorne effect - the stimulation that comes merely from being part of an experiment, - and the loss of subjects as time goes on. And, perhaps the most serious of all, "We do not have an explicit and satisfactory taxonomy of educational input variables. All we can do is to re-emphasize the importance of (1) selecting genuinely significant factors to vary in different experimental treatments and (2) describing in precise terms the essential components of that which has been varied."

As would be expected from its distinguished author this little book bears throughout the marks of prolonged practical experience, which include the power to generalise widely from simple instances. This makes it at once easy and illuminating to read. It is attractively produced and printed; the only failure of proof reading noticed by the reviewer was the omission of some square root signs on page 74.

G. F. PEAKER, Grasmere

PLANCHARD, EMILE, *Introduction à la Pédagogie*. Louvain: Nauwelaerts 1963. pp. 237. FB 150.—.

This is an introduction to the theory and practice of Education, Educational Psychology, and Educational Methods. The broad aim is to make an honest man out of the humble pedagogue.

Is Education to be defined as a philosophy, a science, or both? Is its function to prepare young people for a predetermined environment or is it an instrument of social and political change?

The author believes that Education is a form of systematic activity working towards an accepted establishment, but he is certain that the bases of Education, however defined, are both scientific and philosophic and that each approach neglects the other at its peril.

The impact of the biological sciences, the social sciences, research and measurement are briefly described, but the need for a concept of man and his purpose in life is considered paramount. From such basic studies the author hopes that the practical techniques of teaching will derive higher status.

To demonstrate this hope, the development of school curriculum, method and administration is traced over the first half of this century. It is salutary for the impatient progressives of today to read on pages 160-161 the Thirty Principles of the *New Education* set out by the Bureau International des Ecoles Nouvelles over the period 1912-1932.

We see in perspective the child-centred school, the centre of interest, social studies,

the school-community, activity methods and learning by doing. We recall the significance of the Dalton Plan and other techniques, while figures such as Claparede, Dewey, Ferriere and Piaget drop into place. Honour is paid to Reddie's early breakaway at Abbotsholme and the survey of the progressive movement brings us to a clear assessment of the current position of the French *classes nouvelles*.

What developments will follow in the remainder of the 20th century? According to the author, two pressures will shape the education of tomorrow: first, the increasing "homocentric" emphasis on individual and national dignity and fulfilment; second, the impact of modern technology.

To compress the treatment of such broad and fundamental questions into an introductory textbook pitched at first year College level is a difficult goal. The author succeeds in bringing a cool detached view of the arrogant technologist. He also brings a liberal idealist philosophy, very close to humanist empiricism, which will offend none but the extremist. But he is likely to cause some impatience by his delight in the manipulation of abstract ideas for their own sake.

In fact it is impossible for one man to keep in touch with educational developments throughout the world over sixty years and to relate them to the historical and contemporary scene. This is apparent at many points: the work of Dewey, Moreno and others in the thirties is unduly stressed at the expense of more recent influences. The impact of cybernetics is recognised but there is nothing on Programmed Learning. Cuisenaire does not find a place. There is no mention of Cyril Burt, Spearman or Godfrey Thomson in Britain, though the author leans heavily on Ferriere the French sociologist. And what of Russia? It is all very pre-sputnik. Perhaps such a task demands the resources of UNESCO.

More serious objection can be taken to his apparent acceptance of the validity of IQ testing and the innate character of human aptitudes, without reference to the present opposition to both concepts.

Knowledgeable readers will be interested in what is a scholarly attempt. The young student, to whom the book is primarily addressed, is at a disadvantage: he is unaware of the reality of the problems discussed. The specialist finds little in his particular field.

The book itself, though loose in form and lacking an index, is written in clear language and attractive style. But the teaching problem of introducing young people to a subject which is as complex as life itself remains the challenge. This book could be a good start but its success can be judged only on its reception by students and lecturers in the field.

R. P. CLARK, Aberdeen

SEIDMANN, PETER, *Moderne Jugend, Eine Herausforderung an die Erzieher* (Modern Youth, A Challenge to Educators). Zürich/Stuttgart: Rascher 1963, DM 13.90.

In terms of emphasis the title should be reversed. The book is indeed a challenge to educators and very much concerned with the education of youth. It is not as much a substantive treatment of modern youth and our knowledge about them as the title seems to indicate, as an indictment of parents and educators who – only too frequently – misunderstand youth. It is the stated purpose of the book to stimulate the educator of adolescents toward a critical self-evaluation of his own attitude toward adolescents. The tone of the book is philosophical with leanings

toward both existentialism and depth psychology. Lacking are references to the voluminous amount of empirical research and to much of the general writings on adolescence in the United States. Nevertheless the author demonstrates a very deep and penetrating understanding of adolescents and their problems and he seems to identify very strongly with them.

The first chapter is entitled *Changes toward maturity*. The author is repetitive in arguing that most of the problems of youth are not specific to youth but are essentially human problems. Furthermore, adolescence is not seen as a particular stage or phase in human development that has its own characteristics, but as continuous with earlier and later development. In a later essay the author seems to contradict himself when he maintains that self-finding is an essential adolescent problem. Much blame for adolescents' difficulties is placed on the educator who either is too distant and unconcerned, or too over-protective, and actually thriving on having adolescents depend on him. The "sceptical generation" as today's youth has been labeled by disappointed and bitter parents and educators is just as much a "sceptically evaluated youth". The lack of self-critical objectivity and detachment leads adults to treat adolescents just as they treat their own subconscious: they do not fully comprehend it.

The second essay *The fragmentary early maturation of adolescents* begins with a challenging question: Does Youth as a form of life and as a stage of development become extinct? Youth matures earlier in terms of height, appearance and psycho-sexual development. In addition there are social changes which provide the adolescent with more freedom earlier: in mobility; in choosing education, vocation, marriage partner; and in terms of availability of money and consumption patterns. What is considered a luxury by the older generation has become a necessity of life for the adolescent. The 16 or 17 year old manages modern equipment and machinery, makes extensive trips for his vacations, has more actual knowledge than his predecessor a generation ago, enjoys adult entertainment and drives his own motor vehicle; he is already in the world of the adult. He has become an adult without having been an adolescent. The result is - as the title implies - a fragmentary form of early maturation, a pseudo-maturation that is obtained without the important psychological processes which have been essential parts of the adolescent growth process: ego-discovery, ego-identity and self-cognition.

In the third chapter *The fight for self-assertion*, another challenge to educators and parents is advanced: "Adolescents are a passively held mass, they are administered and organized by the older generation, they are used and consumed like material, and they are forced into the outdated tradition of their elders". (p. 85). To the reviewer this does not appear to be a specifically modern phenomenon, since the struggle for independence and the clash between the generations is a recurring theme in literature as well as in the psychological writing on adolescence. Nevertheless, contemporary issues are presented, such as the protest of youth against organizations, administration, tradition and convention, as is adolescents' reservation, scepticism and lack of interest in organizational and institutional activities.

In his essay *The erotic needs and the fear of life* the author emphasizes the effects of social change on the attitudes of adolescents toward sex, the opposite sex and the social-parental values concerning sex. He begins with the assumption - contrary to what one might expect - that modern civilization does not make it any easier for the young men and the young women to accept their appropriate sex role and

to find the right relationship to the opposite sex. Concerning the relationship of the sexes, many aspects of our culture have become more liberal and more tolerant, while other aspects of our culture have remained puritanistic and conservative. Special emphasis is given to the erotic needs and the fear of life of the young woman. The difficulties that she is confronted with are partly due to her recent attainment of equality which places her in a new dualistic role of mother-wife and career woman and family supporter. She still has to learn to adjust to the world of the man since he wants her to be feminine and motherly while she tries to see herself in her new social role: modern, emancipated. Neither tradition nor her own mother can provide her with a proper model so that she finds herself between two apparently incompatible roles. Less is said about the new role of the young man, probably because his role has changed less.

The last essay *In service of the professional educator* highlights the importance of personal and educational growth of the teacher since these are qualities adolescents look up to and admire. Concrete suggestions are made for the in-service education of the professional teacher in a changing society: understanding educational sociology and group dynamics, a depth psychological frame of reference for self-understanding, an anthropological insight into the developmental process, knowledge of the psychology of sex, and a thorough background in psychological anthropology. The author sees these suggestions as concrete proposals to eliminate the problem of teacher shortages and to provide youth with teachers who are more sensitive to their needs. It is in this chapter that the author highlights the subtitle of the book "A Challenge to Educators".

ROLF MUUSS, Towson, Maryland/USA

BAILARD, VIRGINIA and STRANG, RUTH, *Parent-Teacher Conferences*. Maidenhead: McGraw-Hill 1964. pp. 208+ref.+Ind. 50/6d

Der Kontakt zwischen Elternhaus und Schule ist für den Lehrer und den Erfolg seines Unterrichts sowie seiner erzieherischen Tätigkeit in der Schule von entscheidender Bedeutung. Dieses Problem hat bisher in der pädagogischen Literatur kaum die ihm zukommende Beachtung gefunden. Das vorliegende Buch von Virginia Bailard und Ruth Strang versucht, diese Lücke zu schließen. In zwölf Kapiteln werden die wichtigsten Fragen, die mit einer wirksamen und fruchtbringenden Kommunikation zwischen Lehrern und Eltern – vom Kindergarten bis hinauf zur High-School – zusammenhängen, behandelt. Dabei liegt das Schwerpunkt auf dem Praktischen. Die Verfasserinnen haben ein vielfältiges Material aus dem Schulalltag zusammengetragen, um dem Leser am konkreten Beispiel Möglichkeiten und Wege zu zeigen, wie man mit den mannigfaltigen Problemen und Schwierigkeiten, die sich aus der Fühlungnahme zwischen Schule und Elternhaus ergeben, fertigwerden kann. So wird genau und eingehend beschrieben, wie man einen Elternabend vorbereitet und durchführt, in welcher Form man Eltern zu einer Aussprache einladen kann, wie man am besten ein Interview durchführt u.v.a.m. Hier liegt die Stärke dieses Buches, das zweifellos für den Lehrer ein praktischer und hilfreicher Berater sein kann, aber auch seine Grenze. Es bleibt auch bei der Analyse der Beispiele im Vordergrund. Die Erörterungen, so wertvoll und anregend sie im Einzelfall sind, gelangen über das Aufzählen und Beschreiben der einzelnen Momente des Lehrer-Verhaltens gegenüber den Eltern

nicht hinaus. Es wird versucht, so etwas wie eine Diplomatie im Umgang mit den Eltern in den verschiedensten Situationen aufzuzeichnen, die allerdings den Leser, der mit den amerikanischen Umgangsformen nicht sehr vertraut ist, zuweilen etwas in Verwunderung setzt. Man vermißt dagegen eine eingehendere Erörterung der soziologischen Aspekte des Problems. Offensichtlich haben die Verfasserinnen bewußt darauf verzichtet, das Werk mit tiefergehenden theoretischen Erörterungen zu belasten, um sein Studium einfach zu halten. Das ist ihnen gut gelungen. Das Ganze ist in einem flüssigen Stil geschrieben, liest sich glatt und wirkt durch die vielen Beispiele sehr anschaulich.

Hervorzuheben sind die Kapitel 3 über *Group Meetings with Parents* und 10 *Conferences with Parents of Mentally Retarded and Slow-learning Children*, das die Schwierigkeiten aufzeigt, sie sich aus dem Umgang mit Eltern von lernschwachen Kindern ergeben. Gerade hier ist ein besonderes Geschick und Feingefühl des Lehrers notwendig, um die Eltern von der Richtigkeit schulischer Maßnahmen zu überzeugen. Auch das Kapitel 11 über *Vocational Counseling with Parent and Child* verdient Beachtung, da ein wichtiger Teil der Berufsberatung darin besteht, mit den Eltern zusammen nach dem richtigen Berufsweg für das Kind zu suchen.

PETER W. KAHL, Hamburg

John Dewey's Impressions of Soviet Russia and the revolutionary world of Mexico – China – Turkey 1929. Introduction and Notes by William W. Brickman. Comparative Education Studies New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University 1964. – pp. 178. \$1.95 paper bound, \$3.50 cloth.

John Dewey (1859–1952), Professor der Philosophie an den Universitäten Chicago (1894–1904) und Columbia (seit 1904), der aber seit seinen Anfängen als Lehrer für Latein und Naturwissenschaften eine enge Verbindung zur Pädagogik hielt, unternahm zwischen 1920 und 1928 Studienreisen in vier revolutionäre Staaten des Auslandes: 1920 nach China, 1924 nach der Türkei, 1926 nach Mexiko und 1928 nach Sowjetrußland. Er veröffentlichte über seine Eindrücke eine Reihe von Berichten in der Zeitschrift *The New Republic*, die seit 1929 unter dem obigen Titel und in veränderter zeitlicher Reihenfolge als Buch zusammengefaßt wurden. Es ist ein Verdienst von *Teachers College*, diese und andere Veröffentlichungen zur vergleichenden Pädagogik in wohlfeilen Ausgaben, *Classics in Education* und *Comparative Education Studies*, neu herauszubringen und für Studienzwecke verfügbar zu machen. Gewiß kannte Dewey noch nicht die neuen Methoden systematischer Vergleichung, die zu derselben Zeit von Mitgliedern des *International Institute* am *Teachers College*, wie Thomas Alexander, George Counts, Isaak Kandel und Paul Monroe, entwickelt wurden und in eigenen Veröffentlichungen wie auch in Kandels *Educational Yearbook* Niederschlag fanden. Aber es ist doch erstaunlich, mit welcher Sicherheit Dewey die wirkenden Ursachen und – in zunehmendem Maße – auch die pädagogischen Auswirkungen der revolutionären Vorgänge erkennt.

In *China* (1920) bereist er im Anschluß an Vorlesungen an den Universitäten Peking und Nanking sechs Wochen lang von Shanghai aus die Provinz Kiangsu und einige Städte der angrenzenden Provinz Chekiang. Am meisten beschäftigt ihn das Problem der Industrialisierung, das die Städte des von Natur fleißigen

(industrious) Chinesenvolkes in ganz verschiedener Stärke ergreift, aber einer gezielten Lenkung entbehrt, weil China in den damaligen Unruhen noch keine Nation ist, was jedoch in der Zukunft bestimmt eintreten wird. So lange das Land von kriegführenden Gruppen durchzogen wird, kann es geschehen, dass trotz der ernstesten Erziehungsabsichten der Zentralregierung ein Provinz-Gouverneur ein ganzes Jahr die Schulen schließt, um alle Einkünfte für das Heereswesen zu verwenden.

1924 lernt Dewey in der *Türkei* die katastrophalen Wirkungen der im Vertrag von Lausanne (1923) festgesetzten Umsiedlung von Griechen und Türken kennen und ist erschüttert über die zwangsweise Verpflanzung von Menschen, die ihre bisherigen Siedlungen nicht verlassen wollen und an den neuen Orten unwillkommen sind, während die Politiker diese Maßnahme als einziges Mittel zur Befriedung ansehen. Die Aufgabe Konstantinopels als Regierungszentrum und die Gründung einer neuen Hauptstadt Ankara in der kleinasiatischen Hochebene erscheint Dewey als ein heroisches Wagnis, in dem sich das Vertrauen auf die Tüchtigkeit des türkischen Bauern ausspricht. Unter den neu errichteten Bauten lassen die modern gestalteten Volksschulen auf eine gründliche Reform des Erziehungswesens schließen. Aber die Abschaffung des Kalifats und die Säkularisierung des Schulwesens erwecken Bedenken, die sich später als berechtigt erwiesen.

Das Verhältnis von Kirche und Staat und seine Einwirkung auf das Erziehungswesen bildet einen Hauptgegenstand in dem Bericht über *Mexiko* (1926). Der Besuch des Landes fiel in die Regierungszeit des Präsidenten Calles (1924–1928), des ehemaligen Landschullehrers und nunmehrigen Reformators des politischen, wirtschaftlichen und pädagogischen Lebens. Die aus der früheren engen Verbindung von Klerus und Großbesitz entstandene Vernachlässigung der Volksbildung macht nun einer antikirchlichen Gesetzgebung und einer radikalen Schulreform nach amerikanischem Vorbild Platz. Die indianische Bevölkerung, die 80% der Einwohnerchaft des Landes ausmacht, erhält erstmalig eine allgemeine Grundschulung, die nach dem Gesetz 6 Jahre umfaßt, vorläufig aber noch mit 4 Jahren erfüllt werden kann. Die Mischung heidnischer und christlicher Elemente im Volksleben läßt Mexiko als ein Land der Gegensätze und des Widerspruchs erscheinen. Angesichts einer gewissen überheblichen Haltung seines eigenen Landes mahnt Dewey zu Vernunft und Verträglichkeit.

Im Sommer 1928 unternahm Dewey als Mitglied einer privaten amerikanischen Reisegesellschaft eine zweiwöchige Studienfahrt nach *Sowjetrußland*, auf der die beiden Städte Leningrad und Moskau besucht wurden. In dem westlich geprägten Leningrad entdeckt Dewey hinter der verfallenden Fassade ehemaliger kaiserlicher Pracht und in der Armut der Bevölkerung den Aufbruch von Vitalität, Mut und Vertrauen der Bevölkerung, während sich das orientalisch anmutende Moskau als Herzkraft der revolutionären Bewegung erweist. Im Verkehr mit Lunatscharsky, dem ehemaligen Literaten und ersten sowjetischen Erziehungsminister, der Krupskaja als Förderin pädagogischer Reformen, Schatzki, dem früheren Leiter der Moskauer sozialistischen Kinderkolonie, und Pinkewitsch, dem Verfasser des Buches über *Die neue Erziehung in der Sowjetrepublik* (John Day, New York 1929) erörtert er pädagogische Probleme, sodaß er auf S. 106 bekennt: „Es drängt sich mir die Ahnung auf, daß das russische Volk nach einer Reihe von Anpassungen an die sich entwickelnden Verhältnisse etwas Neues in der Form menschlichen Zusammenlebens aufbauen wird.“

Es ist bewundernswert, wie Dewey trotz verhältnismäßig kurzer Besuchszeiten, ohne Kenntnis der Landessprachen und in Beschränkung auf wenig Aufenthaltsorte

die wesentlichen Entwicklungslinien entdeckt und Genauigkeit der Beobachtung sowie die Unterstellung des Urteils unter sichere Kriterien empfiehlt. William W. Brickman, dem Herausgeber der Reiseeindrücke, gebührt Dank für die sorgfältige biographische Einleitung und die umfassende Übersicht über die einschlägige Literatur.

FRANZ HILKER, Bonn

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS - DIE AUTOREN - INDEX DES COLLABORATEURS

Colin D. EWERS, a mathematician (University of Western Australia), taught mathematics and physics in secondary schools and at university level. He worked in educational research and later became an educational administrator. He was Director of the Migrant Education Programme in Australia before transferring to Unesco in 1952. There he worked in the Statistical Division, was chief of the educational documentation unit, administrator in charge of technical assistance programmes and then Chief of the Unesco Mission to Iran (1957-1959). After one year on loan to the Secretariat of the U.N. Special Fund in New York he returned to Unesco, Paris, where he was responsible for Unesco's Special Fund programmes. Since 1962 he has been Chief of the Division of Educational Planning and Administration, working in the type of programme which he considers to be a priority need for educational development in developing countries.

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Joseph S. ROUCEK was born in Prague (Czechoslovakia) in 1902. He came to the United States on a scholarship in 1921 and got a Ph. D. from New York University in 1927. He taught at a number of American universities and as visiting professor in numerous Canadian and European universities. He is now professor and chairman of the departments of Sociology and Political Sciences, University of Bridgeport (Conn.). Author of many books and articles in the field of Political Sciences, History, Sociology, Education and Educational Sociology. Two recent publications are *The Exceptional Child* and *Behind the Iron Curtain*.

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Mrs. Penelope Jane LEACH, née Balchin, after taking an Hons B.A. at Cambridge University and attending a graduate course in Social Science at the London School of Economics, joined the Department of Social Psychology at the London School of Economics in 1961 to study for a Ph. D. with a thesis on maternal authoritarianism and inflexibility in school-children. She has written some contributions to lay journals such as "New Society" and "Cambridge Review", and is a member of various Welfare bodies such as the Family Welfare Association. She is also a local Councillor on the St Pancras (London) Borough Council.

TOWARDS A PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION

by PETER C. McNAUGHT, Edinburgh

Questions regarding the origin and status of a philosophy of education are accepted as perennial. Yet recent discussions emerge clearly as more than the products of a natural desire for intellectual satisfaction. They express a fundamental hunger for well-founded theory arising from the recognition, more widespread than ever before, that education devoid of a philosophy may become simply "a bag of tricks".

G. H. Bantock (1) has recently pointed out that although societies change and so do systems of education, it is invalid to assume a necessary connection between these events, and from this to argue a moral obligation on the part of education today to respond to what the author terms "vacillating social pressures". We have to ask ourselves again what we take to be the distinctive features of a philosophy of education properly so-called.

The word "philosophy" has itself fallen into a measure of disrepute. Professional philosophers are disinclined to the construction of systems: analysis rather than synthesis is often taken to be the mark of philosophic maturity as the contrast between Wittgenstein's earlier and later work clearly shows.

If we further exclude the case where the phrase *philosophy of education* is employed simply as a more pretentious way of stating an opinion, we come to the crux of the problem. People do, by reflection, arrive at a series of what they believe to be *desirable goals* which imply certain curricula and particular class-room methods. Implicit in this kind of thinking is the idea that *desirable* is to mean more than that something could, as a matter of fact, be desired. To establish compulsively, bindingly, the obligatoriness of these aims, one must have recourse to the possibility of deducing one's educational philosophy A) from a logically prior system or B) according to an intrinsic discipline. I shall now examine the first possibility.

A

The deducibility of a social ethic from the study of history has exercised an irresistible attraction upon several philosophers. The detection of a real direction in human events would, it was thought, permit the deduction of particular courses of action from general truths.

In this sense, a philosophy of history could claim a universality of relevance to all aspects of the human condition. In this sense, too, it might

hope to press the categorical right to inform one's thinking in the field of education.

The basis of this claim, whether urged by St. Augustine or Hegel, has never been a rigid Determinism. Such an account of the history of man might render certain principles intelligible only at the expense of abolishing the possibility of choice and hence the idea of moral obligation.

The intention has been to dissolve the problem by underlining the secondary influence of human agency. In K. R. Popper's (2) words: "It (historicism) does not teach that nothing can be brought about, it only predicts that neither your dreams nor what your reason constructs will ever be brought about according to plan. Only such plans as fit in with the main current of history can be effective." The wise will be those who discern and perform their role as "social midwives".

It would not be too difficult to show the basic philosophic difficulties in such a position. Even if an account of history remarks only general characteristics and thus preserves the case for human libertarianism, it is hard to see how an ethical obligation is to be derived from a series of general statements about the relatively small part of the past which is known to us.

This general defect in historicism is aggravated in the hands of certain of its classic exponents. Having surveyed the Hegelian premises and conclusions, Jacques Maritain (3) rejects them as the work of "a kind of philosopher-God re-creating not only history but the whole universe". Other critics have concentrated on Hegel's imprecision in language, the chauvinism of his predictions, the conniving at unpalatable fact. The only significant refutation however, of Hegel or of the historicist position in general, is the criticism that to apply to history a selectivity demanded by a theory which is itself selectively derived, is doubly invalid.

It is true that present-day philosophers of history such as Toynbee and Maritain reject such approaches but their avoidance of rigidity relies on qualifications for every short step taken. One feels their caution rather than conviction. They provide a properly academic corrective rather than a doctrinal basis for a philosophy of education.

The basic inadequacies of "millennium" theories, Hegelian, Marxian or otherwise have always been obscured by their emotional contagion, their remarkable power of presenting life as a clear challenge in which all the mental and physical energies of man are to be harnessed now to create a new society. I think it wrong to argue that this fervour of creation, of experimentation, is an illusory emotional accompaniment to such a plan. It is a tertiary quality always experienced by man as system-builder, creator of a new order. It is the thrill of entering into an understanding,

an obligation, a purpose. This is the lesson which even an authoritarian system clearly teaches. The real nature of things is thus revealed by action and realisation rather than by reflection alone. Yet, paradoxically enough, the nature of future events is already prescribed by the Marxist logic of history. The details are unknown but, on this view, one always knows their ontological structure.

If history has a meaning which is within our grasp, it seems unlikely that it would take the form of a final solution to all problems. Only an authoritarian system would claim to have distilled the meaning of events so clearly that a philosophy of education could or should be derived from it. Undeniably a *logically prior system* is made available. Those who reject the price demanded must look elsewhere.

The second possible source of a valid philosophy of education is a complete system of philosophy – an epistemological and ethical interpretation of the real nature of things. This could fairly claim to be regarded as a *logically prior system*. Yet this is precisely what philosophy, particularly in the West, has not produced. It is not sufficient to say that a fragmentation of society, undermining of traditional class systems naturally leads to a drying up of progressive theory. On the contrary, periods of rapid social change such as the Renaissance, the Reformation, the French and American Revolutions all produced a rethinking of the meaning and purpose of life, a re-definition consequent upon this of the nature of government and community, social right and obligation.

Philosophy today claims essentially to be a method, a series of recommendations and caveats about the use of language. It has been pre-occupied with the role of clearing up the errors of previous philosophy and rejecting their pretensions to system-building. All that is now certain is the history of philosophy. The powerful influence of Hume is everywhere as if the last word had been said. What are the grounds for rejecting one set of beliefs in favour of another? It depends, we are told, on what you want to do. This is, of course, no help with the only real question of what we *should* do. Even if we accept Dewey's (4) tenet that the teacher is not in the classroom "to impose certain ideas or form certain habits", he is still left with the problem of choice: what to teach and why, if he is to "select the influences which shall affect the child".

Concern of this kind is the beginning of philosophy in that it seeks to establish some order from transient fact, some significant form in which can be reconciled one's most persistent and pervasive intuitions about the meaning and purpose of education.

It may be that it will fall to the "plain man" so frequently the target of professional philosophical articles, to lead philosophy back to a proper

estimate of its capabilities. It is well-known that contemporary practice in logic and ethics has been a reaction to the "cosiness" of philosophical systems such as those of T. H. Green and F. G. Bradley. Self-Realisation and the Absolute may or may not have been refuted, but system-building itself has not.

B

A. N. Whitehead in a famous passage (5) associated himself with both attack and defence when he wrote: "Philosophy is not a mere collection of noble sentiments but at once general and concrete, critical and appreciative of direct intuition." He is concerned to warn that man cannot afford to be prodigal with intuition. Its flashes are rare and require collation, comparison and reference to the raw material of daily life in which they are ultimately grounded. The continuing discovery of ourselves is dependent upon this.

Thus the kind of system which could be genuinely philosophical and specifically educational must arise out of practice itself. Precepts are general, but the individual is real. The philosophy of education must work with instinctive reactions and problems arising from the incompatibility of common beliefs, but the statement of these in a disciplined manner is only the preface to, and not the entire limit of, philosophical enquiry. We are committed to system-building whether we like it or not because the only reason for rejecting one instinctive belief in favour of another, must be that it clashes with a system. Even the rejected Bradleian Idealism succeeded in showing that the process of thinking necessarily implies the attempt to create novel unities from diversity. The rejection of one reason for another is always made in terms of a contemplated theoretical unity. In science, we still proceed on the assumption that the demands of reason are themselves reasonable though these are unverifiable. Few present-day scientists would exclude insight and intuition from their proper place in man's greatest discoveries. Are we then to exclude them from man's examination of his own society?

Philosophy was once described by Bertrand Russell (6) as the task of "showing us the hierarchy of our instinctive beliefs". This is exactly the task of a philosophy of education. So often the main problem in education is getting our priorities right. It is not hard to see that we must learn to distinguish between those opinions which arouse a vague feeling of moral approval in us and those which take the form of imperatives.

The test of such a system would be its internal coherence with reason and intuition as defined above discharging complementary and not opposed functions. The old philosophical tradition certainly made too much

play of reason and intuition as two wholly disparate entities. The fullest refutation of this view is to be found in Chapter XI of "Subjects and Objects" in Whitehead's *Adventures of Ideas*, but it is not necessary to agree with Whitehead's view of the relatedness of reason and intuition to rehabilitate system-building. It is enough to recognise the falsity of the dichotomy drawn between these two functions of the mind. The cognitive aspect of each must be acknowledged and used if we are to scrutinise philosophically our assumptions in education.

What we retain or discard among these assumptions should be based on a well-founded criterion. Whitehead himself has suggested (7) that "an assumption is justifiable only when it can be shown that it is a presupposition fundamental to the framing of a necessary system in terms of which all experience can be interpreted." It is in this prescription that the possibility of system-building in philosophy, and the philosophy of education in particular, seems principally to reside.

We have to advance from the "collection of noble sentiments" of which we approve but which neither form a coherent whole nor individually move us to action.

We have also, as Professor Macmurray (8) warns us, to remember that "a logical system of true propositions does not in itself constitute a body of knowledge. To constitute knowledge, it must be believed by someone." He insists that although philosophy is necessarily theoretical and must have the appropriate theoretical strictness, "it does not follow that we must theorise from the standpoint of theory". Action is the real inclusive situation. Only the Cartesian *cogito* insists on an inflexible dualism between theory and practice.

It is not possible here to give such a classic problem even a fraction of the consideration it deserves. It is obvious, however, that of all philosophers, the man engaged in education is most in need of a solution to the problem of the relation of theory and practice.

Nonetheless, he is better equipped than a cloistered colleague to provide a solution. Indeed he already provides a tentative answer every day and every session, for teaching is at all times declaratory of one's personal attempts to sense and express the meaning and purpose of life.

The conception of philosophy of education implied in all this would be the result of an intrinsic discipline to the extent, as H. P. Rickman (9) has recently argued, that it was "based on a comprehensive view of life and alert to the factual contributions of the studies concerned with man". It would embody in this search the traditional aims of both speculative and analytic philosophy "self-knowledge and a growth of critical awareness of one's own presuppositions".

The borrowing days of educational philosophy are gone forever. Theory propped up by Church or State acquires little allegiance, less integrity and no sense of witnessing the facts as they now are. A whole new range of responses and emotional awareness have arisen in every branch of learning. Theology and political theory themselves are suddenly involved in a radical re-thinking of their own premises. This is not evidence of error or insubstantiality but of enlightenment, of a desire to come to terms with many new areas of human enquiry and endeavour. Can we refuse to do less in education?

It may be that the quest for a consistent self-sufficient system will mean the abandoning of preconceptions, watchwords and other legacies of the past. It may also entail a deeper and more diverse study of theory and practice than educationists have previously contemplated. Even those out of sympathy with the idea of a philosophy of education will surely not quarrel with that.

There remains the objection that it is only an article of faith that such an enquiry will ever yield a workable philosophy of education. Though this cannot be refuted in advance, it is an argument which applies to most areas of speculation and its real destructive power is to paralyse original thinking both good and bad. If we really believe in what we are doing, in what, in the best sense of the word, we "profess", we cannot refuse the contest.

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AUF DEM WEGE ZU EINER BILDUNGSPHILOSOPHIE

von PETER C. McNAUGHT, Edinburgh

Welches sind die Kennzeichen einer Bildungsphilosophie? Diese Frage ist von entscheidender Bedeutung in einem Zeitalter schnellen technischen Wandels, der nicht nur die Mittel und Wege des Unterrichtens, sondern auch gesellschaftliche Strukturen und Verhaltensweisen beeinflusst. Wir müssen uns erneut fragen, woher Bildungsphilosophien herkömmlich stammen und als wie wirksam oder unwirksam sie sich erwiesen haben.

Nach Auffassung des Verfassers lassen wir uns bei der Suche nach Ableitung aus einem logisch übergeordneten System zu Geschichtsphilosophien oder zu anderen übergeordneten Philosophien verführen, bei denen die Bildungsphilosophie nur als Fußnote in einer Unterabteilung – z.B. der Moral – erscheint. Es wird argumentiert, daß die Geschichtsphilosophie als starrer Determinismus gewisse Grundsätze nur auf Kosten der Abschaffung ethischer Entscheidung und Verpflichtung verständlich macht. Die Alternative wäre es, das Problem aufzulösen, indem man den sekundären Einfluß menschlicher Handlung unterstriche. Fertigkeit wird hier verstanden als die bloße Fähigkeit, die wirklichen Tendenzen in der menschlichen Entwicklung zu erkennen und sich mit der untergeordneten Rolle zu begnügen, eine Begleitmusik dazu zu spielen.

Die moderne Philosophie befaßt sich mit der Analyse der Sprache und ist im allgemeinen deskriptiv und nicht normativ. Das mag eine klärende Wirkung auf unsere Einsichten ausüben, gibt uns aber keine genaue Anleitung. Autoritative und insbesondere „Jahrtausend“-Typen von Philosophie wie z.B. der Marxismus geben zu vielen philosophischen Zweifeln Anlaß und fordern einen hohen Preis für die pädagogische Ableitbarkeit, die sie uns geben.

Die Aufgabe der Bildungsphilosophie ist es, aus der tatsächlichen Praxis Begriffe zu entwickeln und deren Wert zu beurteilen. Bewunderungswürdige Gefühle im Zusammenhang logisch einwandfreier Vorschläge geben uns an sich noch keinen Wissensstoff; sie müssen von jemand geglaubt werden in der zwingenden Weise, die zu Handlung führt. Dies ist die wirkliche inklusive Situation. Um sie zu erreichen, müssen Vorschriften und Schlagworte der Vergangenheit wie auch die Ergebnisse einer ganzen Reihe neuer sozialer Wissenschaften abgeschätzt werden. Erst dann werden wir das in der Pädagogik erkennen, was Russell als „die Hierarchie unserer instinktiven Überzeugungen“ bezeichnet.

VERS UNE PHILOSOPHIE DE L'EDUCATION

par PETER C. McNAUGHT, Edinburgh

Quels sont les facteurs déterminants de la philosophie de l'éducation? Cette question est cruciale à une époque de changement technique rapide, affectant non seulement les moyens et les techniques de l'enseignement, mais aussi les attitudes et les structures sociales. Nous devons de nouveau nous demander d'où viennent traditionnellement les philosophies éducatives et dans quelle mesure elles furent ou non efficaces.

L'auteur fait ressortir que si nous cherchons à faire des déductions d'un système

logique antérieur on tend à se reporter à des philosophies d'histoire ou des philosophies apparentées dans l'un des départements comme la philosophie morale, où l'éducation apparaît à peine comme une note au bas de la page.

Il est avancé que si la philosophie de l'histoire constitue un Déterminisme rigide elle rend certains principes intelligibles mais seulement en supprimant le choix et l'obligation morale. L'alternative consiste à éluder le problème en soulignant l'influence secondaire de l'action humaine. L'aptitude est considérée ici comme étant seulement l'habileté à détecter les tendances réelles dans les événements humains et à remplir un rôle secondaire d'accompagnateur.

La philosophie moderne se préoccupe de l'analyse du langage et est plutôt descriptive que prescriptive. Ceci peut exercer un effet clarificateur sur notre point de vue, mais ne donne pas une orientation précise. Des types philosophiques autoritaires et en particulier „millenium" tels que le Marxisme se prêtent à différents doutes philosophiques et exigent un haut prix pour la déductibilité éducative qu'ils offrent.

Dans la philosophie éducative, la tâche consiste à évaluer et à développer les conceptions qui dérivent de la pratique réelle. Dans un contexte de proposition philosophiquement cohérente, les sentiments admirables ne constituent pas un ensemble de connaissances; ils doivent être acceptés par quelqu'un d'une façon imposée qui mène à l'action. Ceci constitue la réelle situation globale et afin de la réaliser, des préceptes et des slogans du passé doivent être réévalués parallèlement aux découvertes d'une toute nouvelle série de sciences sociales. C'est alors seulement que nous verrons dans l'éducation comme le faisait remarquer Russell la mise en évidence de „la hiérarchie de nos croyances instinctives."

SUR LES INTERETS DES ECOLIERS ET DES ECOLIERES

par RICHARD RADWILOWICZ, Varsovie

Les intérêts des écoliers et des écolières de 11 à 15 ans sont-ils différents et, dans l'affirmative, cette différence dépend-elle en général ou non des conditions socio-économiques, propres à chaque pays?

Afin de pouvoir répondre à ces deux questions, j'ai analysé les résultats de 25 recherches psychologiques, accomplies au cours d'une trentaine d'années aux Etats-Unis, en Grande Bretagne, en France, en Allemagne, en Union Soviétique et en Pologne où j'ai procédé moi-même à l'étude de ce problème. Les recherches comparées se rapportaient à la lecture des enfants, de même âge, à leurs loisirs et à leur préférence pour les différents sujets scolaires.

Voici quelques données spécifiques, obtenues par trois psychologues de trois pays différents.

Sur la base des recherches sur les intérêts de 888 écoliers et de 968 écolières américains en 1932 par la méthode des cahiers de lecture, B. L. Johnson (32) ¹⁾ constate que les garçons s'intéressent, plus fréquemment que les fillettes, aux livres d'aventure, de sciences, de sport et aux nouvelles criminelles et politiques tandis que les fillettes mentionnent, plus fréquemment que les garçons, la maison, les enfants, l'école et les réclames.

A propos de l'analyse des questions, posées spontanément par 1659 garçons et 1855 filles anglaises, R. Rallston (15) écrit que les questions des garçons concernaient surtout les différents métiers, la géographie, l'histoire, les sciences, les mathématiques et l'économie, tandis que les filles posaient plus fréquemment que les garçons des questions sur les jeux, la gymnastique, le ménage, les divertissements, l'anglais, les langues étrangères, la couture et l'art.

Les recherches, accomplies en Union Soviétique en 1946-1947 par M. Rubinsztejn (28) étaient basées sur les fiches d'imprunt des bibliothèques enfantines des enfants de 10 à 16 ans (la population en question n'était pas nommée), indiquant que les garçons préférèrent les récits de voyage et de bataille et les romans scientifiques, tandis que les filles préférèrent principalement les livres traitant de sujets fantastiques, et de la vie des enfants et aussi les livres se rapportant à l'histoire et à la nature.

Voici en bref les résultats de mes propres recherches.

¹⁾ Les chiffres renvoient à la bibliographie.

Au printemps 1957, j'ai obtenu de 200 écoliers et écolières de 11 à 15 ans 1500 questions libres par la méthode de la boîte aux questions.⁽²⁰⁾ Il était évident que les garçons s'intéressent plus que les filles à la physique, à la technique et à la chimie, aux questions intrascolaires, à l'histoire, à l'éducation physique et au sport.

Pendant l'année scolaire 1957-58, j'ai accompli une enquête sur les intérêts des écoliers et des écolières pour les satellites artificiels de la terre (22). Cette recherche démontra que, si les garçons s'intéressent surtout à la technique même des vols cosmiques, les filles s'intéressent plutôt aux aspects humains de ces exploits techniques.

Enfin, au printemps 1958, je travaillai avec une équipe de psychologues de l'Institut de Recherches Pédagogiques de Varsovie qui explorait – sous la direction générale de Mlle le Dr. A. Gurycka – les différents aspects des intérêts de 650 écoliers et écolières des classes de 5e, 6e et 7e primaires dont l'âge variait entre 11 et 15 ans.¹⁾ L'analyse des matériaux obtenus auprès de chaque enfant par l'application de cinq méthodes différentes (deux questionnaires, une composition, la boîte aux questions et l'opinion du maître), du point de vue de l'influence du facteur sexuel (23) permet de conclure que les garçons et les filles présentent certains profils d'intérêt, divers et spécifiques à leur sexe. Les garçons s'intéressent surtout à l'histoire et à la politique, en particulier aux événements de guerre, au sport de compétition, à la géographie, en particulier aux aventures exotiques, et à la technique dans le cadre de l'usage technique des forces de la nature. Cela permet de supposer que les garçons s'intéressent surtout à l'aspect utilitaire de la nature et à l'homme en tant qu'être actif et luttant contre toutes sortes de contrariétés et d'obstacles.

Quant aux filles, elles montrent davantage d'intérêt pour la littérature, les arts, la biologie et la gymnastique qui sont parfois colorés d'une certaine affectivité. Elles s'intéressent surtout à l'aspect réceptif de la nature et à l'homme en tant que membre sensible de la société humaine.²⁾

En conséquence de la similarité de données pareilles, obtenues par des psychologues différents qui s'occupent des intérêts des garçons et des filles et que je n'ai cités que très brièvement, on peut constater, malgré quelques différences,³⁾ qu'aussi bien dans les recherches faites à l'étranger que dans nos propres recherches il y a quelques résultats communs, quant aux différences entre les garçons et les filles.

1) Dans presque toutes les écoles polonaises l'enseignement est co-éducatif.

2) Il faut souligner, naturellement, que ces généralisations statistiques ne peuvent négliger un grand nombre de cas individuels se manifestant entre ces deux pôles.

3) Par exemple, d'après les recherches de M. Rubinsztajn on retrouve de l'intérêt pour les problèmes historiques dans les lectures des filles.

Les sujets intéressant le plus fréquemment les garçons sont :

- l'histoire, la guerre, les grands hommes
- les voyages, les découvertes et les aventures de toutes sortes, en particulier les aventures mystérieuses
- les sports de compétition : le football, la boxe, etc.
- les sciences, la technique, les inventions.

Quant aux filles on constate qu'elles s'intéressent surtout à :

- la maison, les enfants, le ménage
- les sentiments, l'amour, les expériences affectives personnelles
- les belles-lettres
- la langue maternelle, la grammaire, l'orthographe, les compositions

Peut-on supposer que les différences d'intérêts chez les deux sexes sont surtout de caractère biologique et non social ; peut-on supposer qu'un changement radical du système socio-économique dans les pays cités n'avait pas bousculé des profils *traditionnels*, spécifiques pour chaque sexe ? Peut-être aussi que, pour que les changements socio-économiques influencent essentiellement le psychisme humain et les intérêts des garçons et des filles en particulier, une période de 15 ou 30 ans ne suffit pas. Il se peut également que déjà la notion du sexe n'est pas homogène. Tels sont quelques problèmes et doutes qui se groupent autour de la question générale : Quel est le conditionnement des différences d'intérêts chez les garçons et les filles ?

Mais qu'est-ce que "le sexe" ? Sur le plan humain la définition du sexe telle qu'on peut la trouver dans un dictionnaire psychologique assez connu (4) semble être insuffisante. On y dit que le sexe est la distinction fondamentale au sein d'une espèce qui touche le processus de la reproduction et qui divise tous les représentants en mâles et femelles, selon qu'ils produisent les spermatozoïdes ou les ovules. Cette définition ne suffit pas étant donné que dans aucune société humaine on ne laisse les garçons ni les filles à leur développement propre selon leurs données biologiques, on s'efforce au contraire à donner par l'éducation aux deux sexes, et dès le commencement un certain visage, *typiquement* masculin ou *typiquement* féminin, conforme au modèle de l'homme ou de la femme, tel qu'on le conçoit dans la société impliquée.

De cette façon nous nous sommes trouvés au centre d'une polémique engagée dans la psychologie et les disciplines voisines entre les nativistes et les sociologistes au sujet des facteurs, déterminant une certaine forme du psychisme des hommes et des femmes. Pendant que les premiers soulignent le rôle des facteurs biologiques, les derniers attachent surtout de l'importance aux facteurs socio-culturels.

Il est impossible de rapporter ici tous les arguments qui plaident en

faveur de chacune de ces deux positions. Nous nous bornerons donc seulement à quelques illustrations. Les déviations métaboliques, moindres chez les hommes que chez les femmes, aussi bien que les moindres élévations de la température du corps chez les hommes, expliquent – d'après les nativistes – un plus grand équilibre psychique chez les hommes et leur moindre soumission aux influences extérieures... En outre au sein de différentes cultures, quelquefois très éloignées, on trouve certains jeux, dont les uns sont pratiqués par les garçons, les autres par les filles. Les partisans du nativisme conclurent donc que ce sont justement les facteurs biologiques innés qui conditionnent les différences des jeux enfantins entre les deux sexes. La dépendance directe des intérêts des garçons et des filles et en général de leur psychisme tout entier de leur développement biologique se révèle, pensent-ils, en particulier au cours de la période de maturation sexuelle, quand les différences en question entre les deux sexes s'approfondissent d'une manière significative.

A cette dernière affirmation, les partisans des positions sociologiques répondent que pendant la puberté ce n'est pas seulement l'influence des facteurs biologiques qui augmente mais en même temps la pression des facteurs sociaux en faveur d'une plus grande différenciation des deux sexes. C'est surtout à cette époque que se manifestent des différences entre les garçons et les filles non seulement en ce qui concerne leurs vêtements, mais aussi l'étiquette, le comportement, les valeurs et les rôles sociaux. Telles et telles choses *conviennent* à une jeune fille, d'autre à un adolescent... En se référant aux données de l'ethnologie comparative, les auteurs orientés sociologiquement déduisent que les différences *typiques* des sexes, constatées à l'intérieur de notre civilisation, ne peuvent pas être considérées comme universelles. Elles ne sont naturelles qu'en apparence, car dans les sociétés dirigées par les hommes on impute justement à la femme tous les traits que les femmes imputeraient aux hommes dans *un pays de femmes*. Les recherches de Marguerite Mead sur les rapports réciproques entre les deux sexes parmi diverses tribus de l'Océanie montrent que dans certaines tribus les femmes manifestent des formes d'agressivité, de prédominance et d'équilibre affectif tandis que les hommes sont, au contraire, passifs, soumis et déséquilibrés. Ce sont vraisemblablement les conséquences d'une situation où les rôles sociaux sont inversés. Dans les îles Tanembar et Timorlao, par exemple, la femme qui a mis au monde un enfant retourne à ses occupations, que nous considérons comme masculines pendant que l'homme est obligé de soigner le bébé...

De cette discussion (21) que nous ne faisons que signaler, on peut tirer deux conclusions générales, essentielles aussi pour le problème de

l'intérêt et le sexe: celle qu'aucune position extrême n'est acceptable et celle que même, quand les différences physiques participent dans la différenciation psychique des deux sexes, cette participation est plutôt indirecte et pénétrée de facteurs socio-culturels.

En liaison avec la question principale "Par quoi est conditionnée la distinction entre les intérêts des garçons et ceux des filles?" on peut formuler la thèse, ou plutôt l'hypothèse suivante:

Les deux groupes de facteurs, c'est-à-dire les facteurs biologiques et les facteurs sociaux, influencent conjointement et en même temps la différenciation des intérêts des garçons et des filles si bien dans les conditions socio-économiques capitalistes que socialistes. Pourtant, l'influence des facteurs biologiques est plutôt indirecte et médiate, tandis que celle des facteurs sociaux est directe et immédiate. On peut aussi supposer que la contribution des facteurs biologiques, dans la formation des intérêts divers des deux sexes, est vraisemblablement plus grande dans le cas où ces intérêts demandent pour la *cultivation* une dépense plus considérable d'énergie physique et d'équilibre affectif, c'est-à-dire sur le plan où prédominent les hommes et où elle se lie avec le fait de l'enfantement chez les femmes. Comme tout à fait différent se pose le problème des intérêts, d'un côté juridiques et de l'autre pédagogiques, dont la *cultivation* par un sexe donné s'unit très rigoureusement aux travaux et métiers, accomplis traditionnellement par un certain sexe, et qui ne dépendent pas des possibilités biologiques spécifiques, liées à un certain sexe. Dans ce cas on peut penser que le rôle le plus grand est joué par les facteurs sociaux.

Les considérations présentées dans cet article qui est un rapport succinct d'une analyse des matériaux de mes propres recherches (20, 22, 23) aussi bien que de celles des autres psychologues (21) doivent donner lieu à quelques réflexions d'ordre pédagogique. Elles seront une réponse, hélas trop générale, aux deux questions, posées par la pratique et étroitement liées l'une à l'autre:

1. Comment faut-il évaluer l'existence des différences d'intérêts chez les garçons et les filles? et
2. jusqu'à quel degré les intérêts des deux sexes sont-ils soumis aux influences éducatives?

1. Il semble qu'en évaluant la spécificité des intérêts, qui dépend du sexe, il faut tenir compte au moins de trois circonstances. La première est qu'une idée pédagogique progressive d'un homme, universellement et sous tout aspect, développée n'exige pas une éducation de tous les membres de la société d'après un modèle unique. La seconde circonstance est: qu'il y a beaucoup de fonctions de la vie productive et sociale auxquelles les

représentants d'un certain sexe sont mieux adaptés au point de vue psychique et physique que les individus du sexe contraire; par exemple, les mineurs d'un côté et les institutrices des écoles maternelles de l'autre. Le troisième point, qui ne s'oppose aux deux prémisses précédentes, est une tendance incontestablement saine en direction de l'émancipation des femmes qui consiste en un effort pour offrir à celles-ci toutes ou presque toutes les occupations de la vie professionnelle et sociale offertes aux hommes, surtout celles qui ne demandent pas une adaptation (prédisposition) spéciale. Ce processus seulement pourra libérer les femmes de leur étroit milieu domestique et favoriser le développement de leur personnalité.

De ces trois prémisses on peut tirer une conclusion, à notre avis, générale en reconnaissant que si quelques prédispositions, liées à la nature d'un sexe donné, sont plus propres à l'exécution de certaines fonctions et professions, d'ailleurs peu nombreuses, il faut noter que toutes les autres occupations, dans l'ensemble plus nombreuses et entre autres techniques, peuvent et doivent être pratiquées par les membres des deux sexes, si on veut éviter *l'unilatéralité* dans leur aspect psychique. Une *contre-unilatéralité*, conçue dans ce sens, peut être considérée comme le critère principal pour une évaluation des profils différents des intérêts des garçons et des filles qui, comme nous le pensons, ne doivent être si différents l'un de l'autre dans les conditions de progrès social.

Cette thèse semble trouver un appui notamment dans le fait qu'aucun élément des deux profils d'intérêts, correspondant aux deux sexes, n'est conditionné uniquement ou surtout par des facteurs biologiques.

2. Essayons maintenant de répondre à la deuxième question, en nous souvenant que dans chaque société civilisée l'éducation est un élément extrêmement actif de l'ensemble des facteurs sociaux qui influencent le psychisme de la nouvelle génération.

Si l'influence éducative, c'est-à-dire celle qui est dirigée vers un but et est organisée, est assez active et si dans certaines conditions elle peut jouer un rôle, même révolutionnaire, parmi les facteurs sociaux qui influencent la formation du psychisme, y compris les intérêts des enfants et de la jeunesse, elle peut modifier d'une manière essentielle l'action de ces facteurs sociaux. L'influence éducative ne peut cependant changer les facteurs biologiques qui ne dépendent pas de notre volonté. Ceux-ci forment les intérêts des garçons et des filles, mais, comme nous l'avons constaté, ils n'influencent les intérêts qu'indirectement et ne fonctionnent pas indépendamment des facteurs sociaux changeables. L'influence de ceux-ci sur la différenciation des intérêts des deux sexes doit donc être modifiée de manière à limiter les actions qui s'opposent aux buts d'une

formation des personnalités humaines universellement développées et à soutenir et développer celles qui se conforment à ces buts. Ceci n'est possible que si les deux sexes sont reconnus réellement comme égaux et que l'élément *sexe* est subordonné à l'élément humain qui doit se trouver au premier plan. La coéducation est la seule dans ce cas à faire un pas réel vers le progrès en comparaison avec l'éducation séparée des garçons et des filles. Il faut que les éducateurs rompent avec la manière de penser traditionnelle qui veut que les garçons et les filles se développent uniquement d'après un certain modèle, différent pour chaque sexe. Au lieu de s'intéresser en particulier au degré auquel un enfant est psychiquement masculin ou féminin et à la façon de le former comme tel, ils devraient plutôt considérer ses possibilités en tant qu'être humain.

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ON THE INTERESTS OF BOYS AND GIRLS AT SCHOOL

by RICHARD RADWIŁOWICZ, Warsaw

This article includes a report on an analysis of the results of 25 psychological researches on the interests of pupils of both sexes 11-15 years old, carried out during the three last decades in the United States, Great Britain, France, Germany, the Soviet Union and Poland, where, among other psychologists, the author himself conducted such investigations in 1957 and 1958. The researches compared were carried out by similar methods and referred to preferences of boys and girls as to their reading, their out-of-school activities, their attitudes towards their own problems and towards different school subjects.

On the basis of this comparative study and of his own researches, the author comes to the conclusion that there exist two different profiles of interests of boys and girls. While boys are interested first of all in a utilitarian aspect of nature and in man as an active being, battling against adversity, girls have a rather receptive approach to nature and are interested in man as a sensitive member of human society.

Summarizing the contemporary discussion among psychologists and scientists of neighbouring disciplines on the role of biological and social factors in psychological differentiation of the two sexes, the author stresses that present scientific data do not allow any one-sided conclusion and that, even if physical sex differences are responsible for psychological differences in the members of the two sexes, the contribution of physical factors is rather indirect and interwoven with socio-cultural ones.

There is no denying the existence of certain sex-bound predispositions enabling the members of one sex to fulfil a small number of jobs or professions better than the other sex can. There is however, according to the author, a greater number of jobs and professions which may and even must be taken up by members of both sexes, if one wishes to avoid oneness of their psychological development which leads to social inequality.

The task of education (including properly organized co-education) therefore consists in approximating to some degree the interest profiles of both sexes. Such a process, however, demands time.

ÜBER DIE INTERESSENSGEBIETE
VON SCHÜLERN UND SCHÜLERINNEN

VON RICHARD RADWILOWICZ, Warschau

Der Artikel enthält einen Bericht über eine Analyse der Ergebnisse von 25 psychologischen Untersuchungen über die Interessen von Schülern und Schülerinnen im Alter von 11–15 Jahren, die in den letzten 30 Jahren in den Vereinigten Staaten, Großbritannien, Frankreich, Deutschland, der Sowjetunion und Polen angestellt wurden. Neben anderen Psychologen hat der Verfasser selbst in den Jahren 1957 und 1958 solche Untersuchungen durchgeführt. Die Untersuchungen sind unter Verwendung ähnlicher Methoden zustande gekommen und beziehen sich auf die von Jungen und Mädchen bevorzugte Lektüre, ihre außerschulischen Tätigkeiten, ihre Einstellung zu ihren eigenen Problemen und zu verschiedenen Schulfächern.

Aufgrund dieser vergleichenden Studie und seiner eigenen Forschungen kommt der Verfasser zu dem Schluß, daß zwei unterschiedliche Profile die Interessen von Jungen und Mädchen kennzeichnen. Während die Jungen in erster Linie die Natur nach Nützlichkeitsgesichtspunkten und den Menschen als ein handelndes Wesen im Kampf gegen Schwierigkeiten betrachten, haben die Mädchen eine ziemlich rezeptive Einstellung zur Natur und sehen im Menschen mehr ein empfindsames Mitglied der menschlichen Gesellschaft.

In seiner Zusammenfassung der gegenwärtigen Diskussion unter Psychologen und den Vertretern benachbarter wissenschaftlicher Disziplinen betont der Autor, daß die vorliegenden wissenschaftlichen Angaben keine einseitige Schlußfolgerung zulassen und daß, selbst wenn körperliche Unterschiede zwischen den Geschlechtern für psychische Unterschiede verantwortlich sind, doch der Beitrag körperlicher Faktoren ziemlich indirekt ist und mit sozio-kulturellen Faktoren untrennbar verbunden bleibt.

Es läßt sich nicht leugnen, daß eine kleine Zahl von Tätigkeiten oder Berufen besser von den Angehörigen eines Geschlechts als von denen des anderen ausgeübt werden kann. Nach Meinung des Verfassers gibt es jedoch eine sehr viel größere Zahl von Tätigkeiten und Berufen, die von beiden Geschlechtern ausgeübt werden können, wenn man Einseitigkeiten der psychischen Entwicklung der jungen Leute verhindern will, die zu sozialer Ungleichheit führen.

Es ist daher Aufgabe der Erziehung einschließlich gut durchgeführter Koedukation, die Interessen der Geschlechter bis zu einem gewissen Grade einander anzunähern. Solch ein Prozeß erfordert jedoch seine Zeit.

UNIVERSITY PHYSICS IN AFRICA

by DENIS G. OSBORNE, Legon (Ghana)

The characteristic of modern Africa is the rapid *increase* of the rate of social change rather than the rate of change itself. It is the mathematicians' second differential that has an exceptionally high value. This is illustrated by the two novels of the Nigerian author, Chinua Achebe. In the first, *Things fall apart*, he shows the subtly disrupting effects of new ideas on a village society. Changes are threatened, but they take effect slowly, over a lifetime. The second novel, *No longer at ease*, throbs with the turmoil and passion of city life where all is change and nothing is secure. The political vocabulary has reflected social changes as countries have renounced their alleged backwardness to become, in turn, undeveloped, underdeveloped, emergent and resurgent.

University institutions in Africa have been developing steadily for a number of years, but they show signs now of an explosive growth. This affects the teaching of all academic disciplines but the increased demands on physics departments are exceptionally strong. The study of physics is a fundamental need for the applied sciences, and the application of science is an important instrument of the African revolution. For engineering students physics is a necessary foundation; for medical students it is prescribed in large doses. Physics teachers are needed now to help produce the doctors and engineers of the next generation.

We shall look first at the universities to which the physics departments belong, then at the departments themselves. To avoid repetition of details we shall examine one physics department in an imaginary "Uhuru university" and then consider some of the problems that must be solved if physics at university level is to make progress in Africa.

The universities

African universities were founded because of the need for graduates in the countries which they serve and the desire to have them trained locally rather than overseas. Their formation is part of the process of independence. They are factories for graduates. Their raw material is the students they admit and its quality and quantity have a great effect on the graduates that are their finished product. Many African universities are small and in order to offer a reasonable choice of courses they have to employ large teaching staffs relative to their student numbers. This makes them expensive institutions, uneconomic factories. It may be cheaper to send the students overseas to study, but this would mean

adopting an attitude of dependence on other countries and of accepting the various and incompatible academic standards of the different countries to which they were sent. It would be difficult, for example, for doctors trained in the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union to work together without a period of adjustment. Sometimes the main motive for starting a new university may be nothing more than international prestige, but the importance of a university as a status-symbol should not be underestimated, for it can inspire the whole educational system of a country. The African universities are essential to healthy national growth.

Criticism

In several African countries the universities have been criticised for their failure to keep pace with the demand for graduates in the most needed subjects. Their critics claim that the universities are isolated from the communities that they were meant to serve and that their degree structures are relics of Colonial days. In June 1961 the *Ghanaian Times* editorial described the University College of Ghana as, "A den of academic reaction," with its teaching "moulded to suit the needs of London University, which is a stronghold of bourgeois education." There were cartoons that caricatured academic arrogance, and articles to remind students that they were "not better than the sweating workers and farmers" whose labours paid for their education. In other countries the criticisms would have been phrased differently but of similar content. They point to some of the problems shared by African universities.

One problem is the relative isolation of graduates due to the high prestige associated with a university degree. Some African graduates find it hard to make normal social contact with their less-educated fellows. Even when they were students their families had set them on pedestals of glory, perhaps regarding them as investments for the future. The relative luxury of life in a residential university heightens the contrast between graduate and illiterate. Another problem is the possible challenge made by new graduates to the established leadership in politics and the civil service. Many senior posts in the new African nations are held by men who, through no fault of their own, have not had enough education for the work they have to do. The improvement of education within one generation or less has increased the natural friction between old and young and made national leaders suspicious of the universities and their graduates. A third problem – and the last we will mention here – is the alleged unsuitability of university courses. Why should the history course specialise, as it may, on medieval Europe?

Why do many more students study arts subjects than the sciences? The shortage of scientists is a question that we shall return to later and is due more often to faults in national policy than in university structure.

Tananarive and Salisbury

UNESCO sponsored a conference on the Development of Higher Education in Africa which was held in Tananarive in September 1962. The Conference Report lists thirty universities in Middle (or Tropical) Africa, with a total enrollment of 14,500 students in 1961-62. Of these some 5,000 studied science or technology but not all at degree level. The target figures for *degree* students enrolled in scientific and technological fields of study in Middle African institutions were given as 4,400 for 1965; 9,900 for 1970 and 59,000 for 1980. The Report emphasises the need for the universities to train teachers, planners, executive personnel and managerial staff, and to prepare the doctors, engineers, agriculturists, nurses and other technicians that are needed for rapid social and economic development.

In June 1963 the Leverhulme Conference on the Teaching of Physics in Universities in Africa was held in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia. Osborne and Wright (1963) gave the results of a questionnaire sent to African universities asking for information about the universities and about their physics departments. The information was available for twelve universities in Middle Africa. In the other eighteen universities the teaching of physics to degree level was either newly starting or non-existent so that for the purposes of the survey the information may be regarded as complete. Table 1 gives the information about the universities, successive columns showing the country, name of university or town, year in which the academic year ended for which the figures apply, total student numbers, total teaching staff, percentage of students in residence in the university and the approximate annual cost in dollars. Figures for a few universities outside Middle Africa are given for the purpose of comparison.

Table 2 gives information about the physics departments. The columns show the university (designated by name or by town); the number of students taking physics courses at all levels; the number of graduate students in physics; the number of teaching staff; the number of junior staff; and the approximate annual expenditure on equipment for the physics department (in dollars). The number of students depends very much on the level of entry and the need in some universities, but not others, to teach physics to engineering and medical students. These

numbers are subject to the same sudden changes in the rate of change as other things in Africa. Thus two years later the numbers for Ghana had risen to 100, due largely to the start of a medical school in the university. The column heading "Junior staff" is in some ways misleading as it includes senior technicians, other technicians, clerical staff, carpenters and labourers. The annual cost quoted covers equipment, other than special research grants from outside the university. It does not include wages and salaries.

TABLE 1. *Universities*

Country	University	Year	Students	Teaching staff	Residence %	Annual cost \$
Congo (Leo)	Lovanium	1963	925	120	100	—
Ethiopia	Addis Ababa	1962	550	82	0	840,000
Ghana	Ghana	1963	1,100	270	100	2,940,000
Ivory Coast	Abidjan	1963	350	50	0	—
Kenya	Nairobi	1962	450	80	95	—
Liberia	Liberia	1962	250	80	0	—
Nigeria	Ibadan	1963	1,800	300	100	5,600,000
Senegal	Dakar	1963	3,500	200	35	—
Sierra Leone	Fourah Bay	1962	350	70	100	840,000
S. Rhodesia	Salisbury	1963	483	101	95	1,300,000
Sudan	Khartoum	1963	1,849	202	100	4,500,000
Uganda	Makerere	1962	782	140	100	1,400,000
Egypt	Cairo	1963	35,000	120	2	1,400,000
West Indies	Jamaica	1962	1,000	150	90	2,800,000
England	Durham	(1962)	1,600	170	70	1,700,000
U.S.A.	Brandeis	1962	1,400	220	66	—
U.S.A.	Northwestern	1962	16,600	1,000	60	—

Uhuru university

Uhuru is the Swahili word for freedom and to date no real university has adopted the name. Uhuru university is meant to be typical of the larger Middle African universities.

The professor or chairman of the physics department is a young, energetic expatriate who is keen on research but finds that most of his time is taken up by details of organisation. Working with him are a senior lecturer and six lecturers, of whom two are nationals and the rest expatriates (mostly from the former Colonial power). An extra research fellow is paid by a grant from an American organisation. This teaching and research staff is supported by one senior technician and some 15 junior staff of different grades. There is some difficulty in recruiting staff. A number of schoolteachers in Europe are willing to come to

TABLE 2. *Physics Departments*

University	Physics students	Graduate students	Teaching staff	Junior staff	Annual cost \$
Lovanium	150	1	7	1.5	—
Addis Ababa	128	0	6	2	14,000
Ghana	35	2	11	20	11,000
Abidjan	40	0	4	0	17,000
Nairobi	95	0	6	4.5	—
Liberia	59	0	3	2.5	—
Ibadan	263	6	13	26	17,000
Dakar	408	12	10	39	—
Fourah Bay	54	0	5	8	5,600
Salisbury	70	0	5	10	4,000
Khartoum	451	0	8	15	28,000
Makerere	48	0	5.5	10	5,000
Cairo	2,700	10	20	29	56,000
Jamaica	138	2	8	10	12,600
Durham	225	24	11	26	—
Brandeis	105	50	26	5	30,000
Northwestern	550	50	30	17	—

Africa for the increased salary and status accorded to university lecturers, but the world shortage of physicists makes it hard to recruit staff of genuine university calibre.

About 150 students study physics in the university. Of these about 100 take it as an ancillary subject to engineering, medicine or agriculture. Between five and ten students graduate each year with physics as a major subject. National needs demand that these become schoolteachers, but in practice very few enter this profession, and of those who do, not many remain in teaching for long. Some go overseas for research courses, others enter the civil service, five students (out of the last three years graduates) remain in the Uhuru department for post-graduate work.

Teaching at Uhuru university presents a major challenge. The language of instruction is a second language for all of the students. They can speak it fluently but they read it at about one third the speed of their European counterparts. This slow reading is due partly to poor teaching at an early age and is not an inevitable consequence of using a second language. Uhuru students lack the background knowledge for physics that is common in more advanced countries. There are few mechanical and electrical devices in the home, mechanical toys are unusual and laboratory equipment in the schools is sadly lacking. A university student must be taught the manipulative skills of tightening a nut and bolt or fixing a wire to a terminal.

Demonstrations are essential aids to lectures if physics is to be presented as an experimental science rather than a received dogma to be memorised. The staff at Uhuru university agree in principle with the need for demonstrations but use rather few in practice. The alleged shortage of equipment is used as an excuse for this, but the shortage of time and the lack of trained laboratory staff are probably bigger discouragements. The physics teaching at Uhuru tends to be thorough but dull, and experimental work in the laboratories follows the tedious syllabus of a European university a generation ago. A revision is needed in order to make physics more exciting and attractive. It could also make the course of more immediate value to the community if more modern electronics were included.

The department takes advantage of its relative isolation to work on geophysics research problems that cannot be studied elsewhere, for example the behaviour of the ionosphere in equatorial regions. The experimental work is largely routine and uses relatively cheap stock equipment. Research in Africa can be frustrating due to long delays in delivery of apparatus and the difficulties of getting spare parts. Ionospheric research has important application to radio communications but is not of immediate value to the technical advance of the country. Through the exchange of data with other research institutions, boosted by the International Geophysical Year and the International Quiet Sun Years, the department's research is well known. Research keeps the teaching staff aware of new developments and in touch with the academic standards of the rest of the world.

But research is expensive. The university makes an annual grant to the physics department of some \$15,000 a year for equipment. Some of this would be used for teaching, most for research. The cost of physics equipment spotlights the question of the need for research, but when it is realised that in any department - history as much as physics - half of the staff salaries are paid for time devoted to research, then the cost of physics equipment is seen to be relatively small.

From the survey of physics at Uhuru university two points merit more general consideration. First there is the shortage, common to all of Middle Africa, of physics students entering the universities. Then there are the arguments for and against research activities as part of the normal duty of the physics department.

Shortage of scientists

It is sufficient to list a number of reasons why science students are in

such short supply. The remedies suggest themselves when the causes are known.

1. Science is not taught at school. This is true in some secondary schools due to the shortage of staff and of funds for equipment. However, in countries where schools' science has improved greatly, there has been no increase in the number of physics students in the universities. The same is probably true for other science subjects; students who would do well in the sciences are choosing to study other subjects instead.

2. Science is difficult. Science, and especially mathematics has a reputation for difficulty amongst African students. Associated with this is the fact that many students find science dull.

3. Science is not for gentlemen. Science subjects require practical work, work with the hands as well as with the brain, work that is fit only for the uneducated man. Science is not respectable. The disparagement of manual work is blamed on either local traditions or colonial influence, and possibly both are responsible. The preference for book work is associated with the move from the farm to the desk as a sign of personal progress and education. One notable exception to the dislike of practical work is the popularity of medicine, where the prestige that this profession carries, cancels out the influence of the practical work required.

4. Scholarships overseas. Several of the larger countries offer scholarships to African students. Most African students wish to study abroad, and in competing for a few overseas scholarships the best would be likely to go, leaving the home universities without the intellectual pace-setters that they need. Even if undergraduate scholarships abroad are offered only for a few specialised subjects, these subjects become strangely popular and the best brains will again be lost to the home universities. At one West African secondary school almost all the science sixth form hope to become chemical engineers. None of their home universities offer courses in this subject nor are their local industries likely to need them yet. Their choice has been guided by the possibility of gaining overseas scholarships, and the best students will go.

5. Scientists must teach. Most science graduates will be needed as teachers. In some African countries their university scholarship is given on condition that they will teach for five years. Arts and economic students are bonded to serve the government for a similar period - a bondage that can include teaching but that is satisfied also by such attractive jobs as embassy posts overseas. Generally teachers get slower, and limited, promotion - less pay - and less prestige than those in other types of work. Thus there is a positive policy of discouragement towards the sciences. Even without the regulations it remains true that most

science graduates must teach. It is the brightest students who have a wide enough range of abilities to be able to choose whether to read arts or science or economics, and it is these students that are being lost to science. The loss is specially marked in physics because students good at physics can easily choose medicine or engineering. As doctors or engineers they escape from teaching.

A student may take the choice between arts or science many years before entering the university. He may not be aware of the factors listed here but will act largely on advice based on the experience of others. Immediately before entering the university a student may have more ideas about his future career. He cannot be blamed for avoiding physics. The result is a process of negative feedback. Students of high ability escape from science and the consequent teaching. Students of low ability take science, become teachers against their will, teach science badly and discourage future students. Of course there are exceptions.

The case for research

Science for its own sake is pursued at most African universities. Is it worth while? These are the arguments given for research.

1. To be a real University. Only by active participation in research can African universities compare with those in other lands. Without research they will be entirely dependent on knowledge obtained elsewhere and intellectual dependence, like any other form of dependence, is anathema in Africa. Of course the alternative is not independence but interdependence. African universities *must* draw from the world store of knowledge but by research they *can* pay back into it as well.

2. To ensure a good standard of teaching. By active participation in research a lecturer maintains a spirit of enquiry and intellectual struggle that makes his lectures "live". Without it he may teach physics as a body of received knowledge, and his students will not develop habits of thought that enable them to tackle new problems.

3. To work on local problems. This should be one of the objects of the universities, but the provision of minor research services on routine problems is not the stuff of which real university research is made.

4. To recruit teaching staff. If the staff are expatriates who hope to return to university posts in Europe or America they will regard research facilities as essential. Their future careers will depend on their research record.

College versus university

The arguments for research in an African university are strong, but

there is the alternative of an institution more like a liberal arts college, awarding degrees but not active in research. It will be convenient to call these Colleges and leave the word University for institutions concerned with research as well as teaching. Colleges need less laboratories and equipment, and by using staff for full-time teaching can halve the bill for salaries. If they accept students at a fairly low level they can produce many graduates and have the attraction of seeming to offer university opportunities to all. College staffs form an essentially inward-looking community and there is the danger that they will become stale, out of date and out of line with world standards. Universities would normally admit students at a higher level and include a graduate school. Their research creates an outward looking staff and encourages them to maintain internationally acceptable standards. No one institution can happily mix these two types. Research is competitive. It needs sufficient time and equipment or it becomes a worthless toy.

Many factors must influence the choice between these two types of institution and it is unfortunate that many people do not seem to realise that it is a choice that must be made. There is a tremendous popular appeal in offering "college education for all" and an equal desire to have a "proper university". Perhaps the biggest consideration is the need to phase the number of graduates with a realistic estimate of the rate of development. The glut of graduates in India and in the United Arab Republic should be a warning to Middle Africa and suggest that a few graduates of high standard may be of more value to the community than many mediocre graduates for whom there would not be appropriate jobs.

Acknowledgement

The tables given in this paper and much of the discussion in the last three sections is based on two papers given by Osborne and Wright at the Leverhulme Conference on the Teaching of Physics in Universities in Africa. I am indebted to my co-author in these papers for many of the ideas that have been presented here. Professor R. W. H. Wright was head of the Department of Physics in the University of Ghana and is now head of the Department of Physics in the University of the West Indies. I wish to acknowledge also the information and advice given by many colleagues and especially the suggestions made by Professor G. K. T. Conn of the University of Exeter.

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PHYSIQUE UNIVERSITAIRE EN AFRIQUE

par DENIS G. OSBORNE, Legon. (Ghana)

L'accélération croissante du changement en Afrique donne aux douze départements de physique travaillant au niveau du degré universitaire en Afrique centrale, un rôle important. Cette étude décrit les universités et certains de leurs problèmes, ensuite les départements de physique dans le cadre de leur importance et de leurs dépenses.

Le département à une Uhuru University imaginaire est considéré plus en détail afin de donner à penser aux sentiments aussi bien qu'aux faits de la physique en Afrique. Ceci conduit à la discussion de deux problèmes plus généraux: les raisons d'un manque évident d'étudiants en science dans les universités africaines et les arguments pour ou contre une association de la recherche et de l'enseignement.

PHYSIK AN DEN UNIVERSITÄTEN IN AFRIKA

VON DENIS G. OSBORNE, Legon (Ghana)

Durch das wachsende Tempo, mit dem Veränderungen in Afrika vor sich gehen, wird den 12 Physik-Abteilungen an den Universitäten Mittelafrikas, in denen Studenten in dem Fach Physik graduieren können, eine wichtige Rolle zugemessen. Der Artikel beschreibt zunächst die Universitäten und einige ihrer Probleme, dann die Physik-Abteilungen, ihren Umfang und die Kosten für ihre Unterhaltung.

Mit Hilfe einer Schilderung des Physikstudiums an einer imaginären Uhuru-Universität stellt der Verfasser ins Einzelne gehend die tatsächlichen Verhältnisse in Afrika dar und vermittelt dem Leser einen Eindruck von der gesamten Atmosphäre. Daran schließt sich eine Erörterung zweier allgemeinerer Probleme: die Gründe für den akuten Mangel an Studenten der Naturwissenschaften in den afrikanischen Universitäten und die Argumente für und gegen eine Verbindung von Forschung und Lehre.

COMPARATIVE STUDY OF CAREER PATTERNS OF COLLEGE PROFESSORS

by MICHIIYA SHIMBORI, Hiroshima

in collaboration with Tsuyoshi Ishida, Yasumasa Tomoda and Koji Sanuki ¹⁾

In-breeding in the academic world in Japan, a fairly modernized country that yet has many pre-modern elements at the same time, was explored and reported in some earlier articles.²⁾ As shown there, Japanese professors are likely to graduate from only one institution, often work the whole of their working lives at one institution, (especially at their own alma mater), and to be promoted to higher ranks automatically. The institutional framework presents difficulty for the transfer of students. There is not a pyramidal, but an oblong structure of academic ranks, a "chair" system, and tenure is given to the youngest instructors. These characteristics in many ways reflect the psychology of the Japanese people. Thus the meritocratic principle is less powerful than nepotism, even in higher education, which ought to be a most rational sector. The aim of this paper is to clarify such situations by comparing them with those of other nations.

This research was conducted in 1963 using the latest *Who's Who* of five nations; namely, Japan, France, West Germany, the United Kingdom, and the USA. A questionnaire was also sent to Ministries of Education of various countries and to their embassies in Japan. Lastly, relevant literature, such as official statistics and university catalogues were examined. The first source was used to identify the career patterns of professors in the five nations, while the last two were relied upon for the institutional framework.

CAREER PATTERNS OF PROFESSORS

The Japanese Situation

The history of Japanese higher education shows that its prototype was taken from the western university. The modern type university was established by the central government in Tokyo in 1869, although its

¹⁾ The authors acknowledge the help given by Prof. C. Arnold Anderson, Director of the Comparative Education Center at the University of Chicago, in his critical reading of the text and in refining the English expressions of the draft.

²⁾ Michiya Shimbori, *Nepotism and Bureaucracy: Inbreeding in the academic marketplace in Japan*, in the forthcoming issue of *International Review of History and Political Science*, vol. 1, no. 2, (Dec. 1964), and *Nihon no Daigaku Kyoju Shijo*, (The Academic Marketplace in Japan), *Asahi Journal*, vol. 5, no. 47, Nov. 24, 1963, 18-24 (in Japanese).

origin can be traced back to the Tokugawa period; this is now Tokyo University. Although ideas and systems of higher education of different western countries competed for attention in different periods, it cannot be doubted that French, German, English, and American universities were the chief models. At the same time the transplanted institution was modified and thus had many peculiarities from the beginning. Support and control of the University lay with the central government. A prime aim was to train high governmental officials and to serve the nation's development. The law faculty was supreme, but pragmatic and technological faculties (such as engineering, business, agriculture) were included along with faculties of pure science; there was no theological faculty. Accreditation of private universities came late, and many privileges were given to the public university graduates. There was an explosive expansion of enrollments. Many of these traits are almost foreign to European universities. It follows from these modifications that college professors in Japan have also their own characteristics. The interest here is confined to their career pattern as seen in the *Who's Who*, in comparison with that of the four western nations.

It is very difficult to define higher education exactly for meaningful comparison or to know the exact number of its teaching personnel. According to UNESCO statistics, Japan has 79,009 persons on faculties, France 8,078, Germany (including West Berlin) 20,862, UK 30,689, and USA 301,582 in all.¹⁾ If sampling were made in proportion to these figures, England, Germany, and France would have too few for adequate comparison with the other two countries; hence, we chose 500 for Japan, 200 for USA, and 100 each for the three European nations. Using the latest *Who's Who*,²⁾ a random sample was drawn using the same interval method.

Owing to the nature of *Who's Who*, only the distinguished and mostly older professors are registered, so one cannot necessarily infer from these data the career patterns of the rank and file or of the younger generation. The average ages were 58.3 for Japan, 60.8 for France, 60.9 for Germany, 58.5 for the UK, and 60.8 for the USA.

Japanese professors tend to stay permanently at the same institution.

¹⁾ *International Yearbook of Education*, vol. XXIV, Geneva and Paris: International Bureau of Education and Unesco, 1963. 1961 figures for Japan and West Germany, 1960 for France and 1959 for UK. The American figure was taken from *Statistics of Higher Education 1955-56*, Washington, D. C.: US Office of Education, 1958.

²⁾ *Jinji Koshin Roku*, 2 vols., Tokyo: Jinji Koshin Sho, 1961; *Who's Who in France 1961-1962*, Paris: Editions Jacques Lafitte, 1962; *1961 Deutsche Who's Who*, Bundesrepublik Deutschland und Westberlin, Berlin: Von Degeners Wer Ist's, 1962; *Who's Who 1961*, London: Adam and Charles Black, 1961; and *Who's Who in America 1960-1961*, Chicago: Marquis-Who's Who, 1960.

There are two aspects of this. The first refers to the common practice of the single alma mater for a student. Although there is a very severe entrance examination, a Japanese student, once admitted, can expect to graduate easily; few drop out or transfer. Paternalism is strong among "in-group" members, i.e. the college and its professors cannot be too severe toward their students. Thus students not only do stay at the institution they enter, but they also feel they *should* stay there. If they quit halfway by themselves because it does not satisfy their initial expectation, they must feel they revolt against it and therefore usually have some sense of moral guilt. Even when they enter the graduate school, they usually stay on the same campus, that is, they move within the same institution only. A college in turn knows only its own students and alumni and has few contacts with those who have attended other colleges. There is a close and exclusive tie between students and their alma mater, with favoritism on the part of the latter and loyalty on the part of the former. Lack of outer stimuli and meritocracy, in-breeding, protectionism, self-complacency, and the like are common outcomes.

The second aspect of this permanent system is as follows. Just as an ordinary Japanese professor receives his whole education at one institution only, he usually works there longer as a professor than does a western colleague, often for his whole life.

The factors in this situation are numerous. Apart from the seniority system, there is automatic promotion in rank and salary without regard to merit or achievement but only by age. This custom is said to be characteristically Japanese in personnel administration in all kinds of enterprises. This paternalistic psychology results from the long-lasting feudalistic social order prior to modern Japan. Loyalty, subordination, faithfulness, gratitude, etc. exist toward superiors on the part of employees; protection, sympathy, generosity, kindness, etc. are demonstrated toward the subordinates by employers. Once employed and accepted as an "in-group" member, an employee cannot endure to run away from his employer, and the latter in turn cannot manage to dismiss him. Beyond rationally calculated self-interest, there exists an emotional tie between them as in a family relationship. Indeed Japanese entrepreneurs are often proud of saying that their corporation is a family. Thus the emotional background is cultivated for preserving the paternalism, hence the permanent employment system in modern associations.

But this system can survive only if it contributes to the effective functioning of organizations. It naturally leads to nepotism and gerontocracy and thus contradicts meritocracy, the very principle of modern rationalized society. It neglects merit and ability and hence does

not try to discover and utilize the latent talent. Nevertheless the permanent employment system became firmly established when Japan began its rapid modernization and capitalization during the First World War. With a rapidly expanding demand for skilled labor, enterprises made every effort to keep their own employees. They gave them a permanent position and also promised them promotion in proportion to their service period. Workers who moved, were placed at a disadvantage. In a country where social security has been almost non-existent and where in general incomes are low, a salary which grows with age gives security to a workers' family. Workers repay the security by loyalty even when they receive relatively less money. The morale of the workers stays high, with less antagonism and fewer strikes.

The above picture applies to the academic world as well. In the higher institutions of Japan, the teaching personnel are mostly recruited from a school's own graduates. Alumni are given special privilege, consideration, and preference in selection for professorships. This "autarchy" rate is 96 percent in Tokyo University, for example. In 50 of the 260 four-year universities, many of them new, more than half the teaching staff come from a single institution. In 164 out of 260 universities more than a third of the staff are graduates of one university. Japanese professors, especially those who teach at their alma mater, rarely move. However idle or incompetent, they can not only remain but also be promoted as they get older.

In explanation, special attention must be paid to the institutional features. Tenure is given to the youngest staff who have not accumulated enough data to be evaluated in their employment. The oblong structure of academic ranks makes it difficult to compete for higher ranks; this favors a seniority system of promotion. And the single alma mater, as said before, fortifies paternalism.

Comparison with Western Universities

The careers of 1,000 professors were analyzed; first an analysis was made of how long they had worked at various places after they began their careers. Japanese professors entered the occupation at 25.3 years of age on the average; in France it was 26.5, Germany 30.3, England 24.7, and the U.S.A. 25.7 years respectively. From first being employed, they had worked for 33.0 years in Japan, 34.3 in France, 30.6 in Germany, 33.8 in England, and 35.1 in USA. How many times had they moved in these more than thirty years? The average frequencies were 2.7 in Japan, 4.0 in France, 3.7 each in Germany and England, and 3.5 in America.

From these figures it is clear that French professors show the greatest

mobility, while Japanese move least frequently. As the academic career is the main concern here, let us inquire about the changes between academic and non-academic jobs. Of the 500 Japanese professors, 15.7 percent have had experience in private business and 20.5% in public office. The figures for the same categories are 20% and 21% in France, 4% and 24% in Germany, 31% and 30% in England, and 23.5% and 7.5% in America. Exchange between academic and non-academic markets occurs in similar proportions in the five nations, but the largest contrast is between Germany and America. German professors are seldom employed by private business, whilst their American counterparts serve less often in public offices. Mobility between the two markets is most frequent in England.

These facts suggest other characteristics of academic traditions in each country. In England and America, private universities like Oxford and Cambridge or Harvard and Yale have enjoyed the highest prestige, and national philosophies like utilitarianism and pragmatism put emphasis upon practice and therefore upon business. In France and Germany, on the contrary, the main higher institutions are under public control and support, though their origin was private, e.g. corporative, or ecclesiastical; "Academic freedom" which rejects out-of-campus control has been institutionalized; a philosophy like German idealism, depreciating secular and utilitarian business, puts the premium upon "pure" science – so that the image of the ivory tower and professionalization of professors could be more highly appreciated. Here a professor is at the same time a kind of governmental official, paid out of public funds.

Since these percentages overlap for private and public places, we counted anew the rate of purely academic men, namely those who have never moved into non-academic places, whether private or public. In Japan 60.8 percent, 52% in France, 65% in Germany, 39% in UK, and 56.5% in USA have worked only at higher institutions. These do not include men who worked at places closely related to their academic career: e.g., *lycées* or *collèges* in France and *gymnasias* in Germany, internship at an independent hospital, service at a laboratory of a corporation etc. Exchange between practical and academic worlds is most frequent in the UK. As for service at educational institutions other than universities, 4.8% of all the professors in Japan have worked at an average of 1.1 lower schools per person, while in France 26% at 2.5, in Germany 8% at 1.3, in England 8% at 1.8, and in America 20.5% at 1.8. From these figures it is seen that French and American professors have more experience at lower level education. Especially is it a custom for French professors to spend a few years at *lycées* or *collèges* before entering higher institutions.

Excluding places other than higher institutions, a Japanese professor has served 1.5 universities, a French 3.2, a German 3.0, a British 2.5, and an American 2.6 on the average. It follows that a Japanese professor moves less often than a western counterpart; once employed, he works much longer in a particular institution. Thus he is less able to know universities other than his own. Narrower contacts and fewer outer stimuli may naturally lead to self-complacency, in-breeding, and paternalism. This is what we called the "permanent employment" system in academic careers in Japan.

This system becomes clearer when the relationship between one's working institution and one's alma mater is examined. How many are there who have been employed at their own alma mater? In Japan 54.4% have had this experience at some time in their occupational career, the average years of their service at their alma mater being 19.1. The average number of higher institutions at which Japanese professors were trained was 1.2. Since the majority of those who studied at more than one university received their second period of higher education at a foreign university, the above 54.4% have a position only in the institution in Japan from which they graduated. In contrast to this picture, western professors have received their higher education at more colleges, the average numbers being as follows: France 1.9, Germany 2.4, England 1.7, and USA 2.5. Thus western professors have more chances of serving at one of their alma maters. Nevertheless there is no remarkable difference in the proportions who have done so. 55% of French professors have worked at 1.2 alma maters for 13.5 years on the average; in Germany 68% at 1.2 for 11.2 years, in England 53% at 1.2 for 11.5 years and in the USA 65% at 1.2 for 17.4 years.

Let us now examine the proportion of those who have never changed their working place, that is, the direct expression of a permanent working system. In Japan, 37.3% of all professors have never moved after taking their first position, and indeed 25.4% have been working only at their own alma mater from the beginning. As the overwhelming majority of them got their higher education at one university only, a fourth of our sample know only one institution. When comparing this with the western situation, one cannot but see how extraordinary the Japanese academic marketplace is. In France only 6% have never moved and 5% have been working only at their alma mater; in Germany 5% and 4%, in England 8% and 5%, in the USA 11.5% and 6.5%, respectively. There is less academic in-breeding in western nations; western professors attend more higher institutions and work at more places. They know a greater variety of colleges and have a wider circle of personal friends. They thus get more

stimuli and broader perspectives. They can be what Merton terms "cosmopolitans" ¹⁾).

In Japan they are more likely to be concerned only with local matters such as politics on the campus.

In Japanese universities, age and not necessarily merit, often determines a member of staff's status. This can be inferred from a comparison of the age at promotion to full professorship in the five nations; in Japan it is 46.1 years of age, while in France it is 40.3, in Germany 42.4, in England 42.3, and in America 38.0. To put it in another way, in Japan a member of staff may not be promoted to a higher rank however great his accomplishments, while western nations, especially USA, put greater emphasis upon a person's merit than his age.

One more trait of Japanese professors is monopolization of their supply by a handful of universities that rule the entire market. 37.8% of our sample were educated at Tokyo University and 15.6% at Kyoto. Yet there are 260 universities in all, and Tokyo and Kyoto produce only 38 percent of university graduates.²⁾ A study of academic productivity of professors showed that there was little difference between graduates from Tokyo, Kyoto, and other universities. And as pointed out, in Japan most professors have only one alma mater. The Japanese picture resembles the French one, but one must remember that in France hierarchy and centralization of higher education as well as the training of university professors has been institutionally established: 46% of French professors were trained at the University of Paris, followed by Lyon, Bordeaux, Montpellier, and Toulouse each with about 5%. In contrast to Japan, French professors attended more than one institution. In other countries, the function of producing the professors is decentralized among many colleges; in Germany, for instance, Berlin University supplies 14.9%, München 10.6%, Freiburg 8.5%, Bonn and Göttingen 6.4% each. In England, Oxford produces 16.6%, Cambridge 12.3%, London 6.9%, Manchester 3.7%, and so forth. The USA shows the greatest competition among various universities; even Harvard supplies only 7.5%, followed by Columbia and Chicago (4.8% each), Yale (4.4%), Illinois (3.8%), Wisconsin and Michigan (3.2%), and California (3.0%).³⁾

¹⁾ Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, revised and enlarged edition, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957, 393-400.

²⁾ According to our computation, in the whole academic market in Japan (excluding junior Colleges) having about 32,000 instructors and above, Tokyo University shares 24.8% and Kyoto 13.4%, while in the total of university graduates between 1926 and 1948, Tokyo produced 15.8% and Kyoto 10.6%. See my article, "Nepotism and Bureaucracy," *op. cit.*

³⁾ For researches of a similar kind, see Robert H. Knapp and Joseph J. Greenbaum, *The Younger American Scholar, his collegiate origins*, Chicago: Uni-

INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK

The Problem of Tenure

The permanent employment system is directly related to the practice of tenure. If tenure is given to young men who have not published enough material to be assessed and whose qualifications as college professors have not yet been fully realized, there is a danger of keeping incompetent professors on the faculty until their retirement. Tenure, which is the most powerful instrument of academic freedom, can offer "freedom not to do research," "freedom to be idle." In Japan, there are three academic ranks of teaching personnel: *Kyoju* (professor), *Jo-kyoju* (associate professor), and *Koshi* (instructor), with no substantial difference between the last two. All are given tenure from the first.

To ascertain the situation in other countries, questionnaires were sent to the Ministries of Education and to these countries' embassies in Japan, while official reports and bulletins of universities were also consulted.¹⁾

Tenure and probation, continuation and separation, is the central problem in personnel administration of higher institutions.²⁾ This problem is related to academic freedom on one hand and to the psychological need for security on the other. The American Association of University Professors and the Association of American Colleges advise that the probationary period should be seven years, namely four years of instructorship and three years of assistant professorship, and in fact many institutions follow this principle. After this probationary period, the policy of so-called "Up or Out" is recommended. An associate professor usually has tenure.

From the answers we got, the severest rule for tenure is practiced in the Republic of China. Here three academic ranks are distinguished. No tenure

versity of Chicago Press, 1953, and Robert H. Knapp and H. B. Goodrich, *Origins of American Scientists*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952.

¹⁾ As for the questionnaires, different nations varied in cooperativeness in responding to this kind of survey, itself an interesting subject for comparison in this age of international cooperation. Impressionistically, the more democratic and culturally advanced nations were most helpful. There were exceptions; France, Australia, Norway, and Belgium gave us no answer. All countries in the Communist zone also remained silent. Some nations which have the centralized, therefore easily describable system of higher education were cooperative; the Republic of China, Greece, and Mexico were among them. Cooperation in this kind of survey depends perhaps upon many factors: e.g. nature and content of the questionnaire, availability of relevant data, existence of a clearing house, wealth of the country and governmental policy. Although we got answers from many countries, the majority have decentralized systems of higher education, so that a unified and overall picture could not be easily obtained; in a country like the USA practice and rules of tenure differ from university to university.

²⁾ See Clark Byse and Louis Joughin, *Tenure in American Higher Education: Plans, practice, and the law*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1959.

position exists now, and all the personnel are reappointed each year. In Finland there are eight academic ranks and in most cases tenure position applies only for full professors. Greece is also a severe country for tenure; among ten ranks, only the first three are permanent.

Some countries, however, seem to give tenure to lower ranks. For example, Swedish universities have six academic ranks, of which the first four are tenure position. A similar situation can be seen in Canada, which has six categories, and all positions above that of part-time lecturer or assistant lecturer are normally permanent positions. Similarly in the United Kingdom, there are normally six grades of teaching staff; the top three are permanent.

On the other hand, there are countries where tenure position applies to full professors and associate professors only; for example the USA and Austria. In the Dutch state-institutions, there are six ranks, of which full professors and lecturers are permanent positions, while the remainder are usually appointed for two or four years. However, in the case of municipal and other non-state institutions extraordinary professors and lecturers are appointed also for life. Thus there are various degrees of strictness for tenure, but clearly Japan is the most generous in this matter.

Academic Stratification

Prevalence of a seniority system means lack of competition for higher ranks among members. If the structure of ranks is pyramidal, namely the higher the fewer, competition among persons of a lower rank must occur. On the other hand, if a higher rank has the same number of personnel as the lower rank, and if a vacancy is not filled by an invited outsider, it is most natural that when a higher position is vacant it is filled by a local person of lower rank. Promotion occurs so to speak on an escalator system, so that a senior always precedes his junior, and it is not achievement but age that determines one's position.

This picture applies typically to the academic scene of Japan. There are three ranks only, and the ratio of the number of persons of higher and lower ranks is one to one. This situation is prescribed by law, at least for the national universities with a graduate school which are the model for all other universities and are most influential. In the "chair" system each special discipline is to have one professor and one associate professor or instructor. Only a medical chair has one professor and two associate professors (or one associate professor and one instructor). An instructorship is easily passed in a few years, but an associate professor cannot be promoted to professor even when he gets old or shows much accomplishment until the professor in his chair comes to retirement age or dies. Each

division and each department are thus divided into many "chairs", each with two teaching personnel.

Even in Japan, where the seniority system is said to be most remarkable, institutions other than the university do not have the oblong hierarchy. Upper positions are always fewer in number than lower ones, so that there must be more or less competition and assessment for promotion.

In some countries, especially where higher institutions are run by the government only, the number of personnel in each academic rank is determined officially by law and statute, while in other nations the number depends upon the quality of the persons concerned and upon an individual university's policy. Only if a person demonstrates his accomplishments, may he be promoted to higher rank, and a college can invite a young and promising scholar by offering him a full professorship. Thus there are scales from the most fixed hierarchy to the least structured, and also from an oblong to a pyramidal hierarchy. In both respects, Japan is placed at one pole.

In most countries, a full professorship is extremely difficult to attain. It needs qualified accomplishments, international or at least national reputation, recognition and approval by professional colleagues, while mere age is no claim for this title. On the other hand, merit can overcome age, so that promotion to full professorship could occur for the young with merit.

It is also quite difficult to calculate the ratio of professors to lower ranks in most nations because it depends upon individual institutions and moreover is not fixed legally. Most countries lack the statistical data, though several countries have nation-wide statistics. From available sources, it was found that in Sweden full professors are 1,283 in all and the lower faculty 1,463, so that the ratio is 88 to 100. In Greece it is 43 to 100 (441 and 1,019 in absolute number); Finland 49 to 100 (409 and 835); Austria 19 to 100 (398 and 2,055); Italy 15 to 100 (2,018 and 13,310); Germany 44 to 100 (1,836 and 4,138); USA 49 to 100 (9,144 and 18,505 in samples of professional and graduate colleges only); UK 14 to 100 (445 and 3,103 in Oxford and London combined).¹ Thus for example, Austria, Italy, and England have a steep hierarchy.

¹ Based upon Österreichisches Statistisches Zentralamt, *Österreichische Hochschulstatistik, Wintersemester 1962/63*, Wien: Kommissionsverlag Carl Überreuter, 1963, for Austria; Alexander Busch, *Untersuchungen zur Lage der deutschen Hochschullehrer*, Bd. II, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1956, for Germany; Istituto Centrale di Statistica, *Annuario Statistico dell'Istruzione Italiana*, Roma: Istituto Centrale di Statistica, 1960, for Italy; W. Robert Bokeman and Louis A. D'Amico, *Higher Education, Salaries 1961-62*, Washington, D.C.: US Office of Education, 1962, for USA; and *Commonwealth Universities Yearbook*, London:

Yet, perhaps more important than knowing the mere shape of the pyramid, is knowing the procedure and criteria for appointment and promotion, especially whether vacancies are publicized and whether the principle of meritocracy is put into actual practice.

Needless to say, a comparative analysis and description of the procedure of appointment in colleges needs a full volume. But here again there seems to exist a scale in terms of strictness, fairness, openness etc. At one pole there is a system in which recommendation of one person (e.g. one's own professor) is enough for being appointed. In other countries a vacancy must be publicized nationally or internationally and applicants must be evaluated by a competent selecting committee; for example, in Scandinavian countries. In Germany and Austria, applicants for an academic career must have the title *Dr. habil.* and pass a so-called *Probevorlesung*. In their early career as *Privatdozent*, *Dozent mit Lehrauftrag* or *Assistent*, they must continue proving their scholarly quality. Here vacancies are not usually publicized but settled by international correspondence among universities and the scholars of the same field. French academic men must get the *agrégation* and submit application for the vacancy publicized in the Official Gazette. England, the United States, and Canada show a considerable variation depending upon individual institutions. Large and old universities may announce vacancies publicly, while actually there may be much possibility for vacancies to be filled by promotion within the same institution.²⁾

The characteristics of Japanese professors are determined by the institutional framework peculiar to Japan. The kind of comparison carried out here requires a great deal of work and experience in interpreting the results. We propose that it can be useful for the fruitful and scientific advancement of comparative education, for which mere juxtaposition is not enough.

Association of Universities of the British Commonwealth, 1962, for UK. Robbins Report reveals the ratio of professors to all teachers as 13 to 100 for a 3,006 sample of British university teachers. Cf. Committee on Higher Education, *Higher Education, Appendix Three, Teachers in Higher Education*, London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1963, p. 33. For Greece and Finland the response to our questionnaire were used.

²⁾ Only a few books of interest to the present writers for relevant informations are suggested here. A. Kluge, *Die Universitäts-Selbstverwaltung. Ihre Geschichte und gegenwärtige Rechtsform*, Klostermann, 1958; Alexander Busch, *Die Geschichte des Privatdozenten*, Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke, 1959; J.-B. Piobetta, *Les Institutions Universitaires en France*, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1961; Lloyd S. Woodburne, *Faculty Personnel Policies in Higher Education*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950; William Poore, *Personnel Practices in Colleges and Universities*, Champaign, Ill.: College and University Personnel Association, 1958; and Theodore Caplow and Reece J. McGee, *The Academic Marketplace*, New York: Basic Books, 1958.

ETUDE COMPARATIVE

SUR LES FORMES DE CARRIERES DE PROFESSEURS DE COLLEGE

par MICHIIYA SHIMBORI, Hiroshima

Afin de clarifier les particularités du monde académique au Japon, des formes de carrières de 5 nations, notamment Japon, France, Allemagne Fédérale, la Grande Bretagne et les Etats-Unis furent comparées l'une par rapport à l'autre en employant leur *Who's Who* respectif comme source de données. Le professeur japonais est, semble-t-il, bien plus enclin à étudier dans une seule université et aussi à travailler plus longtemps dans une seule institution que ses collègues de l'ouest. Le système de travail permanent qui est considéré comme typique dans l'économie du Japon, se trouve également dans les institutions supérieures. Au Japon, le corps enseignant le plus jeune, n'ayant pas encore accumulé suffisamment de matériels objectifs pour que leurs mérites puissent être estimés, reçoivent une position permanente lors de leur premier emploi. Dès lors un *alumnus* est placé par privilège lorsqu'il pose sa candidature pour une position de faculté à son *alma mater*. Ainsi la tendance de recruter le personnel enseignant de leur propre université est nécessairement plus forte au Japon. La hiérarchie académique est oblongue et non pyramidale (notamment le rapport entre les professeurs ordinaires et les niveaux inférieurs est de 1 sur 1 au Japon), de sorte que pour autant que le système permanent fonctionne, une personne de rang inférieur ne peut être nommée que quand son prédécesseur se retire. Afin de mieux comprendre le cadre institutionnel de la situation décrite plus haut, telle que la pratique de la position permanente, la stratification académique et la procédure d'emploi, des questionnaires furent envoyés aux Ministères de l'Education de différents pays et à leurs ambassades au Japon. Egalement dans ce domaine, le Japon peut être considéré comme fortement différent lorsqu'il est comparé à d'autres nations.

DIE LAUFBAHNEN VON UNIVERSITÄTSPROFESSOREN
IN VERSCHIEDENEN LÄNDERN

von MICHIIYA SHIMBORI, Hiroshima

Um die Eigentümlichkeiten der Verhältnisse an den japanischen Universitäten zu verdeutlichen, wurden die Laufbahnen in 5 Ländern, nämlich Japan, Frankreich, Bundesrepublik Deutschland, England und USA, untereinander verglichen, wobei jeweils die Nachschlagewerke *Who's Who* als Quellen benutzt wurden. Dabei ergab es sich, daß ein japanischer Professor viel häufiger nur an einer Universität studiert hat und auch länger in einer einzigen Institution als sein westlicher Kollege. Die lang andauernde Zugehörigkeit zu ein und demselben Betrieb, die das Wirtschaftsleben Japans charakterisiert, gilt auch für seine Universitäten. An ihnen erhalten junge Mitglieder der Lehrstabes, die noch nicht so viele wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen aufzuweisen haben, daß man daraus ihre Verdienste bewerten könnte, von ihrer ersten Anstellung an bereits Beamtenrechte. Ein ehemaliger Absolvent der eigenen Universität ist daher im Vorteil gegenüber auswärtigen Bewerbern, wenn er sich um Aufnahme in die Fakultät bewirbt. Infolgedessen ist die Tendenz zu akademischer Inzucht notwendigerweise in Japan stärker als in den anderen

Ländern. Die akademische Hierarchie ist in Japan nicht pyramidenförmig, sondern von rechteckiger Form, das Verhältnis der ordentlichen Professoren zu Dozenten ist 1:1, d.h. daß unter dem System einer langfristigen Zugehörigkeit zu ein und demselben Betrieb ein Universitätslehrer nur befördert werden kann, wenn sein Amtsvorgänger in den Ruhestand tritt. Um die Berufsstruktur in dieser Situation sowie die Beamtenrechte, die Schichtung der Universitätslehrer und die Anstellungsverfahren besser verstehen zu können, wurden Fragebögen an die Erziehungsminister verschiedener Länder sowie an deren Botschaften in Japan verschickt. Aus den Antworten zeigt sich, daß sich Japan in jeder dieser Hinsichten erheblich von den anderen Ländern unterscheidet.

HIGHER EDUCATION IN GREECE

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Most of the issues and problems which the institutions of Greece now face are similar to those being encountered by institutions of higher education everywhere. Among the educational problems that are attracting national attention at the present time are state control and "interference" in the functioning of the institutions, infringement upon academic freedom, confusion in philosophy and objectives, inadequacy of financing, inadequacy of building facilities and equipment, imbalance in organization and curriculum, conflicts in class scheduling, lack of organized graduate studies, the burden of examinations, instructional methods, shortage of teachers, poor quality and shortage of textbooks, bilingual problems, the need for development of student personnel services, and the absence of a public relations program. An analysis of these issues is undertaken as the purpose of this paper.

In 1949, after long years of war, occupation and internal disorder, Greece made serious attempts to rehabilitate her education, primarily at elementary and secondary levels. Institutions of higher education situated in the large cities of Athens and Salonika, because of their geographic location had suffered less than those at lower levels in the smaller communities.

The postwar re-establishment of the prewar educational organization and curriculum was not sufficient to meet the new needs of the nation. Foremost among these needs was the training of a "new class" to man society's productive machinery.

In the late 1950's there were pressing demands for a new educational policy. Many educators looked upon the situation as an educational crisis¹⁾ which required new and creative thinking. Major decisions had to be made, for the consequences of these decisions were of utmost importance to the Greek nation. This situation was accentuated by the anticipated participation of Greece in the Common Market of Europe. The need was felt to raise the educational standards to train leaders for the economic development of the country. Without such personnel, it was recognized, Greece would be at a disadvantage as a member of the Common Market and the European Community of nations in general.

Higher education is a public endeavor, controlled by the Ministry of Education. It refers to education provided by the universities and poly-

¹⁾ Greece, Ministry of Education, *Bulletin of Studies and Coordination Services*, Vol. IV, No. 1 (in Greek), Athens, 1960.

technic schools of Athens and Salonika, and a number of other schools of higher learning.

The prescribed number of enrollees is selected from high school graduates who have successfully passed the entrance examinations.

Length of attendance at an institution of higher learning is from four to six years, depending upon the faculty and type of school.

Between the years of 1950 and 1960, there was an increase of 80 per cent in the total number of students. Students in practical sciences increased more than three times, not counting those studying abroad.

Limited university facilities at home, especially in the fields of technology and sciences, compelled many young men and women to seek their education abroad. During the 1958-59 academic year, 7,598 students were studying in foreign universities. This was 31 per cent of the total number of students (24,031) who attended home universities.

It is important to note that the majority of foreign-trained students fail to return to their native land, but find better opportunities and living conditions abroad. This loss of promising young talent through emigration constitutes a grave problem for the nation.

A consideration of the major issues and problems affecting higher education in Greece is presented in the remaining sections of this paper.

Control and Administration

There is no clear-cut policy, at least in the minds of those involved, regarding the extent of the control which the state exercises upon the institutions of higher education through the Ministry of Education. In many instances university authorities have opposed measures taken by the Ministry of Education, charging the Ministry with interference in the administration of the institution. Recent controversies revolved around the Law for the Reorganization of Higher Education, proposed by the Minister of Education in June 1962.

The proposed Reorganization Law stated that, pursuant to royal decree, it would be possible for the Minister of Education to reorganize all institutions of higher education in the following particulars:

1. In issues pertaining to administration, organization, student clubs, libraries, sources of income and budget-making, entrance examinations and the limits to enrollments, scholarships, fee-deductions and student government, the opinion of the Faculty Senate would be taken into consideration.
2. In the selection of professors, assistants, the establishment of laboratories and seminars, clinics and hospitals, agreement of the respective schools would be necessary.

3. In all other matters, proposals were to be initiated by the schools themselves.¹⁾

The proposed law provoked opposition from both university authorities and students. The authorities reacted by formulating and submitting opposing resolutions; the students exhibited their opposition by staging demonstrations. All opponents felt that the Minister of Education was assuming too much power, and that academic freedom would suffer if it were subjected to the control and caprice of whoever happened to be in a position of political influence. The result of this opposition was the withdrawal of the proposed law and postponement of its discussion.

The type of organization used in administration of the universities has been criticized for its inefficiency.²⁾ The Rector's short term of office (one year), the lack of organized maintenance and operations personnel, and inadequate numbers of other administrative staffs are only a few of the controversial administrative issues which need to be solved in order to improve the functioning of the institutions.

Philosophy and Objectives

The philosophy and objectives of the institutions of higher learning are limited to the Helleno-Christian ideals.³⁾ This philosophy has seemed to be narrow when subjected to scrutiny according to contemporary standards of higher education. The broadening of this philosophy constitutes a much-needed change, according to the views of those who labor to expand the program of higher education, particularly in the direction of the practical science.⁴⁾

Finances

There has been an annual increase of 11 per cent in the expenditures for education during the period 1955 to 1959. The greater part of this expenditure (about 73 per cent) went to the public schools.⁵⁾ An increase of public expenditures for education must continue for many years to come if the cultural standards of the Greek people are to be raised, and the technical and scientific challenges of modern times met.

In 1959, expenditures for public education constituted 1.7 per cent of

¹⁾ Ministry of Education. "A proposed Plan for the Reorganization of the Institutions of Higher Education." (Athens, 1962: typewritten in Greek), pp. 1-9.

²⁾ The Committee on Education, *Results*. Part I, June 24, 1957 to January 10, 1958; Part II, January 11 to May 16, 1958; Part III, June 25 to December 14, 1957 (in Greek). Athens: National Printing Office, 1958, III, 66-67.

³⁾ Bratsiotis, P. *Humanism and Christianity* (in Greek), Athens, 1955, pp. 1-34.

⁴⁾ Ministry of Coordination, Mediterranean Regional Project, Greek Report, Vol. I, II. Athens: The Ministry, 1962 (typewritten).

⁵⁾ *Ibid.*, II, p. 82.

the national income; both public and private education accounted for 2.3 per cent of the national income. Compared with other nations, it is apparent that Greece spends one of the smallest percentages of national income for educational purposes of any nation in Europe, or the United States. Expenditure for higher education for 1959 (9.7 per cent of all expenditures on education) was less than that for 1955 (11.4 per cent). About 65 per cent was expended for salaries and wages, and the balance was expended for maintenance and repairs, rents, subsidies, capital outlets, and general expenses.¹⁾

Organization and Curriculum

The curriculum of each school is characterized by breadth but not depth.² No courses in general education are offered, and no foreign language is required.

Scarcity of business executives as well as of technical and scientific personnel is felt in all branches of economic life, a fact which calls for immediate curriculum expansion.³⁾ Persons with only limited qualifications are being employed in both public and private highly responsible administrative or technological positions, because the required specializations are not provided by Greek institutions of higher education.

Traditionally, it was the schools of Law and the high schools that supplied needed personnel for government positions. But now, job demands have tightened and so far the gap between supply and demand is not being bridged by appropriate adaptations of the curriculum. The Higher School of Economics and Business Sciences is contributing very little to the modern requirements of business. The Panteios School of Political Sciences, established primarily to provide executive personnel, has actually evolved into a department of the School of Law.

All those who have studied the programs of the above-named schools have been in agreement that economic sciences are an area of weakness in the curriculum. No complete and independent school of economics exists – only sections of the School of Law. Moreover, their programs were judged to be inadequate, particularly in the newer branches of knowledge in economics.⁴⁾

As late as 1961, representatives of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) visited Greece and observed that

¹⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 21–23.

²⁾ Papanoutsos, Ev., *Paedeia* (in Greek; Athens, 1946/7–1951), Vol. I, p. 287.

³⁾ Zolotas, Xenophon, *Economic Development and Technical Education* (Athens, 1960) pp. 24–28.

⁴⁾ Papandreou, A. "How the Higher Economic Education Must be Reorganized," *Economic Tachidromos* (Athens Newspaper in Greek), March 16, 1961, p. 175.

technical and scientific programs were totally inadequate. As a result, OECD sponsored a study of the technical and scientific needs of Greece in order to help devise a plan for economic development in the 1960 decade. The study was completed in August 1962 by the Ministry of Coordination through a group of expert personnel.¹⁾

The study was based on the philosophical assumption that in planning economic development, a thorough educational program is urgently needed. It was pointed out that the economic backwardness of the country is related directly to the low level of professional education of the nation's labor force. Forecasts of the future evolution of the Greek economy and estimates of the nation's future manpower requirements are deemed necessary to provide the sound orientation of the educational system according to economic developmental needs.

The study which is highly commendable, concluded that there is almost no single occupation in which the output of the educational system is in complete balance with the anticipated demand.

There is a strong feeling among many Greek educators that the establishment of a third university will solve many of the problems in higher education. It will broaden educational opportunities, and will keep students from emigrating to other countries.²⁾ But not all educators concur as to the proper administration of the proposed university, or its organization, curriculum, location, or other conditions under which it should operate.

Class Schedule

At present, the daily program of studies involves a great waste of time of both students and faculty, since it spreads over the whole day, and classes are held at distant places.

Early in 1962, the schools and the departments of the University of Athens agreed to look into the scheduling problem and try to produce some kind of continuous class schedule. However, their enthusiasm would end when they were informed that the Minister of Education was about to propose reorganization measures.

After the Reorganization Plan proposed by the Minister of Education during the summer months of 1962 was defeated, the various schools began reconsideration of their individual scheduling problems. They are convinced, however, that the real solution will come only when the new "University City" is built.

¹⁾ Ministry of Coordination, Mediterranean Project, Greek Report, *op. cit.*, I, II.

²⁾ Papanoutsos, Ev., *Paedeia and Life* (in Greek; Athens, 1952-61), Vol. VI, pp. 1-2.

Graduate Studies

A number of graduates of high ability have expressed a desire to further their education through studies and research in fields of special interest.

The need for higher technical and scientific personnel caused the Institute of National Scholarships, in cooperation with university professors, to start making plans for graduate scholarships to home universities. An inventory was taken of the possibilities of each school and institution to offer graduate programs of studies and research.

It was decided that the 1962-63 academic year be designated an experimental year for a pilot group of only ten students to do graduate work in practical sciences. The next year, 1963-64, the number should be increased to approximately one hundred, and studies should be extended to other fields. Initially, the time spent on graduate studies was to be a ten-month period. After evaluation of the results, it is expected that the period will be extended to fourteen additional months.

Examinations

Examinations have become a burden to both students and professors in Greek universities. The impression is given that the universities spend more time in examinations than in teaching.¹⁾ Examinations are classified as entrance examinations, annual examinations, and graduation or final examinations.

Entrance examinations are interrelated with the screening of the prescribed number of candidates who are allowed to enroll in each school. Entrance examinations have been devised to enable school authorities to select the "needed" best college material among high school graduates who aspire to a college education.

There are many who maintain that the limiting of enrollments constitutes a rigid, ineffective, and inappropriate measure which denies educational opportunities to many capable young men and women. Proponents of this viewpoint claim that the net result has been to throw students into a competitive labor market poorly equipped.

There is, on the other hand, a group of educators who believe that in a country with such limited employment opportunities as exist in Greece, unlimited university enrollments would create an intellectual proletariat dangerous to the graduates themselves and to the society to which they belong. They substantiate their arguments by citing the great numbers of unemployed graduates, particularly graduates of the School of Theology (approximately 1,100), and pointing to the recent disturbance provoked

¹⁾ Papanoutsos, Ev., *Paedeia*, *op. cit.*, p. 722.

by Law School graduates who engaged in bloody clashes with the police, demanding that the number of law practitioners be increased.

Proponents of the latter view argue that it is unfair to burden the schools with overly-large enrollments, especially in areas of the practical sciences, when adequate facilities for educating students are not available.¹⁾ Any increase in enrollments that is not followed by substantial improvements in facilities, they claim, is bound to create disturbing conditions. For example, a vigorous reaction was created by passage of a bill early in November 1962, granting the Minister of Education power to ask for an increase in the number of entering students up to 50 percent of present enrollments (the "Fifty Per Cent Plan"). Those who supported this fifty per cent measure explained that the bill was intended to (1) discourage students from going to foreign universities, (2) provide teachers for the practical sciences, and (3) secure the necessary scientists and business executives needed to compete in the Common Market.

This was decided upon without taking into consideration the opinions of the schools affected, and it was natural that it elicited their disapproval. The Faculty Senate of the universities and other institution of higher learning began as early as November 9, 1962, to send their resolutions of disapproval to both the Prime Minister and the Minister of Education, advising them of the dangers involved.

Students also expressed strong disapproval of the fifty per cent plan in a series of violent demonstrations and strikes. This was perhaps the first time in the post-war history of higher education that students and professors took similar stands in defying measures imposed by the Ministry of Education.

Entrance examinations, serving both as a screening device and as an elimination process, have become one of the most controversial issues of higher education in Greece.

Two divergent points of view have been held in regard to the problem of entrance examinations. There are people who feel that the entrance examinations should be abolished, whereas others want to maintain and perhaps to reform them. Those who advocate the abolition of entrance examinations are vigorously opposed by those who argue the necessity of limited numbers, as has been explained earlier.

There is a common belief that high school standards have dropped below the level of expectation. In the 1962-63 entrance examinations, 2,000 candidates competed for the 220 openings in the School of Physics and Mathematics,²⁾ and only 141 candidates succeeded in meeting School

¹⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

²⁾ *The News* (Greek, Athens newspaper), Oct. 30, 1962.

standards. One of two things may have happened: either the candidates were poorly prepared, or the university authorities had administered tests that were unreasonably difficult.

This did not come as a surprise to those familiar with the hardships imposed on all candidates. For many years people in Greece have witnessed the tremendous growth of a new type of school which has been created as a liaison between high school and college. It is a kind of college preparatory seminar, designed to help candidates pass their entrance examinations. It involves extra student effort and imposes pressures on students as well as on parents who must make burdensome financial sacrifices.

Suggestions have been made at different times that a college preparatory class be added to the program of high schools which would make unnecessary both the entrance examinations and the college preparatory seminar. But these suggestions found few adherents because of the obvious inability of the universities to educate greater numbers of students, and because of the limited employment opportunities open to college graduates.

On June 23, 1962, an experiment was conducted for the first time by the Minister of Education. In a radio broadcast, the Minister administered national examinations to high school seniors who had achieved excellence as juniors. The purpose was to measure student potential and to obtain information needed to provide a realistic basis for educational reorganization. A plan was sought which might permit qualified students to register in universities without taking the traditional entrance examinations. A further purpose was the identification of those who should be considered in the granting of scholarships.

These radio-administered national examinations were limited to the field of composition only, and students who successfully participated in them were exempted from taking the composition examination in the 1962-63 entrance examinations. In such testing, however, careful consideration has to be given to the many hazards involved. A primary weakness lies in the fact that many high schools throughout the country function under highly adverse conditions; the many talented students who attend schools in smaller, isolated rural areas are at a disadvantage when competing in national examinations against students from more favored communities.

Opposition to any change in the existing examination structure still prevails in the minds of many who make decisions and many who would be closely affected by such changes.

Entrance examinations are usually held during the last week of September and the first week of October, the results being announced a

month or six weeks thereafter. Instruction for first-year students commences in December or later. The result is that the entire first semester is usually wasted in meeting the requirements and uncertainties of the mechanics of admission.

Sometime before the entrance examinations of 1962-63, the Minister of Education suggested a plan designed to correct the situation. It stipulated that entrance examinations be held between the fifteenth and thirtieth of September, and that the results be announced by the fifteenth of October. In order to expedite the correcting of examinations so that results could be announced in time, each examining committee should handle not more than 300 to 400 candidates.

The first reaction to this plan on the part of the university authorities was negative, and the following explanations and counter-proposals were submitted to the Ministry of Education.¹⁾

1. Entrance examinations cannot be held within the proposed time limits because of the great number of candidates.
2. It would be impossible to form the required number of examining committees because of lack of personnel. Moreover, the formation of more committees would create an unfair situation in the grading of tests. Most tests are of the essay type and it would be impossible for a large number of committees to use similar scoring criteria.
3. The university of Athens proposed, instead, that the entrance examinations be held simultaneously between the fifteenth and thirtieth of July in all institutions of higher education. This would allow the examiners adequate time in which to make an objective evaluation of each candidate's performance, and the results could then be published by the first of September.

After an exchange of arguments between the university authorities and the Minister of Education, it was decided to hold the 1962-63 entrance examinations on the same date as before, utilizing a single examining committee for each subject, regardless of the number of candidates. At the same time, the Faculty Senate informed the Minister of Education that the committees would do their best to publish the results "as early as possible".

It was also decided that the Minister's proposed plan might be tried the following year, after taking into consideration the recommendations of the three-member faculty committee which was appointed to observe the examinations.

The Committee on Education in 1957-58 expressed the opinion that

¹⁾ *Ibid.*, July 21, 1962.

annual examinations possess many disadvantages, the most important being (1) their exhausting effect on both instructors and students, and (2) the waste of a vast amount of time that is urgently needed for teaching and research.¹⁾ The recommendations of this Committee were similar to those previously made by others who had studied the problem.

Not all members of the Committee were of the same opinion on all issues. It appears, however, that most members did support the suggestion that the annual examinations be replaced by "pre-graduation" examinations taken after the second year, and that graduation examinations be held at the end of the fourth year. It was felt that examinations should be offered twice each year, during the months of June and October. Those who fail in June and again in October must wait for the next June, and, failing then, can take them again the following October. Failing this time, they must discontinue their studies.

Students who fail, and decide to prepare themselves for another attempt at the examinations, must attend classes of their choice and pay a small fee in order to maintain their status as students. They are not to be permitted to attend third-year courses until they have passed the "pre-graduation" examinations.

With respect to graduation examinations, the Committee suggested that they be held during three designated periods, the dates depending primarily upon the courses taken during the final two years, only slight consideration being given to the basic courses of the first two years. In order to become eligible to participate in the graduation examinations, students must present a certificate signed by each professor whose courses, laboratories and seminars they have attended. They must also give proof of sufficient efficiency in a foreign language to be able to use foreign-language sources pertaining to their field of studies.

Finally, each student must produce a thesis under the guidance of an adviser during the last months of his studies on a topic pertinent to his speciality. This final requirement does not apply to students of medicine. For the Medical School, it was suggested that three biennial examinations be held at the end of the second, fourth, and sixth years.

Instruction and Teaching Staff

Perennial dissatisfaction with the calibre of instruction offered by the institutions of higher learning seems to rest on the argument that there are too many students and not enough teachers. This situation precludes any close association between students and teacher. A second major

¹⁾ The Committee on Education, *Results, op. cit.*, pp. 70-71.

criticism is that the professors are kept too busy instructing and examining, and have no time for research and writing. A third refers to instructional techniques – i.e., that most classroom instruction consists of lectures, while little use is made of practical exercises (seminars, laboratories and clinics).

The latter concept – that the lecture as a teaching method is not enough – is becoming widely accepted, thanks to a recognition that the lecture type of instruction is based on the assumption that learning occurs in only one dimension, that of memory. Under such a system of education the rewards of learning consist of the receiving of academic credit, higher income and social status, rather than the joy of knowing.

There is at present a general clamor for more professors and more assistants; it is realized that teaching staffs must be strengthened if the schools of higher education are to function with any degree of adequacy.

The financial independence of teachers, also, is a much-needed improvement measure. Only then will professors be able to devote themselves full-time to their main responsibilities, free from economic pressures and with no need to hold more than one chair, or to seek part-time positions in private concerns in order to supplement their teaching salaries.

Textbooks

Textbooks and course outlines are scarce and very expensive. The medical student, for example, must pay approximately six hundred dollars for books during his course of studies. University library facilities are too limited as to space and numbers of volumes to be able to make up for the deficiency.

The professors argue that books are too costly to publish, and that, when published, the income from sales very seldom covers the cost. Some professors help to offset this problem by publishing course outlines for students. Another expedient is for students to duplicate lecture notes by ditto or other means so that fellow students may use them in studying for examinations.

Before World War II, the University of Salonika initiated a plan of appropriating a certain sum of money from its budget for the publication of textbooks.¹⁾ This policy encouraged the professors to do research and enabled them to realize some profit from their writing; it also provided students with basic learning materials.

The textbook problem encountered by institutions of higher education is also faced by elementary and secondary schools in Greece, a fact which

¹⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 211–212.

contributes to the inadequate preparation of college-bound students. However, legislation passed in the summer of 1962 has brought about the establishment of a Committee on Textbooks. Plans for improving the situation are now underway.

Bilingualism (Demotic versus Classical Language)

The national examinations for high school seniors who had achieved excellence during their junior high school year, administered by the Minister of Education via radio broadcast on June 23, 1962, demonstrated that a bilingual problem was so prevalent as to seriously handicap students in their use of the language.

Most of the students who took part in the examination used a mixture of both demotic and classical languages, a clear indication of lack of language discipline. Depth of background training, and ability to do critical thinking were not evident in the results.

The need for reforms to correct existing language confusion has been recognized by educational authorities for some years. The problem has been expounded in open discussions and programs of educational conventions. The viewpoint taken by many educators is the logical thesis that the language of the ancients must give way to the demotic language of present-day Greece, since it is the latter that modern Greeks understand and must use in everyday communication.

Student Services

Organized guidance and counseling services are unknown today in Greece's institutions of higher education.

Most students come from the middle and lower classes, particularly the latter. Nevertheless, free meals for the poorer students, and free medical service are inadequate.

Provision of work experience to students is still in its infancy. The difficulty of finding part-time student employment has barred many capable students from college education.

Student government has encountered so many difficulties and setbacks in recent years that it has well nigh defeated its own existence. Friction between leftists and rightists has been carried over from the war years, and student body affairs have been characterized by bitterness and rabid factionalism. Prior to 1930 no student government existed. In pre-1930 years students spent most of their time in coffee houses. In 1910, a group of five or six students organized the "Student Company." Their primary purpose was to further the study and spread the use of the demotic

language. Twenty years later (1930) the organization came to an end at the time when many of its members turned communist.¹⁾

Since 1930, efforts were made, first by the students of the University of Athens and later by the students of the University of Salonika, to form a systematic student organization within each university and among student bodies in both universities. These student organizations never enjoyed full acceptance by students, nor recognition by university authorities. In fact, their relations with the latter often reached the inimical stage.

A few accomplishments, such as the improvement of student libraries, the reorganization of class schedules, and the passage of a law prohibiting the obligatory purchase of books written by professors, can be credited to the work of student organizations. However, an impartial examination of the record indicates that most of their activities were concentrated in seeking favors whenever there was an important change in the political scene.

It would be hard to find a single academic year when there were not student disturbances and strikes. Such political and military events as the dictatorship of the late 1930's, World War II, the Nazi occupation, and the Civil War, made the normal development of a student government an impossibility. It was inevitable that in such tense situations many opposing factions should appear among the student organizations, and that their uncompromising loyalties should lead to strife and even to the courts.²⁾

There is evidence that at present the majority of students favor a united action for the solution of their problems. This has been brought about by a changing attitude on the part of university authorities. The Rector of the year 1962-63, promised closer cooperation with the student government and recognition that students should not be denied the opportunity of practicing democracy.

Public Relations Program

Nowhere in Greek literature is mention made of an organized public relations program, and no institution of higher education has adopted such a program. The absence of such a program leaves parents uninformed and oftentimes with misunderstandings and ill will toward the institutions which educate their sons and daughters. It has also created apathy and

¹⁾ Delmouzos, A. *The Problem of the School of Philosophy*, (in Greek; Athens, 1944) pp. 67-68.

²⁾ *The News*, *op. cit.*, June 22, 1962.

lack of interest on the part of the general public toward the improvement of the institutions of higher education.

The writer believes that so far, the few governmental attempts that have been made to ease the tensions among the schools of higher education in Greece, and to facilitate their functioning have been approached timidly and on a "hit-and-miss" basis. Imaginatively conceived and wisely carried out reform measures, both long-term and short-term in nature, are necessary. It appears certain that the future of Greece as a member of the Common Market and of the greater European community will be strongly affected by the type, the quantity, and especially the quality of education her citizens receive within the next few years.¹⁾

DAS HOCHSCHULWESEN IN GRIECHENLAND

VON STEPHEN C. MARGARITIS, Bellingham, Washington (U.S.A.)

Die zukünftige wirtschaftliche und industrielle Entwicklung Griechenlands wie auch seine wirksame Rolle als Mitgliedstaat der EWG werden in hohem Maße von der Art, dem Umfang und der Qualität von Bildung abhängen, die es seinen Staatsbürgern innerhalb der nächsten Jahre geben kann.

Universitäten können nicht zur Wirkung kommen, wenn ihre finanzielle Unterstützung unzulänglich bleibt. Der potentielle Beitrag auch des begeistertsten Hochschullehrers geht verloren, wenn er in einer Universität tätig sein muß, die nicht genügend Lehrkräfte hat und mangelhaft ausgestattet ist.

Selbst die bestdurchdachte Bildungsreform muß scheitern, wenn sie nicht die uneingeschränkte Unterstützung des Premierministers findet. Entscheidende Bildungsfragen verdienen die gleiche Berücksichtigung wie der Tourismus und andere Gebiete, die für eine Regierung von Bedeutung sind.

Eine klare Abgrenzung der Verantwortungsbereiche und der Machtbefugnisse würde dazu beitragen, politischen Druck und kleinliche Eifersucht zu vermeiden, die oft eine reibungslose Zusammenarbeit und gute Arbeitsbeziehungen zwischen Regierungsstellen und Universitätsbehörden verhindern.

Solche Probleme des Hochschulwesens wie unzureichende Vorbereitung der Studenten, die Zweisprachigkeit und die ungeeignete Berufswahl der Studenten entstehen zumeist schon auf den unteren Bildungsstufen.

Das Fehlen eines ständigen Chefsadministrators bei Universitätsinstitutionen verhindert die Entwicklung von administrativen Fertigkeiten im Stelleninhaber und schafft Unsicherheit bezüglich der wirksamen Verfahrensweisen zur Bewältigung von wichtigen Entscheidungen.

Übermäßige Geschmeidigkeit und ständiger Wechsel kennzeichnen in Griechenland die Beschlußfassungen und deren Abänderungen in der Erziehungspolitik. Dieses Beispiel einer schwankenden Haltung ist dazu angetan, die Moral sowohl der

¹⁾ See recommendations in Margaritis, S. "New University Dimensions in Greece," *Improving College and University Teaching*, (International Quarterly Journal, Oregon State University, Corvallis, Oregon) Spring, 1964, pp. 115-120.

Hochschullehrer als auch der Studenten herabzusetzen, Unstetigkeit zu schaffen und die wechselseitigen Beziehungen zu gefährden.¹⁾

L'ENSEIGNEMENT SUPERIEUR EN GRECE

par STEPHEN C. MARGARITIS, Bellingham, Washington (U.S.A.)

Le futur développement économique et industriel de la Grèce, ainsi que son rôle réel en tant que membre de la Communauté Economique Européenne dépendra dans une large mesure du genre, de la quantité et de la qualité de l'éducation que recevront ses citoyens dans les prochaines années.

Les institutions d'enseignement supérieur ne peuvent fonctionner convenablement si leurs moyens financiers restent insuffisants. La contribution valable de l'enseignement le plus enthousiaste est perdue s'il doit travailler dans une école mal équipée et manquant de personnel.

Même la réforme éducative la plus sagement conçue est vouée à l'échec si elle ne rencontre pas l'entière adhésion du Premier Ministre. Les problèmes éducatifs méritent une attention aussi grande que le tourisme et d'autres domaines d'intérêt gouvernemental.

Une détermination exacte de l'autorité et des responsabilités permettrait d'éviter les pressions politiques et les rivalités malheureuses qui souvent entravent une collaboration efficace et de bonnes relations de travail entre les fonctionnaires gouvernementaux et les autorités universitaires.

Des questions d'enseignement supérieur telles que la mauvaise préparation des étudiants, le bilinguisme et la sélection inappropriée des professions par les étudiants trouvent souvent leur origine dans les niveaux inférieurs de l'enseignement.

L'absence d'un directeur d'administration permanent dans les établissements d'enseignement supérieur entrave le développement des aptitudes administratives du titulaire et crée un climat d'insécurité dans les mesures à prendre pour l'application des décisions importantes.

Une flexibilité exagérée et des changements constants caractérisent en Grèce la détermination et la revision des décisions dans le domaine de l'éducation. Cette forme de fluctuation diminue la moralité des enseignants et des étudiants, crée une instabilité et tend à détruire les relations entre les membres du personnel.¹⁾

¹⁾ siehe die Empfehlungen in: Margaritis, Stephen, "New University Dimensions in Greece", *Improving College and University Teaching*, (International Quarterly Journal, Oregon State University, Corvallis, Oregon) Spring 1964, pp. 115-120.
¹⁾ voir les recommandations dans: Margaritis, Stephen, "New University Dimensions in Greece", *Improving College and University Teaching*, (International Quarterly Journal, Oregon State University, Corvallis, Oregon) Spring 1964, pp. 115-120.

RESEARCH ON TEACHING ENGLISH IN DANISH SCHOOLS 1959-1965

by JESPER FLORANDER and MOGENS JANSEN, Copenhagen

Developments in teaching foreign languages have followed the same course in Denmark as in other countries in northern and western Europe: Formerly, foreign languages were only taught to pupils in senior high schools and to college students, but gradually this instruction was extended also to comprise most of the pupils in junior high schools, and now it is desired that all pupils attending public schools learn one foreign language sufficiently well to permit communication with people who write and speak the language in question – in practice nearly always English. A provision to this effect is embodied in the Education Act of 1958 in accordance with which foreign language instruction is compulsory from the sixth grade.

This general, introductory instruction in languages will, however, also in the future – combined with other subjects in the curriculum, of course – form the basis of advanced education at universities, technical colleges, and similar institutions.

Factors in language teaching

In order to make the teaching of English as effective as possible, efforts should be made to establish the part played by the following factors:

1. Learning Methods
2. Learning Materials
3. Optimum Point of Beginning
4. Extent of Learning – period of time as well as scope of curriculum
5. Pupils
6. Personality of Teacher

These factors will always be so closely interlocked that they are bound to affect one another. Their proportionate interrelationship can only be established by examining each factor separately. As far as is known at this stage, planning of investigations within this field on a sufficiently methodical basis has only been carried into effect in very few cases.

When discussing factors like those just mentioned, the discussion is generally based on the following arguments assumed to be facts:

1. Children can learn to talk any language at a very young age. Throughout the world, moreover, children learn to speak the language used locally through imitation and repetition. *Language teaching, therefore, should be introduced at an early age.*

2. Even before school age children staying in a foreign country will easily learn the foreign language and will have no difficulty in speaking it. Nor do bilingual children seem to be hampered by having to express themselves in more than one language. Such factors seem to indicate that *the method to be adopted in language teaching should be the conversational approach.*

3. The "imitative faculty" is at its highest in young children and shows a pronounced decline at a certain age. *Language teaching should, therefore, be initiated before such decline sets in.*

It should be stressed that the argumentation cited under 1, 2, and 3 above suffers from a total lack of details concerning the varying situations in which children may have to use a foreign language. An analysis would here show that as far as the bilingual children are concerned, the foreign language serves a function that makes it almost as important as the mother tongue. Such children generally stay in a foreign country, or at any rate their environment consists of two quite distinct linguistic levels of equal value to them. To the bilingual children, both languages are necessary means of communication – they cannot play with other children, they cannot go shopping or talk to friends and guests etc., without making use of the second language. Unless they master the foreign tongue in their everyday activities, they will be debarred from a great many primary possibilities for contact.

Such deliberations could also explain why bilingual children frequently return to the monolingual state shortly after moving back to their native country. The secondary language no longer serves the purpose of establishing contact. Therefore, it is no longer used – and is soon forgotten.

The situation of the pupils in a classroom is quite different, psychologically, from that of the above mentioned children in their use of the foreign language. Apart from the language lessons they are monolingual, and at no period during school hours does the foreign language attain the same primary importance to them as does their native tongue. Due to the time element, moreover, the teaching of languages only permits a limited use of the foreign language as compared with the use of the vernacular.

The psychological aspect of foreign language teaching may perhaps also explain why the theory advanced concerning the so-called decline in "imitative faculty" is maintained. The mentioned decline, it is stated, sets in at very varying ages and thus does not seem to be determined by development. More likely, it bears relation to the unwillingness displayed by older pupils against "showing off" when having to use a phonetic form quite different from that of the vernacular. Actual investigations to

determine whether the mentioned decline actually does take place, do not seem to have been made.

The function of the foreign language is thus fundamentally different for monolingual and bilingual children. Therefore, it is necessary to discard many of the arguments previously advanced within these fields and instead take more interest in investigations that will permit a systematic *clarification* of the various aspects.

As the arguments set forth may not be tenable, and considering that at least they cannot be adopted as a basis for the methodical planning of language teaching, interest should instead be centered on elements such as the optimum age level at which to introduce language teaching, the scope of the curriculum, the methods to be applied, the use of materials, a comparison between the foreign language and the mother tongue – perhaps also between the foreign language and the learning of other school subjects. Investigations should be made as to the length of the lesson and the progress made by pupils in varying ability groups, the possible existence of pupils who will not benefit from language instruction and, of course, also as to the teacher himself and his personality as well as the instruction methods.

If the proportionate effect of the above mentioned factors is to be determined, it is necessary to carry out controlled field experiments; experimental and control groups must be set up, and measurements must be made by means of objective tests directed at essential features in language teaching, insofar as this is possible.

The above reflections form the background of the research program relative to English which, at the request of local education authorities and under the direction of the Danish Institute for Educational Research, has been carried out at three different localities in this country.

I. EXPERIMENTAL TEACHING OF ENGLISH IN THE COUNTY OF HOLBÆK

Objective of Experiment

To find the optimum age level at which to begin the teaching of English.

With a view to the standard in English, attempts are made to establish this point of beginning by comparing groups of pupils starting to learn English at different class levels.

Scope

Six schools located in the county of Holbæk participate in the experiment, and about 50 children from each of these schools attend.

Three of the schools mentioned are located in small towns and three

in rural districts. On the basis of population statistics, the schools have been selected so that the social background is uniform within each of the groups.

The experiment was commenced in August, 1959, and will be terminated in the course of 1965.

From the start, all the pupils in the classes concerned take part in the English lessons. A pupil will only be removed from the group if it has been established through the day-to-day experience gained by the teacher and through test results that the benefit derived from the English lessons is so insignificant that the pupil may be said to be near stagnation.

Experimental Plan

Two schools introduce instruction in English in the fourth grade and provide three lessons a week.

Two schools start in the sixth grade and provide six lessons a week.

In this way it is achieved that at the end of the seventh grade all classes will have been given the same number of lessons.

All classes are working under the control of the Danish Institute for Educational Research until the end of the seventh grade, which also marks the end of the compulsory school age.

Teaching Methods and Materials

Before the experiment was commenced, a course was held, attended by all of the teachers. This course comprised about forty lessons and dealt with the method of elementary instruction in English as the foreign language.

Seeing that some of the children taking part in the experiment are so young that insufficient reading ability may be an obstacle to their acquisition, the instruction has been arranged in such a manner that primary importance is being attached to providing the pupils with a knowledge of English through conversation and to testing their proficiency in speaking the language. A textbook, however, is used in support of the conversational approach – in connection with this experiment the same book is being read at all schools. It is a book with a controlled vocabulary that makes extensive use of conversation patterns. This textbook, moreover, formed the basis of the course mentioned above.

Besides the textbooks, other types of educational material are, of course, used in the teaching of English, according to the wishes of the individual teacher and the potential of the individual class.

Fields of Evaluation

The Teachers. A description of this factor is attempted through the teachers' own representation of the instruction given by them and through their estimation of the benefit derived by the pupils from the teaching. This is done by means of monthly reports, stating the point in the textbook to which the classes have got, what other educational material has been applied, and what other facilities have been used.

Finally, at intervals of about eighty lessons, the teachers are interviewed on various aspects of their instruction (conversation, pattern practice, etc.) and on the benefit derived by the class and the individual pupil from the lessons and the interest taken by them in the subject.

The instruction given by the teachers was controlled at similar intervals in the following manner: A period was attended by an expert of English and a psychologist, who entered the content of the lesson on special registration sheets.

The Pupils. As far as the pupils are concerned, an objective evaluation has been made. Some tests are carried out for the purpose of testing the pupils' intelligence and their proficiency in their mother tongue. These tests are as follows:

1. Since differences in the effect of the teaching may be due to differences in intellectual faculties, it is essential that the pupils compared be on the same intelligence level, and a *group intelligence test* is consequently being administered.

2. As some of the tests in English are carried out for the purpose of testing the pupils' comprehension of an English text, it is necessary to test their understanding of a corresponding Danish text. For that reason, a *silent reading test in the mother tongue* is administered once a year concurrently with the English tests.

3. In order to obtain further information about the standard in the Danish language, a *dictation test* is given once a year.

The remaining tests concern the standard attained by the pupils in English.

Tests prior to commencement of Teaching

Immediately before the teaching of English is commenced, a series of the so-called initial tests are administered with a view to ascertaining the basic qualifications of the individual class and the individual pupil for learning English.

The Individual Initial Test

A vocabulary test based on isolated English words combined with

drawings – a certain time is allowed for learning the words, and subsequently the pupils are submitted to an examination.

A translation test – a number of English sentences, the phraseology and structure of which bear resemblance to Danish, are translated.

Test in artificial language – translation into Danish from an artificial language constructed for this purpose.

Administration of Tests in the course of the Experiment

During the experiment a number of English tests are administered, all constructed especially for the experiment. In their construction the tests are not associated with any specific textbook, but due consideration has been given to the frequency of words and to the sentence structure.

Regarding these tests it may be mentioned that, among various alternatives, the testing of text comprehension has been chosen, as such tests are believed to provide a better all-round picture of the proficiency attained by the pupils than e.g. a grammar test.

As text comprehension tests often bear great similarity to intelligence tests, the former tests have been constructed in such a manner that they have first been tried out in the mother tongue on other children, and subsequently such parts of the test as are difficult to grasp have been left out.

The test screened in this manner is finally constructed in English, and it should thus be possible to interpret the difficulties in comprehension as representing linguistic difficulties.

English 57: 1)

Text Comprehension Test, where the text is combined with a pictorial situation, and where the pupils indicate their understanding of the text by means of a cross on the picture.

English 58: 1)

Text Comprehension Test similar to the one above, but with extended vocabulary and a more complicated sentence structure.

English 59: 1)

Text Comprehension Test built up as a filling-in test, where each individual picture is accompanied by a connected text, and where some words in the text are missing.

1) All these tests are not yet generally accessible. The intention is that after further analyses of items, tryout, and standardization, the tests found most suitable are to be included in the generally accessible testing materials of the Danish Institute for Educational Research.

English 60: 1)

Text Comprehension Test consisting of a connected text not accompanied by pictures; a number of brackets have been inserted in the text, each providing three choices. The individual parts of the tests can be solved if the separate sentence is understood, and a solution is possible without the full comprehension of the entire passage.

English 61: 1)

Text Comprehension Test consisting of a connected text not accompanied by pictures; a number of brackets have been inserted in the text, each providing three options. The individual tests can only be solved if the context is fully understood.

The tests mentioned were included in the experimental plan according to the following schedule:

Tests applied:	Number of Lessons					
	0	80	140	220	300	380
Initial Tests:	x					
English 57		x	x			
English 58			x	x		
English 59				x	x	
English 60 }						
English 61 }					x	x

II. EXPERIMENTAL TEACHING OF ENGLISH AT GLADSAXE

Objective of Experiment

To investigate the following factors:

1. Importance of the age level at which the teaching is commenced,
2. Importance of the length of the lesson,
3. Importance of the teaching method and material, so that, by comparing groups which commence the language study at different stages, with lessons of different length, different teaching methods, and different educational materials, it is possible to achieve an educational condition of the highest possible expediency.

Scope

The Gladsaxe experiment is taking place in a borough (a suburb of Copenhagen). The program comprises 92 classes of about 25 pupils each. For one half of these classes the instruction in English starts in the sixth

¹⁾ See note 1, page 6.

grade (the secondary group) and for the other half in the fourth grade (the elementary group). All pupils in the classes concerned take part in the program.

Experimental Plan

At the end of the experiment, in the seventh grade, the secondary group and the elementary group will have had an equal number of English lessons. The secondary group is given full lessons only (of 50 minutes), and the same textbook is used during the whole period.

All classes within the elementary group use the same method (cf. page 314, the Holbæk plan). The length of the lessons is here varied in the following manner: One half of the pupils are given full lessons (50 minutes), whereas the other half of the pupils are given twice as many 25-minute lessons. The two groups will thus be given lessons totalling the same number of hours. - (Since all the English teachers participating in the experiment also teach the class another subject, half lessons have been introduced for various subjects - a point, however, which is not to be given further mention here.)

Each of the two halves of the elementary group has been subdivided, one half using textbook A and the other half textbook B (cf. page 315).

Book:	A		B		
Lesson:	1/2	1/1	1/2	1/1	1/1
Method:	direct	direct	direct	direct	indirect
Elementary Group	a	b	c	d	
Secondary Group				e	f

The standards of the various groups are compared as follows:

1. Importance of the textbooks used: A comparison is made between groups using the same method and the same type of lesson but different books, i.e. a/c and b/d.

2. Importance of the lessons applied: A comparison is made between groups using the same book and the same teaching method but different types of lesson, i.e. a/b and c/d.

3. Importance of the methods applied:

The idea had been to vary the teaching method so as to allow comparison between e and f. In view of the fact, however, that the great majority of the teachers ¹⁾ participating in the program did not want to use the indirect method, this method is so sparsely represented in the experiment that a comparison in this field will be of hardly any value.

¹⁾ In Denmark each individual teacher chooses his own methods for teaching each individual class.

In addition to the textbooks mentioned, the teachers have, of course had possibilities for supplementing their teaching of English with any such material as they might find appropriate. This possibility, though, has only been utilized to a comparatively small extent.

Teaching Methods and Materials

In addition to the foregoing it may be mentioned that all of the teachers participating in the experiment attended a course on method in elementary teaching conducted by the author of one of the textbooks. This course comprised 30 lessons.

As the majority of teachers are without experience in the teaching of English at a stage as early as the fourth grade, it was found advisable to furnish them with such experience by providing facilities for teaching English in the fourth grade for one year prior to the experiment.

Evaluation

The Teachers. It is attempted to elucidate this factor by having the teachers themselves describe the instruction given by them. This is done by completion of monthly reports. Furthermore, supplementary details have been obtained through questionnaires – both as regards content of lesson and the proficiency achieved and interest shown by the individual pupils in the subject. These questionnaires are submitted at intervals of nearly 12 months.

The Pupils. The procedure has here been identical to that described on page 316.

III. EXPERIMENTAL TEACHING OF ENGLISH AT RØDDING

The experiment at Rødding is based on Swedish educational material prepared by Fonetiske övningslaboratoriet (Phonetic Laboratory) in Stockholm. The school at Rødding desired to try out this, and in 1959 it, therefore, obtained permission from the Ministry of Education to start experimental teaching based on this material, while at the same time the Danish Institute for Educational Research was requested to provide them with the necessary guidance and assistance in carrying out this plan.

Objective of Experiment

The objective is to try out the effectiveness of audiovisual aids in elementary language study and to determine whether learning through the so-called imitation ("pure imitation") is more effective at an early than at a more advanced age.

Scope

It should be pointed out that this experiment is very limited in scope, comprising only six classes at one school.

Evaluation

The Teachers. During the period of time covered by the Swedish material the teachers of the classes taught on the basis of this material keep a diary of the content of each lesson and its course. In connection with the corrective lessons the teachers record, moreover, the words and sounds that have been treated. In case of pronounced variations in the interest displayed by the pupils in the instruction, this is noted down.

For the classes working on textbook B, which is incorporated in the instruction when the work with the Swedish material has been completed, a weekly report schedule is filled in, enabling the Danish Institute for Educational Research to follow the instruction in detail in the same manner as is being done in connection with the other classes.

The Pupils. In addition to the tests described under the experiment covered on page 317, the following tests are administered:

An Aural Comprehension Test. In this test the pupils must indicate that they have understood the playback of a text recorded on tape, by checking off one of a multiple choice of 4 pictures.

A Pronunciation Test. The pupils must here repeat a text recorded on tape.

Both of the latter tests have been prepared by collaboration between Fonetiska övningslaboriet and Kgl. Skolöverstyrelsen (Royal Chief Administration of Schools) in Stockholm in close conformity with the Swedish teaching material.

IV. PROVISIONAL EVALUATION OF EXPERIMENTS I-III

The above mentioned three experiments must be carried on over a certain number of years before it will be possible to start an overall evaluation. During the current period where the material is being compiled and analyzed, no complete reports can be expected nor can any conclusions be arrived at.

At this stage, however, it can be said

A: The tests used in the experiments have turned out not to be equally descriptive of the conditions dealt with. The analysis of the initial tests, e.g., seems to indicate that some of the answers to these tests depend more

on the construction of the tests than on the linguistic aptitude of the pupils.

These conditions will be illuminated through further analyses of the test results. From these it will be seen, whether such differences as are noticeable in advance among the groups under comparison will remain constant or will have decreased or have disappeared when the groups have reached the end of the seventh grade.

The differences in question are:

1. *Differences in age*

It is a wellknown fact that the younger the pupils are, the lower are their scores in a certain test. Will this also be the case in this instance?

2. *Differences in language*

As most of the tests concern linguistic conditions and also require proficiency in reading, it should be expected that pupils retarded in reading would score below average in such tests. Will this be the case here?

3. *Differences in intelligence*

Pupils at a lower intelligence level normally attain less knowledge than those at a higher level. Will this aspect also be reflected in the test results?

The analysis has, therefore, been planned in such a way that it will be possible via the tests to follow the development of the individual pupil.

Special interest is here being attached to the prognostic value of the initial tests. The question is whether the results of these tests will prove sufficiently relational to those of the subsequent English tests for them to serve as a prognosis indicating the benefit to be gained from the English lessons.

Even in the absence of such prognostic value, the possibility remains of describing the course of development by means of the English tests alone. The interrelationship of these is, therefore, being examined, and the extent of same will be of vital importance in the description of the course of development just as it will also decide whether it will be possible to state if the progress made in English goes on by a steady, forward motion or by leaps.

B: The question "Should all pupils take part in the study of the English language?" may partly be illuminated through the results from Holbæk and Gladsaxe. It is here found that in the County of Holbæk only very few pupils (not quite 2%) have had to give up the lessons in English

on account of insufficient benefit from such study (cf. page 314). At Gladsaxe information has been given by the teachers as to the pupils who, in their opinion, should not be given instruction in English. Here it is a question of less than 1%. In this connection it should be mentioned, however, that children with a low I.Q. or with greatly retarded reading aptitude have not been included in this experiment.

The estimation given by the teachers as to the proficiency in English attained by the pupils has been correlated with the ease with which the pupils express themselves in this language, and close correlation was found to exist. It may be mentioned that the evaluation made by the teachers as to the standard achieved by the pupils, is in rather close agreement with the results of the tests.

C: A more formal statement of the text book material studied in the course of a certain number of class-hours, shows the following results:

A great many classes have covered an average of about one page an hour. No actual repetition of lessons takes place. Other classes exceed the one page average but some time is spent on repetition of lessons. Some few classes proceed very slowly to start with, but later on they go ahead so fast as soon to catch up with the other classes. Irrespective of the procedure used, however, all classes seem to have covered about the same number of pages after about 250-300 hours. It should be pointed out that this correlation of class-hours and text book pages has not yet been extended to more than the mentioned appr. 250-300 hours, and that the foregoing does not express any conclusion as to other results of the language teaching.

EMPIRISCHE UNTERSUCHUNGEN

ÜBER DEN ENGLISCHUNTERRICHT IN DÄNISCHEN SCHULEN 1959-1965

VERSUCHSREIHEN UND DEREN VORLÄUFIGE AUSWERTUNG

VON JESPER FLORANDER und MOGENS JANSEN, Kopenhagen

Im Jahre 1958 wurde in Dänemark ein Schulgesetz eingeführt, das den Unterricht einer Fremdsprache (zur Hauptsache Englisch) von der 6. Klasse an zur Pflicht macht. Diese Vorschrift gab Veranlassung zu einer Reihe von Versuchen mit dem Englischunterricht, die davon ausgingen, daß die folgenden - von einander abhängigen Faktoren berücksichtigt werden müssen: Lernmethoden, Lernstoffe, der Zeitpunkt, zu dem ein Stoffgebiet eingeführt wird, der Umfang des Lehrplans sowohl hinsichtlich der Stundenzahl wie auch der Stoffmenge, die Schülerschaft, die Lehrerpersönlichkeit.

Bei den Versuchen sollten beachtet werden: die Gegenüberstellung der Fremdsprache mit der Muttersprache, die Länge der einzelnen Unterrichtsstunde, der Fortschritt, den die Schüler in verschiedenen Begabungsgruppen machten, und ob Schüler dabei waren, die in keiner Weise aus der Teilnahme am Fremdsprachenunterricht Nutzen zogen.

In systematischen Experimenten mit Versuchs- und Kontrollgruppen sollte die Wirksamkeit des Unterrichts so weit wie möglich durch objektive Tests auf einigen wesentlichen Gebieten des Sprachunterrichts gemessen werden.

Drei Versuche wurden unternommen:

1) Ein Versuch mit ca. 400 Kindern in einem ländlichen Bezirk zielte darauf ab, die günstigste Altersstufe, auf der Englisch als Schulfach eingeführt werden könnte, festzustellen, indem die Schüler von verschiedenen Klassenstufen (Klasse 4, 5 oder 6) angingen, Englisch zu lernen.

2) Beim zweiten Versuch mit ca. 2400 Kindern aus Schulen in einer Großstadt wurden die Anfangsklasse, die Länge der einzelnen Stunde, die benutzten Lesestoffe systematisch variiert, so daß man die Wirkung der verschiedenen Bedingungen miteinander vergleichen konnte.

3) Im dritten Versuch mit ca. 150 Kindern in einer Kleinstadt wurde die Wirksamkeit des Gebrauchs von audio-visuellen Hilfsmitteln (wie Tonband und Filmstreifen) im Anfangsunterricht untersucht.

Die Auswertung des Versuchs beruhte auf einer Reihe von Tests, die für den Versuch eigens hergestellt wurden, auf systematischer Klassenbeobachtung, auf Berichtsformularen, die vom Lehrer allmonatlich ausgefüllt wurden, auf Lehrertagebüchern und auf Interviews mit den Lehrern.

Eine vorläufige Auswertung im gegenwärtigen Stadium des Versuchs zeigt, daß die anfangs angewandten Tests Faktoren enthalten, die nicht ausschließlich linguistischer Natur sind, und daß die Tests deshalb nicht ganz adäquat sind.

Bei ungefähr 2% der Schüler waren die Erfolge so gering, daß sie nach der übereinstimmenden Meinung der Lehrer und der Veranstalter des Versuchs von der weiteren Teilnahme am Sprachunterricht keinen Gewinn haben.

Die Beurteilung der Schülerleistungen durch die Lehrer ist mit der mündlichen Sprechfertigkeit der Schüler korreliert worden, und es ergab sich eine enge Übereinstimmung. Die Beurteilung durch den Lehrer deckt sich mit den Testergebnissen.

Es hat sich gezeigt, daß alle Klassen unabhängig von den angewandten Methoden nach 250-300 Unterrichtsstunden etwa dieselbe Anzahl von Seiten im Lehrbuch bewältigt hatten.

Bis zum Juni 1965 werden alle Ergebnisse der Versuche zusammengetragen worden sein, und die endgültige Auswertung wird dann vorgenommen werden können.

RECHERCHES SUR L'ENSEIGNEMENT DE L'ANGLAIS DANS LES ECOLES DANOISES 1959-1965

PLANS D'EXPERIMENTATION ET ANALYSE PROVISOIRE

par JESPER FLORANDER et MOGENS JANSEN, Copenhague

En 1958 fut promulguée au Danemark une loi scolaire instituant l'enseignement obligatoire d'une langue étrangère (principalement l'anglais) à partir de la 6^e année.

Cette expérience suppose que les facteurs tels que les méthodes d'enseignement, le matériel didactique, le niveau auquel la matière doit être introduite, l'étendue du programme scolaire, compte tenu du nombre d'heures d'étude et du genre de matière à étudier, le matériel de l'élève et la personnalité du professeur soient pris en considération dans le cadre de l'instruction.

Dans cette expérience seront considérés: la comparaison entre la langue maternelle et la langue étrangère, la durée des leçons individuelles, les progrès fait par l'élève dans les divers groupes d'aptitude, l'existence d'élèves qui ne tireront aucun profit de la fréquentation des cours de langues étrangères.

Dans les expériences systématiques faisant usage de groupes expérimentaux et de contrôle le rendement de l'enseignement sera évalué autant que possible par des tests objectifs des éléments essentiels de l'enseignement linguistique.

Trois expériences furent entreprises:

1) une expérience appliquée à environ 400 enfants d'une communauté rurale chercha à définir l'âge le plus propice pour débiter l'enseignement de l'anglais en tant que matière scolaire en comparant des groupes d'élèves ayant commencé l'étude de la langue à différents degrés d'enseignement.

2) Dans une deuxième expérience appliquée à environ 2.400 enfants d'écoles d'une grande ville, le degré auquel l'enseignement de la langue commence, la durée des leçons individuelles, l'emploi du matériel de lecture furent systématiquement variés de manière à pouvoir comparer les effets des différentes conditions.

3) Dans la troisième expérience appliquée à environ 150 enfants d'une petite ville fut examiné l'effet de l'emploi des moyens audio-visuels tels que diapositives et bandes d'enregistrement sur l'enseignement à ses débuts.

Une série de tests, prévus pour l'expérience, l'observation systématique de la classe, les formulaires des rapports à faire remplir mensuellement par le professeur, les journaux de classe du professeur et les interviews de professeurs forment la base de l'évaluation de l'expérience.

Une évaluation provisoire du stade actuel de l'expérience démontre que les tests initialement appliqués à l'expérience contiennent des facteurs qui ne sont pas essentiellement de caractère linguistique et pour cette raison ces tests ne sont pas vraiment adéquats.

Environ 2% des élèves ont des résultats si médiocres qu'à l'avis des professeurs et des directeurs de l'expérience ces élèves ne retireront aucun bénéfice de la fréquentation des cours de langues.

L'évaluation des résultats des élèves par le professeur a été mise en parallèle avec l'aisance avec laquelle l'élève s'exprime oralement en anglais. Ces deux facteurs sont interdépendants. L'évaluation faite par le professeur concorde avec les résultats des tests qui furent appliqués.

Il apparait que toutes les classes, indépendamment de la méthode employée ont réalisé après 250 à 300 heures d'étude le même nombre de pages du manuel scolaire.

En juin 1965, tout le matériel de l'expérience aura pu être rassemblé et l'évaluation pourra alors être complètement menée à bonne fin.

UNESCO IN PERSPECTIVE

by FRANKLIN PARKER, Norman (Oklahoma), U.S.A.

Service agent or moral force – which is Unesco to be? Director-General René Maheu asked this question on presenting the 1965–66 budget to Unesco's Executive Board. This question is also the subject of recent articles and books evaluating Unesco's 18 years of work. As agent for its member states, Unesco transmits educational, scientific, and cultural aid from have to have-not nations. As a world moral force Unesco aims to promote peace through the intellectual study of man. Sathyamurthy ¹⁾ puts Unesco's dual nature this way: On the one hand it has to help remove illiteracy, ignorance, poverty, and disease from the major portion of the earth; on the other hand, it must construct the defenses of peace in the minds of men all over the world. He finds Unesco's mandate to be vast, its goals imprecise, and its intellectual assumptions broadly conceived.

To Sathyamurthy, biologist Julian Huxley represented the "moral force" view by urging Unesco's ultimate aim to be the finding of a philosophical basis for world peace. This was in line with Huxley's own evolutionary humanism, but as Unesco's first director-general he found his view blocked by national differences and by the world ideological division. Opposing Huxley's open-ended, unlimited, and universalistic view, Sathyamurthy notes theologian Reinhold Niebuhr's conservative view. Niebuhr urged a limited service function for Unesco because he doubted that it or the U.N. could effect genuine reconciliation between the communist and non-communist world, western and non-western man, and poor and rich nations. Between the extremes of Huxley's "moral force" view and Niebuhr's "service agent" view, Sathyamurthy describes three medial positions. These would variously combine short-range service projects with long-range catalyzing attempts at peace and unity. Sathyamurthy himself favors Unesco's search for peace, but he concludes that Unesco's directors-general and senior officials fear controversy and will not press forcefully on member states to attain this goal.

Benton ²⁾ is more optimistic. Noting the loss of idealism since its founding, Benton yet finds the 1,500 personnel in Unesco's Paris headquarters to be enthusiastic, and Unesco's 2,000 world-wide projects

¹⁾ T. V. Sathyamurthy, "Changing Concepts of Intellectual Co-Operation," *International Review of Education*, Vol. IX, No. 4 (1963–64), pp. 385–395.

²⁾ William Benton, "The Defenses of Peace: Progress Report on Unesco," *Saturday Review*, Vol. XLVII, No. 10 (March 7, 1964), pp. 16–18, 28–30. As Assistant Secretary of State from 1945 to 1947, William Benton was responsible for U.S. policy in the creation of Unesco. He is currently the U.S. member of Unesco's Executive Board.

impressive. Present complaints, he notes, are similar to early ones: too many projects, too much log-rolling, and not enough clarity of purpose. He finds that Unesco's original emphasis early shifted from intellectuals in developed countries, where wars had traditionally begun, to the masses in underdeveloped countries, where future wars will more likely begin. Unesco's tiny budget, he maintains, must be focused on pilot projects that stimulate bilateral and multilateral endeavors. Benton notes the opposition of the U.S. State Department to Unesco's limitless task in combating illiteracy, and agrees with the State Department view that Unesco should concentrate on (1) secondary, technical, and vocational education, (2) higher education, (3) and the testing of new learning and teaching techniques.

Benton agreeably notes that Unesco's recent budgets give science for the first time equal status with education; that science and technology offer more effective hope to developing countries; and that Unesco's success in scientific cooperation is evidenced in its heading the International Geophysical Year (1957-58), its Arid Zone studies, its Hydrological Studies on conserving the world's water supply, and its International Computation Center in Rome. In the cultural realm, Benton again favorably notes that Unesco has chosen to concentrate its mass communication effort on studies dramatising the lack of facilities in underdeveloped countries and its promotion of the free flow of information across national boundaries.

Regarding communist participation in Unesco, Benton would "rather talk to them face to face than exchange shouts at a distance," even though their presence "introduces a constant element of cold war policies and propaganda" ¹). He underscores Unesco's need to resist cold war propagandizing and cites the case of a 1962 Russian-authored Unesco-sponsored booklet which contrasts good treatment of racial and minority groups in the U.S.S.R. with bad treatment in the U.S. The U.S. lodged a strong protest alleging misuse of Unesco publications for nationalistic propaganda.

Benton finds that although the small nations' early criticism of the U.S. influence in Unesco has dissipated somewhat, Congress increasingly feels that it contributes too much to Unesco while small nations feel that the U.S. is not doing enough. Benton attributes this to the United States' increased bilateral aid through the Agency for International Development and the Alliance for Progress. Benton believes it is in our interest to build up Unesco's effectiveness by financial support, by spreading favorable information about its work, by encouraging universities and professional

¹) *Ibid.*, p. 28.

organizations to help Unesco, and by assuring career advancement to State Department officers who may be assigned to Unesco. Benton concludes that Unesco is not the utopia envisioned at its founding, but that it is at age 18 an essential agency of cross-cultural communication.

In Pillsbury's field study,¹⁾ he focused on particular projects conducted by Unesco's Education Department. He found that department deeply involved in conducting elementary schools in Israel for Arab refugee youths. At the Fundamental Education Center near Cairo, he found Unesco conducting a valuable model community education experiment for the Arab States. He favorably evaluates other aspects of Unesco's educational work and concludes that "support for Unesco is well justified both by its successes in international education and by the imperative needs that it serves."²⁾

Shuster's evaluation, like Benton's, is based on personal service with Unesco.³⁾ Though committed to Unesco's ideals, Shuster is critical of the way these ideals have been pursued. Unesco, he says, has suffered on the one hand from the over-optimism expressed in its constitution and, on the other hand, from the image of pragmatic opportunism it has had in the public mind.⁴⁾ He refers to a basic weakness observed in 1957 by Laves and Thomson⁵⁾ that Unesco's competence ends at the boundaries of its member states, few of whom have taken action to achieve at home the objectives to which they subscribe in Unesco's constitution.

Shuster cites four often voiced criticisms of Unesco: (1) that it is West-centered, (2) that rich nations resist its demands for increased levies as excessively expansionist, (3) that it is inefficiently administered, and (4) that its international design subverts national sovereignty, a fear expressed by the American Legion and some Congressmen.⁶⁾ Like Benton, Shuster sees value in communist participation in Unesco and states that on the whole the Executive Board has skillfully parried attempts to exert undue ideological influence.⁷⁾

¹⁾ Kent Pillsbury, *UNESCO Education in Action; A Field Study of the UNESCO Department of Education*, Kappa Delta Pi International Education Monographs No. 4, Ohio State University Press, 1963.

²⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

³⁾ George N. Shuster, *UNESCO: Assessment and Promise*, Published for the Council on Foreign Relations by Harper & Row, 1963. Dr. Shuster is the retired president of Hunter College in New York City. He was a delegate to the Conference on International Cooperation which in 1945 adopted Unesco's Constitution. He has served as Chairman of the U.S. National Commission for Unesco and was the U.S. representative on Unesco's Executive Board.

⁴⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁵⁾ Walter H. C. Laves and Charles A. Thomson, *UNESCO: Purposes, Progress, Prospects*, Indiana University Press, 1957, pp. 356-357.

⁶⁾ Shuster, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-68.

⁷⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

Shuster points out that although some eminent educators have served Unesco, American and foreign universities have generally been either indifferent or unfavorably inclined. Among the reasons for this have been (1) fear that involvement will alienate universities' conservative supporters, (2) faculty disappointment in Unesco conferences when conference recommendations were not followed up, and (3) academic specialists' lack of interest in pedagogical questions.

From his experience and observation Shuster makes these suggestions for more effective U.S. participation in Unesco. First, that the U.S. appoint a Unesco Executive Board member and a Permanent Delegate to Unesco. Shuster would combine these in one person chosen for his superior ability and would give him a prestigious ambassadorial rank. Second, Shuster believes that in wanting to make the U.S. National Commission for Unesco representative, too many members were appointed, many of whom did not attend regularly or participate articulately. He would revamp the commission's membership by appointing to it persons prominent in universities, research groups, professional organizations, and active centers of international activity.¹⁾ He would have the National Commission focus (1) on finding ways to achieve Unesco's primary objectives, and (2) on winning support from the public and from professional organizations for Unesco's work.

Third, Shuster feels that the U.S. has not been adequately represented on Unesco's staff because, among other reasons, it has been difficult for an academic person to regain rank and privileges on his return to university life following Unesco service. Shuster would have an American advisory committee form liaison with universities and learned societies in the matter of Unesco recruitment. Fourth, Shuster fears that the interests of the U.S. National Commission for Unesco is often lost in the many cultural agencies under the purview of the State Department. He advocates a more direct staff relationship between the National Commission and the State Department.

Shuster concludes that Unesco is above all a forum where those with educational needs and those who can render aid can decide on a common response. He believes Unesco to be an essential world agency which, if it did not already exist, would have to be created.

Born of war, aimed at peace, slightly supported but immensely challenged, Unesco began with childlike naiveté and youthful optimism. Now at age 18 it looks past adolescent doubt to adult responsibility. Like Prometheus, it knows it is in a troubled world. And like Prometheus, it would warm men's hearts toward better things to come.

¹⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 102-103.

UNESCO - RÜCKBLICK UND AUSBLICK

VON FRANKLIN PARKER, Norman (Oklahoma)

Unter denen, die in letzter Zeit die Tätigkeit der UNESCO kritisch gewürdigt haben, hat T. V. Sathyamurthy darauf hingewiesen, daß das ursprüngliche Ziel der UNESCO, nach einer philosophischen Grundlage des Weltfriedens zu suchen (in der von Julian Huxley bevorzugten Auffassung), allmählich dem Ziel gewichen ist, in beschränktem Rahmen als Vermittler zwischen hochentwickelten und weniger entwickelten Nationen zu dienen (nach der von Reinhold Niebuhr bevorzugten Auffassung).

William Benton hat sich weniger mit dem Abweichen von den ursprünglichen Gründungsidealen der UNESCO beschäftigt als vielmehr mit deren Rolle als Vermittlerorgan zwischen verschiedenen Kulturen. Er legt großen Wert darauf, daß die Versuchsprojekte im Bereich der Sekundar- und der Universitätserziehung sowie der technischen und beruflichen Erziehung fortgesetzt würden. So hat er mit Zustimmung bemerkt, daß den Naturwissenschaften in den letzten UNESCO-Haushaltsplänen ein angemessenerer Platz eingeräumt worden ist.

Kent Pillsbury, der die Auswirkungen der Arbeit der Erziehungsabteilung der UNESCO draußen in der Welt untersucht hat, war von dem Demonstrationswert solcher modellartigen Gemeinschaftserziehungsversuche beeindruckt, wie die UNESCO sie in der Nähe von Kairo betreibt.

George N. Shuster betrachtete die UNESCO im wesentlichen als ein Weltforum, mit dessen Hilfe gemeinsame Lösungen für die erzieherischen Bedürfnisse in aller Welt gefunden werden können. Wie Benton bedauert er, daß die Universitäten in der Welt der UNESCO gegenüber soviel Gleichgültigkeit an den Tag legen, und gibt für deren geringe Neigung, die Arbeit der UNESCO zu unterstützen, folgende Gründe an: die Furcht, sich ihre konservativen Geldgeber zu entfremden, die Enttäuschung der Professoren über die mangelnde Auswirkung der Empfehlungen von UNESCO-Konferenzen und das geringe Interesse für pädagogische Probleme, das man bei Akademikern findet.

L'UNESCO EN PERSPECTIVE

par FRANKLIN PARKER, Norman (Oklahoma)

Parmi ceux qui ont récemment évalué les activités de l'UNESCO, T. V. Sathyamurthy a fait remarquer que le but original de l'UNESCO qui consistait à essayer de trouver une base philosophique pour la paix mondiale (d'après la conception préférée de Julian Huxley) a graduellement cédé à celui de servir, dans un cadre limité, d'intermédiaire entre les nations développées et celles actuellement en voie de développement (la conception préférée de Reinhold Niebuhr).

William Benton s'est moins occupé de cet écart des idéaux originaux de l'UNESCO, mais plutôt de son rôle en tant qu'agence de communication entre plusieurs cultures différentes. Il a attaché beaucoup d'importance à la poursuite des projets-pilotes créés par l'UNESCO dans le domaine de l'éducation secondaire, technique, professionnelle et supérieure. Ainsi il a constaté avec satisfaction qu'une partie plus adéquate du budget de l'UNESCO a été accordée aux sciences.

Kent Pillsbury ayant fait une enquête sur l'influence des activités du Département de l'Education et les résultats qu'elles ont obtenus jusqu'à présent dans le monde entier, était fort impressionné par la valeur de démonstration des expériences modèles d'éducation communautaire telles que l'UNESCO les fait actuellement dans la région du Caire.

George N. Shuster a considéré l'UNESCO essentiellement comme un forum mondial où puisse être trouvée une réponse commune aux besoins en matière d'éducation existant dans le monde entier. Comme Benton il regrette vivement l'indifférence que les universités dans le monde entier montrent pour le travail de l'UNESCO. Pour expliquer ce manque d'intérêt, il cite les raisons suivantes: la crainte de répercussions sur l'affluence de leurs subventions provenant de cercles conservateurs, la désillusion des professeurs à l'égard de l'inefficacité des recommandations établies au cours des conférences de l'UNESCO et finalement le manque d'intérêt pour les problèmes pédagogiques qu'on trouve chez ceux qui ont fait leurs études à l'université.

COMMUNICATIONS – BERICHTE – COMMUNICATIONS

In memoriam RICHARD MEISTER

Am 11. Juni 1964 ist der emeritierte ordentliche Professor der Pädagogik und Kulturphilosophie an der Universität Wien Dr. Dr. h.c. mult. Richard Meister gestorben. Österreich hat mit ihm einen seiner größten Gelehrten verloren, einen wahrhaft universal gebildeten Mann, der sich nicht nur um die Erziehungswissenschaft und die Kulturtheorie, sondern auch um die Organisation des österreichischen Schulwesens und um die Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, deren langjähriger Präsident er gewesen ist, große Verdienste erworben hat. Mit der *Internationalen Zeitschrift für Erziehungswissenschaft* ist er seit ihrer Begründung als Berater der Redaktion verbunden gewesen.

Richard Meister wurde am 5.2.1881 in Znaim (Mähren) geboren. Er studierte von 1899–1905 an der Universität Wien Indogermanische Sprachwissenschaft und Klassische Philologie, promovierte 1904 und erwarb 1905 die Lehrbefähigung für höhere Schulen in Latein, Griechisch und Deutsch, 1909 auch in Philosophie. 1906–1907 war er Assistent am *Thesaurus linguae Latinae* in München, wo er nebenbei Psychologie bei Theodor Lipps studierte. Nach längerer Tätigkeit als Gymnasiallehrer in Znaim (1907–1909) und Wien (1909–1918) wurde er 1918 als außerordentlicher Professor der Klassischen Philologie nach Graz und 1920 in derselben Funktion nach Wien berufen. 1923 nahm er den Ruf auf das Ordinariat für Pädagogik in Wien an, das er bis 1938 und dann wieder von 1945 bis zu seiner Emeritierung innehatte.

Wertvolle Anregungen für sein pädagogisches Denken hat Meister in Wien durch Alois Höfler und in Graz durch Alexius Meinong und Eduard Martinak erhalten. Philosophisch stand er der Gedankenwelt von Franz Brentano und Otto Willmann nahe.

Meisters erste Veröffentlichungen liegen auf dem Gebiet der Klassischen Philologie. Durch die Tätigkeit in der Schule wird er zu Arbeiten über die Didaktik des altsprachlichen Unterrichts angeregt. Die Wiener Schulreformbestrebungen der Zwanzigerjahre führten ihn zu schulpolitischen Stellungnahmen gegen die Einheitschule und zu einer tieferen Begründung des humanistischen Bildungsideals. Seit dem Jahre 1924 mehren sich die pädagogischen, seit 1943 die kulturphilosophischen Arbeiten.

In der Erziehungswissenschaft hat sich Meister besonders um die Klärung der Begriffe und um die Grundlagen eines Systems bemüht. Seine Arbeiten zeichnen sich durch ungewöhnlich präzise Begriffsbestimmungen und klare Gedankenführung aus. Meister war ein überaus nüchterner Denker, der mit den Worten sparsam umgegangen ist. Er bietet selbst in kleinen Aufsätzen systematisch mehr als mancher andere Autor in umfangreichen Büchern. Daß Meister fast durchwegs die Form der konzentrierten kurzen Aussage in Zeitschriftenbeiträgen gewählt hat, ist allerdings für seine wissenschaftliche Breitenwirkung auch nachteilig gewesen: seine grundlegenden erziehungswissenschaftlichen Studien sind bisher viel zu wenig bekannt geworden. Die älteren sind in dem Band *Beiträge zur Theorie der Erziehung* (Wien 1946, ²1947) zusammengefaßt. Von den neueren seien erwähnt: „Pädagogik als Wissenschaft, Kunstlehre und Praxis.“ (*Int. Z. f. Erziehungswissenschaft*, 4. Jg., 1947), „Das Hauptproblem der Didaktik“ (ebenda 1958), „Anfänge und Frühformen der Erziehung“ (Kultur und Sprache, Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte

und Linguistik IX, 1952) sowie die große historische Arbeit *Entwicklung und Reformen des österreichischen Studienwesens* (Wien 1963), in der auch systematische Fragen einer Theorie der wissenschaftlichen Hochschulen behandelt werden. Eine neue Ausgabe seiner wichtigsten pädagogischen Aufsätze ist von Meister noch selbst vorbereitet worden und wird in Kürze erscheinen.

Meister hat die pädagogischen Probleme stets in engem Zusammenhang mit der Theorie der Kultur gesehen. Seine wichtigsten kulturphilosophischen Arbeiten sind in der von ihm mitherausgegebenen *Wiener Zeitschrift für Philosophie, Psychologie, Pädagogik* erschienen: „Geistige Objektivierung und Resubjektivierung: Kultur und Erziehung“ (1947), „Sozialgebilde als geistige Objektivationen“ (1949), „Die Zonengliederung der Kultur“ (1951), „Stufen und Grenzen des Verstehens von Kulturobjekten“ (1952). Zahlreiche weitere Beiträge sind im *Anzeiger der phil. hist. Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* veröffentlicht worden.¹⁾

Das wissenschaftliche Lebenswerk Meisters ist in zahlreichen Abhandlungen zu verschiedensten Themen verstreut. Man kann nur wünschen, daß es für die Arbeit an einer empirisch begründeten Erziehungswissenschaft mehr als bisher ausgewertet wird. Das Andenken Richard Meisters wird aber nicht nur in seinen Schriften, sondern auch im Geist seiner Schüler bewahrt werden. Einer von ihnen²⁾ hat in der Festschrift zum 80. Geburtstag die „vier wissenschaftlichen Kardinaltugenden“ genannt, die die Studenten an ihrem Lehrer bewundert haben und durch die Richard Meister auch seinen Kollegen unvergeßlich bleiben wird: Sachlichkeit, Gründlichkeit, Feinsinnigkeit und Ehrlichkeit. Er hat sein Leben bis zur letzten Stunde in den Dienst der Wissenschaft gestellt.

WOLFGANG BREZINKA, Innsbruck

THE WORK OF THE TEACHER IN GRADES 2-4 AT PRIMARY SCHOOLS

The theory and practice of the work of small-staff schools – i.e. schools with one or two teachers and a small number of classes of limited size – have a long history: there have been – and still are – schools of this type in every country in the world. In some, they are the exception, and in others the general rule, their existence depending on the size of the population in a given area and the public education policy of the government concerned. In Tsarist Russia, for example, almost all primary schools – even those with 40–60 pupils – were one-teacher schools, while in many villages there were two primary schools side by side – a *Zemstvo* (Ministry of Education) school and a parochial (Church) school, run in competition with it. Under the Soviet régime, the school has become a prime concern of the Communist Party and the people, for continued progress and the construction of communism would be impossible without its help. Small-staff schools have accordingly ceased

¹⁾ Ein vollständiges Schriftenverzeichnis enthält die *Bibliographie Richard Meister 1906–1951*; zum 70. Geburtstag am 5. Februar 1951 gewidmet von der Universität Wien, Verlag Adolf Holzhausens Nachfolger, Wien 1951, (50 Seiten). Die Publikationen aus den Jahren 1951–1960 sind angeführt in der Festschrift zum 80. Geburtstag *Erkenntnis und Erziehung*, Österreichischer Bundesverlag, Wien 1961, S. 171–181.

²⁾ A. Paplauskas-Ramunas (heute University of Ottawa), S. 87.

to exist except in a small number of population centres where the first four grades are taught by two or three teachers, or in rare cases by one.

The fact that small-staff schools exist extensively in all countries makes it imperative for educationalists to exchange their experiences concerning the special features of work in this type of school.

The present paper is intended to give information on three such points: 1. the provision of suitable conditions for successful teaching in small-staff schools; 2. teaching methods where two or three grades are taught by one teacher; and 3. forms of independent work by pupils.

Provision of suitable conditions for successful teaching in small-staff schools

Under the law on strengthening the links between school and life and further developing the public education system, an 8-year course of general compulsory education (in place of 7 years) was introduced for children and young people aged from 7 to 15 or 16, in the Ukrainian SSR, as elsewhere in the Soviet Union, starting from the school year 1959/1960. The Ukrainian Law states that "primary schools covering Grades 1-4 will continue to be provided in small population centres, and on completing those grades the pupils will transfer to Grade 5 at the nearest school."

It follows that the instruction given at all small-staff schools in the Ukraine is such as to enable the children to continue their education successfully in Grades 5-8 at secondary schools, the corollary being that exactly the same syllabuses and curricula apply in Grades 1-4 at small-staff schools as in all schools throughout the Republic.

Since the teachers at small-staff schools have to give, instead of the normal 4-5 lessons a day, as many as 8-10, 12-15 or even (where there are four grades) 16-20 lessons, during which the pupils have to work on their own, the education authorities try to staff them with the more experienced teachers and equip them adequately with teaching and audio-visual aids. The classroom is supplied with as many blackboards as there are grades working in it, and the blackboards are fitted with cloth curtains (or screens) so that written exercises can be covered over before the lessons begin. Two teacher's desks are installed - one for the textbooks, exercise-books and teaching aids needed for the current lesson being given to two or three different grades, and the other for material that will be needed for subsequent lessons. The pupils' desks are so arranged as to keep each grade separate from the others as far as possible.

The small-staff schools also have playgrounds for games and physical culture, plots for experimental farm work (a vegetable garden, an orchard and an experimental field) and a small rabbit-run, while many of them also have a geography area where meteorological instruments are installed. For handwork, special equipment is provided which is kept in the pupils' desks, or, where space permits, there are specially fitted work-benches.

There has been no little debate concerning the principles to be observed in combining grades under one teacher in a two or three-teacher school. Where there are two teachers, the following three variants are possible: (1) Grades 1 + 2, 3 + 4; (2) Grades 1 + 3, 2 + 4; (3) Grades 1 + 4, 2 + 3.

Many people favour the second combination, which is traditional, and was customary even in the pre-Soviet period, when Grades 3 and 4 were small by reason of the fact that not many pupils continued their education beyond the first two years of the course. However, now that education is compulsory for everyone, all

grades have their full complement of pupils. At present, therefore, the decision on how to combine the different grades is based on the actual working conditions in each school, the training the teachers have had for work in particular grades, the number of pupils in each grade, the location of the classrooms in the school, the possibility of teaching in combined grades, and – most important of all – the possibility of independent work by pupils in the classroom, considering they have to work on their own for half the time if there are two grades to a teacher, for two-thirds of the time if there are three grades to a teacher, and for three-quarters of the time if there are four grades to a teacher.

An analysis of the various arguments for and against each variant combination of grades to a teacher makes it clear that the basic criteria should be the number of pupils in the combined grades, their closeness to each other's level (2 and 3, 3 and 4), and the teacher's training and experience (teachers taking the lower grades need special training). Each school decides on the combination best suited to its actual working conditions.

One notable factor contributing to the success of teaching in small-staff schools is their attachment to the nearest 8-year or 11-year school – the school in which the pupils concerned will continue their education. This does not in the slightest limit the small-staff school's independence, nor does it mean that the principal and his staff are any the less responsible for all the work done there.

The school's connexion with the nearest secondary school takes various forms – the teachers attend the methodology meetings of the secondary school's primary grade teachers, the two staffs visit each other's school and discuss the lessons given, jointly conduct written control tests and discuss the results; the principal and director of studies of the secondary school attend lessons given in the small-staff school; and the pioneers' organizations in both schools carry out various educational tasks together, and attend ceremonies held in each other's school on occasions such as the Harvest Celebration, the anniversary of the October Revolution, the New Year, May Day, etc.

The transfer of pupils who have completed their course at the primary school to the nearest secondary school is a ceremony of the greatest importance and is a festive occasion not only for the primary school but for the whole village. The primary school-leavers proceed to their new school accompanied by their parents and children in the other three grades, with the school flag flying and the Pioneer drums beating – and sometimes a band playing. As the new batch of pupils arrive, they are ceremoniously received by the principal, the teachers, the Pioneers and Young Communist organizations and the parents' committee, and a joint meeting of the parent (secondary) school and the daughter (primary) school (or schools) is held.

These ceremonial transfers have acquired vital importance for the application of the universal compulsory 8-year education law in the Ukraine.

The organization of teaching work at small-staff schools

As in all other schools, the 45-minute lesson is the basic form of organization of teaching work. In the lesson, the groundwork is laid for the pupils' acquisition of knowledge, competence and skills, the formation of their outlook, moral qualities and aesthetic tastes and the moulding of their attitude towards work and their general conduct – in other words, for their preparation for life and its activities. It is generally recognized that the quality of the instruction in the primary grades

largely determines the quality of the pupil's subsequent studies, the development of his personality, and his attitude to life, work and social activities; and hence the main aim of every teacher, including those in small-staff schools, is to try to improve the standard of teaching.

What, then, must be the first concern in order to maintain a really high standard of teaching and hence of the whole teaching and educational process? The essence of the teacher's work is the rational direction of the pupil's higher energies so as to give him a grounding in science, technology and the arts which will fulfil the specific aims of instruction and education. In order to carry out this work of direction properly and effectively, the teacher must be fully acquainted with the laws governing it – how the pupil assimilates what he is taught, how he thinks when studying, what his attitude to study is at a given moment, and so on. A teacher in a small-staff school can and should be familiar with the physical and psychological characteristics of each of his pupils, which means that he must get to know the conditions under which they grew up before attending school, and in which they now live, and keep constant track of their process of intellectual and physical growth. Thus the teachers of the lowest grades study the home circumstances and the special characteristics of their future pupils well before they start school by visiting them in their homes; they tell the parents what the school expects of them, advise them about the future training of their children, and arrange for orphaned children to receive material aid where necessary. The child is entering a new and crucial phase of his life – his education; and it is essential that he do so under the most favourable conditions.

Attention is paid not only to new pupils but also to those already attending. In the middle of the first month of the school year, special *diagnostic* written work is set in language and arithmetic which pupils can do only if they have followed each step consistently. Analysis of their work, together with classroom observation, reveal any gaps or weaknesses in the body of knowledge and skills acquired by individual pupils, for such gaps always result in lack of progress.

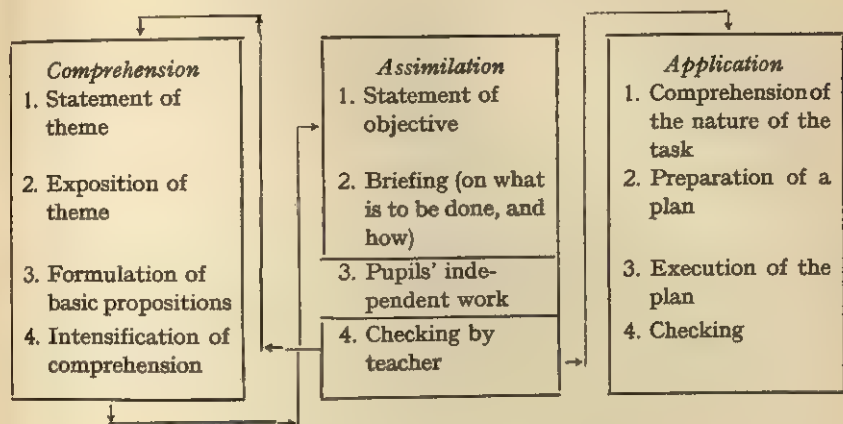
In the case of pupils who are found to be seriously behindhand, the way in which they perform independent work in reading, writing, arithmetic and solving problems is investigated. In most cases, backward children read and do written language exercises mechanically (they look up every word, and sometimes every syllable, in the book) and have no idea of how to calculate or how to set about solving a problem. Such pupils cannot study successfully under the conditions obtaining in small-staff schools, since they have to work on their own for most of the lesson time.

All these considerations must be taken into account when one teacher has to take two, three or four grades simultaneously.

There are three basic and interrelated stages in the study process – *comprehension*, *assimilation* and *application*. The pupils' comprehension of the study material is the result of their mental activity when the teacher explains the new material to them. They assimilate it by doing direct work on their own under the teacher's instructions. Application, also, is a process involving direct activity by the pupils in performing the tasks set by the teacher.

Comprehension, assimilation and application differ in other ways apart from the nature of the teacher's and the pupils' activity – they each have their own logical

and psychological laws, and are hence subject to different methodological procedures. The three processes take place in the following order:



The process of comprehension is indivisible, and each of its structural phases involves the teacher's participation. The process of assimilation may take place in one sequence, or may be divided into three sections – statement of objective and briefing (during the lesson) independent work by the pupils (during the lesson or at home) and checking by the teacher (in the classroom). The process of application may likewise be performed in its entirety during the lesson or may be divided into three sections: comprehension of the nature of the task (during the lesson), preparation of a plan and its execution (in the classroom or at home) and checking (in the classroom, with the teacher).

The teaching process can thus be divided into the following four main stages, which are the basis for the planning of lessons in small-staff schools:

- (1) explanation of new material (all aspects of the comprehension stage);
- (2) definition of the content of the task to be performed independently (the first two phases of the assimilation stage and the first phase of the comprehension stage);
- (3) pupils' independent work (in the second and third stages); and
- (4) checking by the teacher (in the same two stages).

The teacher at a small-staff school has to conduct personally at least two stages in each grade – the explanation or definition of the task to be performed independently, and checking; and only one stage is performed by the pupils independently. The teacher may, of course, participate at each stage in a particular class for one or two minutes if necessary, in order to keep order, or to point out a mistake that a number of pupils have made, or to set an additional exercise.

The various stages in the teaching process are not combined haphazardly at each lesson, but according to the *logic* of the process of the assimilation of a particular idea, rule or theme. For example, a lesson may begin with checking homework (the end of the second stage), and then new material may be explained (the first stage of the teaching process), or the pupils may continue to work independently on the assimilation of material explained in the preceding lesson (the second stage of the process). If new material has been explained, independent work is done, on its

assimilation, and if the pupils have been working independently on the assimilation of material or doing tasks based on applying their knowledge and skills, the teacher checks their work.

Each of the stages in the teaching process, particularly in Grades 1 and 2, must be kept short, for children at primary schools are not of an age when they can grasp a great deal of new material at once, and they tire if they work on their own for any length of time. The time spent on each stage depends on the content and nature of the work, the grade, and the structure of the lesson. It is recommended as a general guide, that the explanation of new material and the pupils' independent work in the assimilation or application stages should occupy 15-25 minutes, the setting of tasks 3-5 minutes, and checking 5-10 minutes.

If the teacher has to take not only two but three or four grades at a time, the structural stages of the lessons will be basically the same, but the time distribution will be somewhat different, as the teacher can work personally with each grade for only 10-15 minutes. However, the teacher should not keep strictly to this rule for every lesson, for this would not allow the pupils time for applying the knowledge and skills acquired (e.g., by solving complicated problems). Thus, if new material has to be explained to one of the grades, or if a new kind of complex problem has to be solved, the teacher spends 15-20 minutes with the pupils in that grade, and 8-10 minutes on the same stages in the other grades. Furthermore, where he has to take four grades at once, one of them works at something which can be done without his active participation - e.g. writing, drawing, handwork, language exercises, arithmetical sums based on previously studied material.

While the proper construction of lessons where several grades have to be taught together is of tremendous importance and calls for a high level of competence on the teacher's part, the quality of his teaching depends not so much on the structure of the lesson as on his methodological skill in conducting each lesson in each grade and on his ability to keep each pupil occupied with study for the whole of the 45 minutes.

Having examined the didactic bases of the structure of a lesson in a small-staff school, let us now consider some special features of the methods adopted for *planning* and *conducting* lessons in such schools.

When grades are combined for a 45 minute period, the teacher gives not only one lesson, but as many lessons as there are grades, for each lesson has its own logical sequence, its own method. At the same time, the simultaneous teaching of combined grades has its own didactic basis: it is not fortuitous, for example, that the teacher begins a lesson with Grade 3 rather than with Grade 1, or that he gives more personal attention to one grade than to another. It all depends on the *methodological logic* of a lesson with combined grades.

The following is a synopsis of a lesson conducted simultaneously with two grades:

Grade 2

Arithmetic

Topic: Learning numeration with three-digit numbers

Grade 4

Arithmetic

Topic: Revision of multiplication of multi-digit numbers

Grade 2

Aim: Consolidation of the pupils' knowledge of how to compose and write down three-digit numbers

Grade 4

Aim: Revision of the multiplication of numbers with noughts in the middle and at the end, and consolidation of the pupils' knowledge of the process.

Giving the lesson

I 1)

1. (a) Compose on the abacus and write down the numbers written on the blackboard: ²⁾
 6 hundreds, 4 tens and 6 units
 8 hundreds, 2 tens and 0 unit
 5 hundreds and 6 units
 5 hundreds and 8 tens
 3 hundreds and 8 units
 (b) Divide the following numbers into their categories:
 834 - 8 hundreds, 3 tens, 4 units
 754 -
 507 -
 570 -
 500 -
 (c) Do sum No. 906

20 minutes

T 1)

- (a) Checking homework - problem No. 229 and examples No. 306
 (b) Rapid calculation:
 $12 \times 5 \times 5 =$
 $17 \times 3 \times 10 =$
 $15 \times 4 \times 8 =$
 $15 \times 6 \times 5 =$
 $25 \times 8 \times 3 =$
 (c) Solution of problem No. 320
 (d) Recapitulation:
 What are the numbers in a multiplication sum called?
 How can we prove a multiplication sum? How do we do a multiplication sum if the multiplier ends in nought?
 (e) Analysis of the terms of problem No. 443 (p. 78), for independent work

4. (d) Correction of classwork
 (e) Correction of homework - Nos. 905, 907
 (f) Recapitulation and further study of numeration of three-digit numbers (on abacus and in exercise-books) e.g.:
 (1) 615; 357
 (2) 320; 780
 (3) 305; 907
 (4) 900; 500
 (g) Write to dictation:
 999: 111
 707: 108

20 minutes

3. (f) Independent solution of problems No. 443 and 448

¹⁾ I stands for "independent work", and T for "work with the teacher". The figures 1, 2, 3, 4. . . represent the order of the teacher's work with combined grades.
²⁾ The numbers have been written on the blackboard and covered over with the screen.

I

T

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| 5. (h) Solve problem No. 907 without writing down the questions
(i) Homework: problem No. 910 with written questions | 5 | 6. (g) Checking of classwork - problems No. 443 and 448
(h) Homework: problems No. 444 and 449 |
|---|---|---|

The lesson based on this synopsis was conducted as follows:

The teacher withdrew the screen from Grade 2's blackboard on which the three exercises (a), (b) and (c) had been written, and the pupils called upon explained how they would do them, taking one example each.

The teacher then moved over to the Grade 4 pupils and did the work indicated under (a), (b), (c), (d) and (e). After that, she returned to the Grade 2 pupils, checked the classwork and homework, did the exercises shown in paragraphs (f) and (g) and set classwork and homework. Towards the end of the lesson she went over to the Grade 4 pupils, checked their classwork and set their homework.

The many-sided and complicated task of the teacher in charge of several grades is made much easier if the pupils' help is enlisted. The monitors in Grades 3 or 4 come to school 20-30 minutes before the lessons and help to prepare the classroom for work; under the teacher's supervision, they take out the visual aids that will be needed, hang them up for the children to see and write the exercises on the blackboard; and while the teacher is setting work for particular grades, they ascertain which pupils have failed to do their homework, and distribute and collect the exercise books.

Forms of independent work by pupils

Where teachers are responsible for several grades, the pupils, as stated have to spend half - and sometimes more - of every lesson working by themselves in addition to the work they do at home. It is no exaggeration, therefore, to say that the standard of education achieved by a small-staff school depends essentially on the successful organization of the pupils' independent work both in the classroom and at home.

The organization of independent work by the pupils, without the teacher, is most difficult in the case of reading and writing lessons, but is made much easier if each of the pupils has an "alphabet board" and the class an "alphabet frame".

The upper part of the "alphabet board" has 32 pockets containing cards inscribed with the respective letters of the alphabet.¹⁾ On the lower part are glued four strips in which the pupils place cards for the letters, syllables, words and sentences they are studying. Through building words and returning letters to their appropriate pockets, the pupils learn to read by *doing*.

The "frame alphabet" for use by the class has pockets along the sides containing lettered cards, the letters, syllables, words and sentences being arranged in the central part within the frame.

Using these aids, the pupils can perform more than 10 different types of independent work - compose part of the text of their primer, compose the names of objects depicted in the primer, construct words with the letters they have learned, and so on.

Reading lessons are normally taken by the teacher in person, but in small-staff

¹⁾ The Ukrainian alphabet has 32 letters.

schools this is not always possible. It is therefore necessary to devise forms of reading that can be done by pupils independently. The main ones are: preparatory reading (before the teacher takes over the lesson), reading so as to be able to tell the story afterwards, saying what illustrations could be used to tell some part of the story (the pupil prepares to say what he would draw to represent what he has read), reading to answer questions, preparation for reading with expression, selecting parts of the text which give the answer to a particular question, devising headings for certain parts of the text, dividing the text into sections according to a plan, making a plan of the text by the drawing method (the pupils decide how many drawings are needed to illustrate the events related and what each drawing should show, and the caption that should go with it), making a plan of the material the pupils have read, finding the literary expressions, finding a section of the text which deals with a particular topic, selecting the most beautiful expressions in the text and giving words which could be used as alternatives, reading and making a written summary of the material read, learning poems and fables by heart, and writing down from memory.

The language and arithmetic exercises are taken from the textbooks used in the general schools. In addition, special manuals are produced for small-staff schools with the pages stuck on cards so that they can be used separately to provide supplementary exercise for pupils who have finished their work during the lesson.

From the teaching standpoint, the small-staff schools operate under difficult conditions. However, located as they are at small population centres, they are important points for cultural advancement, performing valuable social and political work both inside and outside the schoolroom in close correlation with the local population, with whom they unitedly strive towards a bright communist future.

V. I. POMAGAIBA, Kiev, USSR¹⁾

SOCIAL CLASS AWARENESS OF LOWER CLASS CHILDREN AS REVEALED IN THEIR CONCEPTS OF ADULT PREFERENCES, IDEALS, AND SELF IMAGES

Much concern has been expressed in recent years by educators and social scientists at our failure to help lower class children attain the full human development of which they are capable. This failure may readily be seen in the small number of school successes and the large number of discipline problems and school "dropouts" in the lower class population. In a world that makes education a prerequisite to success, lower class children seem destined to failure. The significance of this problem is better understood when we realize that one out of two children in the public schools is from the lower class.

Researchers, Davis, Havighurst, Hollingshead, Warner, and Sexton, to name a few, have found that social class factors influence the quality and type of education provided young people in our schools. Lower class children were seen as the most

¹⁾ This article was supplied by the Division of Educational Information and Material of Unesco.

disadvantaged in being assigned less capable or inexperienced teachers, larger classes and less than adequate school facilities.

In addition, professional educators as a group drawn largely from the middle class culture appeared to have little knowledge and perhaps less understanding of the lower class life style and its effects on lower class children. Methods and materials of teaching, means of establishing home and school contacts and methods of measuring intelligence have been devised by educators whose culture is quite different and often at odds with the culture of the students that they teach. The teachers, not fully understanding the problems of the lower class child, often find themselves in a position where they cannot teach and the children, of course, cannot learn.¹⁾

Previous studies,²⁾ too, have indicated the rejection that lower class children experience in the culture which the middle class schools provide. It would seem logical that academic success is much more difficult for lower class children to attain. However, the negative feelings they experience is another operative factor.

Educators and psychologists at the same time have theorized that a major need for optimum functioning in a learning situation and for decent social living in the world at large is the need for self respect.

The question arose, therefore, as to what effect rejecting experiences have on the perceptions of lower class children as they might reflect their feelings of self-respect and it was to this question that the study was addressed ³⁾.

Statement of the Problem

The research explored four parameters among lower class children aged three to twelve:

1. the extent of their social class awareness,
2. their ideas of the preferences of adult authorities in the home, school and community environment, . . .
3. their social class preferences,
4. the extent and direction of their social class self-identification.

Definition of Terms

Social class referred to upper, middle and lower class groups in a broad classifi-

¹⁾ Howard S. Becker, "Social Class Variations in the Teacher Pupil Relationship" *Journal of Educational Sociology*, XXV (1952), pp. 451-465.

²⁾ Stephen Abrahamson, *A Study of the Relationship Between the Social Class Background of Junior High School Students and the Rewards and Punishments of the Junior High Schools*, unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, New York University School of Education, New York, 1951.

M. E. Bonney, "A Study of Social Status on the Second Grade Level," *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, LX (1942), pp. 271-305.

M. E. Bonney, "Relationships Between Social Success, Family Size, Socio-Economic Home Background, and Intelligence Among School Children in Grades III and IV," *Sociometry*, vii (1944), pp. 26-39.

B. L. Neugarten, "Social Class and Friendship Among School Children," *American Journal of Sociology*, LI (January 1946), pp. 305-313.

³⁾ Mary Allen, *Social Class Awareness, Self-Identification, Preference and Perceptions of Adult Preferences in Lower Class Children*, unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, New York University Press, 1941.

cation of social stratification as originally outlined by Lloyd Warner¹⁾ and rated on a scale devised by Martin Hamburger.²⁾

Lower class children were those children whose families belonged to the lower social class groups.

Social class self-identification was defined as the individual child's ability to indicate an awareness of his belonging to or possessing the characteristics of a specific social class on the basis of observable socio-economic characteristics.

Social class awareness was the recognition of social classes as being different from one another on the basis of observable socio-economic characteristics.

Social class preference was the selection of individuals of one social class as being more desirable than individuals of another social class on the basis of observable socio-economic characteristics.

Delimitations

The findings of this study were delimited to four hundred eighty lower class children of mixed racial, religious and ethnic groupings, aged three to twelve years, residing in rural, urban and suburban communities in New York and New Jersey.

Basic Assumptions

1. Parents confer their social class position on their children.
2. The methods used for determining social class concepts were capable of achieving this objective.³⁾

Hypotheses

1. That social class awareness would be manifested by the children at all of the age levels covered by the study and that it would increase as the children's age increased showing most significant increase in the age group first entering school.
2. That the children comprising the population of this study would tend to perceive the social class preferences of authorities in the home environment as being different from the social class preferences of authorities in the school and community environments and that the number of subjects indicating these differences would increase as the children's age increases.
3. That the lower class children in the population of the study would manifest a preference for figures representing middle-upper class appearance variables and that the number of subjects indicating this preference would increase as the children's age increased.
4. That social class self-identification would be manifested by lower class children at all of the age levels covered by the study and that it would increase as the children's age increased.

¹⁾ W. Lloyd Warner and Paul P. Lund, *The Social Life of a Modern Community*, New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1941.

²⁾ Martin Hamburger, *Realism and Consistency in Early Adolescent Aspirations and Expectations*, unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, Columbia University, New York, 1958.

³⁾ For the rationale underlying this assumption, reference was made to the study findings of: Vernon Martin Sims - *The Measurement of Socio-Economic Status*, Bloomington, Illinois: Public School Publishing Company, 1928, pp. 24-29; Celia Burns Stendler - *Children of Brastown*, Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois, Bureau of Research and Service, College of Education, 1949.

The collection of Data

Interviews were conducted in the summer of 1962 by six Negro, Puerto Rican and white Social Science students following a training program and pre-test. At the time of the research, the interviewers and subjects were matched considering racial and ethnic grouping.

The population consisted of 720 children, comparing 480 from the lower class with 120 each in the middle class and upper class groups. Interviews were conducted through the voluntary cooperation of subjects, parents and supervisors on the streets, in homes and play areas. A stratified sampling method was used. The subjects were evenly distributed according to age, sex and racial or ethnic grouping. One half of the population was from rural and suburban New York and New Jersey communities while the remaining one half was from urban communities in the two states. The interview locations were scattered and every fifth child of like qualification seen was interviewed.

The study made use of a modification of the general technique developed by Kenneth and Mamie Clark ¹⁾ in their research. The subjects aged three to nine years were presented with dolls and the subjects aged nine to twelve years were presented with the identical materials renamed "puppets" of their particular racial and sexual grouping. The test materials were similar in every respect excepting style of dress and degree of neatness and cleanliness with equal numbers dressed in the lower class, and the middle and upper class manner. These materials were tested for validity and proven at the .05 level in their representation of social classes before the research was begun by means of a questionnaire developed and validated by Sims.²⁾

In the experimental situation with the exception of the last question, the subjects were asked to respond to the following requests by choosing one of the two tests materials and giving it to the experimenter.

1. Give me the (doll/puppet) that your mother or father would like
2. Give me the (doll/puppet) that your teacher would like
3. Give me the (doll/puppet) that the policeman would like.
4. Give me the (doll/puppet) that you would like to play with or like best.
5. Give me the (doll/puppet) that is a nice (doll/puppet).
6. Give me the (doll/puppet) that looks bad.
7. Give me the (doll/puppet) that is most like you.
8. (using three dolls or puppets). Put the (dolls/puppets) together that are like each other.

At the time of the interview, spontaneous comments and a personal data section were also recorded.

The Treatment of Data

The basic data obtained for the purpose of this research consisted of choices of lower or middle-upper class test materials in seven interview questions and the matching of like test materials in the eighth and final question. The hypotheses were tested by tabulating the information obtained on various questions in the

¹⁾ Kenneth and Mamie Clark - "Racial Identification and Preference in Negro Children," *Readings in Social Psychology*, New York: Henry Holt, 1947, pp. 167-178.

²⁾ Sims, *loc. cit.*

interview and calculating the Chi Square computed levels for each of the groups. In all cases for the class groups a significance level of .01 was obtained. Indicated by odds of better than 99.5 to one, there was significant change in the various factors researched when comparing age groups 3 to 12. In order to check representation of factors and the direction of change present, observations were made of the tabulated data.

Research Findings

Related to Social Class Awareness

It was found that most children regardless of social class were aware of social class differences by age 5. In a society that continues to insist that there are no social classes in America, this was a most revealing finding. For middle class and upper class children preparing to enter a world that is receptive to them the awareness would not seem to have as traumatic an effect as it would on lower class children who confront the daily facts of existence in what Michael Harrington¹⁾ calls "The Other America." And here in this "other" place live more than one-third of the children in the public schools.

Related to Social Class Preference

It appeared from the findings of the research that there was early learning of the fact that the desirable person to be in this world was not a member of the lower class. A six year old respondent spoke for the majority of children when looking at the middle-upper class doll and said, "She's rich and she's nice. She gets presents but when you're bad like this other one (pointing to the lower class doll), you don't get anything."

The middle class comparative group appeared to have generally concurred with her opinion but there was more confusion expressed in the upper class. To the direction, "Give me the puppet that you would like to play with or like best," 17% of the upper class boys aged 7 to 11 chose that of the lower class. It seemed that for the lower class, and to some degree, for the upper class, there was variance present between themselves and the culture.

This confusion illustrated itself most notably in the developmental report of preference in lower class children where it was seen that there was increasing preference for the middle-upper class to age 8 and a gradual and slight decrease in this preference from age 8 to age 12. It seemed that this reaction appeared more strongly in boys than in girls but it was present in both groups regardless of community background or racial or ethnic grouping. When analyzing the present situation for lower class children it would seem that defensive and negative reactions begin to be forthcoming where children are made to learn early in life that they are not members of the favored class.

Related to Perceptions of Adult Preferences

These learnings appeared to come from all three authority representations - the parents, the teacher and the policeman. Though there was variation expressed in their degree of preference, lower class children and especially Negro and female lower class children perceived all three authority figures to favor the middle-upper class. Again there seemed a defensive reaction after age 7 with parents showing a

¹⁾ Michael Harrington, *The Other America*, New York: Macmillan 1962.

small increase in preference for the lower class but this small reaction did not truly affect the greater number of cases.

When compared with the middle and upper class groups, it was found that with the exception of the policeman who liked "no one" in a number of cases, the authority figures were perceived to agree in their preference for the middle upper class. In this instance, one could see a developing picture of the middle and upper class children felt to be favored at home, in the community and in school. While for their opposite numbers disfavor existed and was felt at all levels.

Related to Social Class Self-Identification as a Reflector of Self-Respect

Almost without exception, middle and upper class children identified themselves with the middle upper class. To a large extent, lower class children did the same — in part rejecting themselves in a rejection of their lower class. As was true in the racial identification of the Clark Study, Negro children tended to lead the negation of their social class selves in company with the female, rural and suburban subgroups. But for all except one of the 480 lower class children tested at age 8, there was identification with the middle upper class.

From age 8 to 12, a defensive and negative reaction seemed to exhibit itself as previously described. One eleven-year old lower class boy in identifying himself with the lower class puppet remarked, "Yeah, he's a slob like I am and I like it!" In increasing numbers, there was a tendency toward lower class identification, but as in the case of the eleven year old boy, there seemed a note of angry defeat present rather than a positive self-image.

It was concluded that the research findings tended to support the theory that rejecting experiences provided in the middle class school help to reinforce the lack of self-respect in lower class children as reflected in their social class perceptions.

MARY ALLEN SOCHET, New York

UN PROGRAMME RAISONNE DE FORMATION SYNDICALE

A la suite des deux articles que nous avons donnés à la *Revue internationale de pédagogie*: "Problèmes de l'éducation ouvrière au Maroc (1959, Vol. V No. 1) et "Entraînement mental et développement" (1963-4 Vol. IX No. 1), il nous a été demandé par quelques lecteurs comment l'"entraînement mental" s'était inséré dans un programme de formation syndicale et quel avait été au Maroc, dans les stages cités, le contenu du programme de formation, indépendamment de cet entraînement mental.

Le présent article répond brièvement et, nous l'espérons, utilement à ces questions.

* * *

Il s'agissait, rappelons-le, de stages de 18 jours, dont 2 de repos, pour la formation de cadres syndicalistes moyens au Maroc. Cinq stages de ce type ont eu lieu en 1956 et 57. Un sixième a été consacré ensuite à la formation de futurs instructeurs pris parmi les meilleurs participants des stages précédents. Voici comment se sont déroulés les cinq premiers.

I - Horaire de la Journée

Pour chaque journée, une alternance est cherchée entre des phases : d'acquisition, d'échanges et de production personnelle; entre des travaux de groupes et des travaux individuels; entre la technique syndicale et l'éducation populaire. L'horaire est établi avec précision, mais des "joints d'élasticité" permettent une certaine souplesse.

Matin		Après-Midi et Soirée	
8.30 à 9.30	Révision des cours de la veille	14.30 à 15.30	Entraînement mental
9.45 à 10.15	Cours	15.45 à 16.15	Cours
10.15 à 10.45	Discussion	16.15 à 16.45	Discussion
		16.45 à 17.30	Etude
11 à 11.45	Etude	17.30 à 18	Thé
11.45 à 12.15	Revue de presse	18 à 19	Groupes de travail
		19 à 19.30	Conseil de stage et temps libre
12.15 à 13	Déjeuner	19.30 à 20.15	Souper
		20.15 à 21	Temps libre
13 à 14.30	Sieste	21 à 23	Veillée

II - Contenu

Le contenu du programme répond à deux exigences. D'une part, donner au militant syndicaliste les rudiments de son "métier" tout en situant celui-ci dans le temps (histoire) et dans l'espace (espace non seulement géographique mais encore économique, social et politique); d'autre part, entraîner son esprit à bien raisonner à partir de la réalité et à savoir travailler intellectuellement, seul et en groupe, en vue d'une action individuelle et collective méthodique, réfléchie et contrôlée.

Voici le détail de ce contenu, chaque ligne précédée d'un tiret représentant une séance de travail (cours suivi de discussions ou séance d'entraînement mental).

*A - Le Métier Syndical et son Contexte**1° Syndicalisme*

- Le syndicat, ses structures
- Les fonctions au sein du syndicat
- Les moyens d'action
- Place des femmes et des jeunes dans le syndicalisme
- Le militant syndicaliste (synthèse de l'ensemble du programme, donnée en conclusion du stage par le Secrétaire Général de la Centrale syndicale)

2° Histoire du mouvement ouvrier

- Histoire du mouvement ouvrier mondial
- " " " " français
- " " " " marocain

3°) *Législation du travail*

- Les conflits du travail
- Le contrat de travail
- Les conventions collectives
- Délégations du personnel, comités d'entreprise, comités sociaux
- L'inspection du travail
- Accidents et maladies professionnelles
- Caisses d'aide sociale, allocations familiales, mutuelles
- La Sécurité sociale en France
- " " " dans le monde

4°) *Initiation économique*

- L'entreprise industrielle
- Prix et salaires
- Régime capitaliste, régime socialiste
- Monnaie, crédit, banque
- La coopération

5°) *Economie marocaine*

- Réalités économiques urbaines
- " " rurales
- " sociales marocaines

6°) *Initiation politique*

- L'Etat moderne (structures et institutions) et le syndicalisme

*B - La Formation Intellectuelle*1°) *Conseils pratiques pour le stage*

- Organisation du travail du stage
- Comment préparer un exposé oral ou écrit

2°) *Entraînement mental (sous forme classique)*

- Faits, causes et conséquences
- Situer dans le temps et l'espace
- Aspects et points de vue (à propos de l'entreprise)
- Contradictions et oppositions
- Lois, théories, valeurs, objectifs

3°) *Entraînement mental (sous forme de sociodrame)*

- Etude d'une entreprise donnée (documentation, visite, contacts syndicaux, établissement d'une liste de revendications). L'étude est supposée faite en section syndicale, avec distribution de rôles.
- Discussion et arbitrage (rôles de délégués ouvriers, de représentants patronaux, de l'inspecteur du travail)
- Préparation d'un meeting (organisation matérielle, tracts, affiches, exposés)
- Tenue du meeting (rôles au présidium, rôles de journalistes de tendances différentes)

- Compte rendu du meeting et discussion (rôles en section syndicale, conclusions pratiques du meeting)
- Critique des articles sur le meeting, interviews

4°) *Autocritique du stage*

- Comment utiliser l'entraînement mental pour faire, individuellement et collectivement, une autocritique juste et efficace: critique du contenu et des méthodes de l'ensemble du stage.

III - *Les conseils pour le travail du stage*

La prise de notes fait l'objet de conseils très précis au cours des deux premières séances de formation intellectuelle. Il est par exemple recommandé de n'utiliser que le verso des feuilles séparées mises à la disposition des stagiaires et, au moment d'utiliser une feuille, d'y tracer deux marges d'un quart de largeur chacune, l'une à gauche, l'autre à droite: la marge de gauche servira à faire ressortir les titres et sous-titres, celle de droite à noter au fur et à mesure les questions que l'on entend poser en fin de cours et auprès desquelles on pourra aussi noter les réponses et compléments.

Des "questionnaires-guides" sont également donnés, l'un pour préparer, l'autre pour rédiger un exposé, ainsi que des conseils pratiques précis sur la façon de faire et classer les coupures de presse, de constituer une bibliothèque de base, d'utiliser les livres, d'exploiter culturellement une oeuvre, une réalité sociale, une personnalité de passage.

Voici, à titre d'exemple, les têtes de paragraphe de chacun des deux "guides" dont il vient d'être question, qui s'inspirent d'assez près des méthodes de "Peuple et Culture", mouvement au sein duquel est né, on le sait, l'"Entraînement mental".

1°) *Questionnaire-guide pour se préparer à rédiger*

- A qui m'adressé-je?
- Quel est mon sujet?
- Quel est mon but?
- Quelle est ma méthode?
- Quels sont mes moyens?

2°) *Questionnaire-guide pour rédiger un exposé*

- Etant donné mon but, quelle sera ma conclusion? (la rédiger)
- Quels sont mes arguments? (je note, en vrac, faits et idées)
- Que vais-je garder et comment le classer? (choix et progression)
- Ma conclusion est-elle toujours bonne? (je la retouche)
- Comment vais-je commencer? (je cherche un bon "accrochage")
- Je rédige à présent mon schéma, qui me suffira pour un exposé oral; puis mon texte, s'il s'agit d'un article
- Je relis (si possible à haute voix) et je corrige, je perfectionne
- Je laisse reposer, puis je reprends (quelques jours après, si possible à haute voix et devant des camarades) et j'améliore
- Je décide que mon schéma ou mon exposé est suffisamment bien, je prononce mon allocution ou j'envoie mon article
- Je recueille des réactions, je me fais critiquer en équipe, je fais mon autocritique

IV - Compléments au programme

Au contenu déjà donné du programme, s'ajoutent :

- Une séance d'accueil, une première veillée de "création d'ambiance" et de présentations, une séance de conclusions générales en fin de stage
- Un cours laissé libre en fin de programme pour traiter un sujet proposé par les stagiaires
- Des sorties : 2 visites d'entreprises, d'une demi-journée chacune et une réception à la Centrale syndicale, d'une demi-journée
- Des veillées, à raison d'une tous les deux soirs :
 - 2 veillées de ciné-club (la seconde conduite par un stagiaire)
 - 2 veillées de préparation des visites d'entreprises
 - 2 veillées de comptes rendus de ces visites, sous forme d'interviews
 - 1 veillée de club de lecture
 - 1 veillée de travail au magnétophone
 - 1 sortie au théâtre
- Deux dimanches libres (le stage commence un lundi matin et se termine un jeudi soir)

V - Pédagogie mise en oeuvre

Deux idées directrices caractérisent la pédagogie mise en oeuvre, incarnées dans une double présence : celle d'un "animateur pédagogique" et celle d'un "responsable syndical."

1°) L'animateur pédagogique

Il est l'instructeur d'entraînement mental. Il est présent à tous les cours et sert alors de "relais" entre les stagiaires et le responsable du cours - disons le "professeur" pour simplifier. Dans un sens, l'animateur exprime au professeur les attitudes du groupe, lui demandant d'expliquer un mot, de donner un exemple, de faire un schéma, etc.... Dans l'autre sens, l'animateur appuie l'enseignement donné en citant des exemples tirés du travail des jours précédents.

Avant chaque cours, l'animateur pédagogique s'assure auprès du professeur, qu'il tiendra compte du reste du programme, du niveau des stagiaires, des limites horaires, et enfin de la pédagogie générale du stage, notamment en se prêtant à la demi-heure de dialogue prévue et en remettant à l'animateur pédagogique un texte où est consigné l'essentiel de son cours.

L'animateur pédagogique est présent pendant les travaux de groupes (tels que la préparation ou le compte rendu des visites d'entreprises, qui sont faites en équipes). C'est lui qui dirige les révisions du matin, par questions et réponses. Il connaît de ce fait très bien les stagiaires, leurs difficultés. Pendant un cours, il peut donc faciliter aux stagiaires l'assimilation du contenu, en se référant aux catégories et à la terminologie de l'entraînement mental. Tout au long du stage, il favorise la mise en place, par chaque stagiaire, des acquisitions dans la perspective générale du programme de stage. Il peut corriger des déviations, clarifier des malentendus, revenir sur ce qui n'a pas été compris.

2°) Le responsable syndical

Lui aussi doit être présent en permanence. Si l'animateur a la pédagogie pour métier, le responsable syndical a le syndicalisme pour métier. Il intervient toutes les fois qu'il faut préciser le fonctionnement et les techniques d'action du syndicat, il cite

des exemples tirés de la vie syndicale locale. Il maintient dans tous les travaux du stage la présence de la doctrine et de la ligne politique syndicale de la Centrale.

VI - *Le matériel pédagogique*

Parmi le matériel pédagogique utilisé, il convient de mentionner:

1°) *Le "dossier de stagiaire"*

Chaque stagiaire reçoit en arrivant une grande chemise de carton entoilé, à sangle, contenant six chemises cartonnées simples et une vingtaine de chemises de papier bulle. La chemise à sangle sert au rangement et au transport de l'ensemble. Les chemises cartonnées servent au classement sous les rubriques suivantes: cours - entraînement mental - documentation - travaux - divers - réserve de papier (les stagiaires disposent de papier blanc quadrillé pour la prise de notes et les travaux au net, et de papier bulle pour les brouillons). Les chemises bulle servent aux rubriques secondaires. Le stage est, grâce à l'emploi de ce matériel, un exercice permanent de classement et de tenue en ordre.

Il n'est pas sans intérêt de noter qu'un outillage est également distribué à l'arrivée: crayons à bille noirs et rouges, règles, ciseaux, agrafeuses, etc... pour faire comprendre aux stagiaires que le travail intellectuel exige, comme n'importe quel travail que l'on veut faire bien, un minimum d'outillage.

2°) *Les tableaux et panneaux*

Deux tableaux sur chevalet sont utilisés en permanence: l'un pour faire apparaître le plan d'un exposé au fur et à mesure qu'il se déroule (que ce soit le professeur ou l'animateur pédagogique qui s'en charge), l'autre pour les schémas, les mots à expliquer, etc...

Une série de panneaux muraux permet l'affichage de documents visuels.

3°) *Les cours ronéotypés*

Pour que les stagiaires fassent l'effort fructueux de prendre des notes pendant toute la durée du stage, les cours ronéotypés ne sont distribués qu'en fin de stage.

4°) *Les films*

Il a été projeté des films techniques et syndicaux à l'occasion des cours, et des films d'information et de culture générale en veillée.

VII - *La formation des formateurs*

Après cinq stages successifs de ce type, un stage de formation d'instructeurs fut organisé, pour que des cadres marocains puissent poursuivre seuls le travail amorcé avec les assistants techniques français, et pour pouvoir aussi organiser des stages régionaux, les premiers ayant eu lieu au seul échelon national.

Le stage de formation de formateurs ne put durer qu'une semaine. Il s'agissait, précisons-le, de former des "animateurs pédagogiques".

Il n'était pas possible de disposer d'un groupe de "militants de base" à former, qui auraient servi de "banc d'essai" aux futurs instructeurs. Il n'était pas souhaitable non plus d'utiliser les stagiaires-instructeurs comme milieu artificiel d'application en les confiant, à tour de rôle, à l'un d'eux pour la conduite d'une activité supposée être pratiquée par des militants en formation.

La solution suivante fut adoptée:

1°) Echanges de vues sur l'ensemble du programme et sur la pédagogie des stages du type précédent.

2°) Série de cercles d'étude, chacun conduit par un stagiaire, à tour de rôle, sur les séances de formation intellectuelle, en vue d'en bien comprendre le mécanisme, de trouver de bons exemples à citer, tirés de la vie marocaine, de bons thèmes d'exercices, etc....

3°) Série de cercles d'étude correspondant au contenu essentiel du programme de formation syndicale, les stagiaires préparant à tour de rôle et conduisant ces cercles.

4°) Exercices de conduite de séances de ciné-club, de club de lecture, etc.... en veillée.

Il fut recommandé aux stagiaires, à la fin du stage, de poursuivre leur formation "sur le tas", en se mettant toujours à deux, au moins pendant la première année, pour assumer la responsabilité d'animer pédagogiquement un stage, afin de pouvoir s'observer et se critiquer mutuellement.



Les stages de formation ont continué au Maroc et se sont perfectionnés peu à peu en vue de mieux correspondre au donné marocain et à la ligne d'action du syndicalisme marocain. La plupart des travaux sont à présent faits en langue arabe, ce qui a nécessité de la part des responsables marocains, notamment pour l'entraînement mental, un gros travail de récréation et d'adaptation.

Rappelons enfin que la formule du premier stage avait été étudiée et mise au point par M. Mahjoub Ben Seddik, Secrétaire Général de l'Union Marocaine du Travail (U.M.T.), M. Gérard Esperet, de la Confédération Française des Travailleurs Chrétiens (C.F.T.C.) et par l'auteur du présent article, assistant technique à l'éducation populaire détaché au Maroc par le Secrétariat d'Etat français à la Jeunesse et aux Sports, membre fondateur du mouvement d'éducation populaire "Peuple et Culture".

JEAN LE VEUGLE, Paris

10 JAHRE ARBEITSAUSSCHUSS GUTES SPIELZEUG

In dem Artikel von Günther Bittner „Zur pädagogischen Theorie des Spielzeugs“ (Blätter des Pestlozzi Fröbel Verbandes 1964, S. 35 ff.) stellt der Autor fest, daß die Protokolle der (bisher 3) Fachtagungen der internationalen Organisation ICCP (International Council for Children's Play) wohl als die fundiertesten und vielseitigsten Erörterungen der pädagogischen Probleme bei der Herstellung und Auswahl von Spielzeug gelten dürften. Die Anregung zur Gründung des ICCP im Juli 1959 in Ulm ging vom deutschen „Arbeitsausschuß Gutes Spielzeug“ aus, der in diesem Jahr auf eine 10-jährige Tätigkeit zurückblicken kann.

Initiator and Gründer des Ausschusses war Dr. Roderich Graf Thun. Er hat nach dem Krieg jahrelang selbst mit der Herstellung und dem Verkauf von Kinderspielzeug Erfahrungen gemacht, Eltern beim Spielzeugkauf beraten, Kinder beim Spiel beobachtet, mit Pädagogen und Psychologen über die Bedeutung des Kinderspiels diskutiert und schließlich als pädagogischer Laie einen Kurs in der Volkshochschule Ulm geleitet, wo unter dem Titel „Das richtige Spielzeug im technischen

Zeitalter" ein Thema aufgegriffen wurde, dem bis dahin auch im Rahmen der Spielpädagogik wenig Beachtung geschenkt worden war. In der Ankündigung der Arbeitsgemeinschaft (Wintersemester 1954) hieß es: „Das Spiel ist die entscheidende Begegnung des Kindes mit der Umwelt, bevor es zu lesen beginnt. Wenn wir annehmen, daß Art und Form der Umwelt von Einfluß auf den Menschen sind, dann gilt das in seinen ersten empfänglichen Jahren in außerordentlichem Maße. Wir wollen deshalb versuchen, in einem Arbeitskreis zu prüfen, wie modernes Spielzeug vom pädagogischen Standpunkt aus gestaltet sein muß. Der Leiter dieser Arbeitsgemeinschaft hofft, daß durch deutliche und präzise Forderungen besseres Spielzeug für unsere Kinder zustandegebracht werden kann.“

Aus den Ulmer Volkshochschulgesprächen und den Diskussionen mit einem Kreis von Fachleuten in München und Weilburg, die dem Pestlozzi Fröbel Verband, dem damals noch bestehenden Verein „Deutsche Gesellschaft für Erziehung“ und dem Deutschen Werkbund nahestanden, ergab sich eine zunächst lose Arbeitsgruppe. Die zufällig entstandene Verbindung zum Ulmer Museum schuf die Möglichkeit, eine dringend gewünschte Ausstellung guten Spielzeugs mit Unterstützung der Stadt Ulm und der Hochschule für Gestaltung zu realisieren. Am 28. November 1954 wurde sie eröffnet, und am selben Tage wurde der „Arbeitsausschuß Gutes Spielzeug“ offiziell gegründet, um die begonnene Arbeit systematisch und in größerem Umfang fortzusetzen. Der Arbeitsausschuß bestand zunächst aus 12 Personen und wurde inzwischen auf 18 Mitglieder erweitert. Es sind Pädagogen, Psychologen, Ärzte, Fachleute für Formgebung und Eltern, die kein wirtschaftliches Interesse an der Herstellung oder dem Vertrieb von Spielzeug haben dürfen.

Alle Aktionen des Arbeitsausschusses haben zum Ziel, den Spielzeugkäufer – vor allem Eltern – auf die Bedeutung des Spiels und Spielzeugs für die Entwicklung des Kindes – vom Baby bis zum Schulkind – hinzuweisen und zu helfen, das geeignete Spielzeug zu finden.

Diesem Zweck dienen vor allem

1. die Wanderausstellungen „Gutes Spielzeug“. Eine große Ausstellung (ca. 600 Spielsachen) wurde inzwischen 55 mal gezeigt und zwar in der Bundesrepublik, in West-Berlin, in Holland, Finnland, Schweden, Jugoslawien und in der Schweiz. Zur Unterstützung der Programme der Jugendämter, Schulen, Elternverbände u.s.w. wurden vier kleinere Wanderausstellungen (ca. 300 Spielsachen) zusammengestellt, die ständig unterwegs sind.
2. Die Broschüre „Gutes Spielzeug, Kleines Handbuch für die richtige Wahl“ (64 Seiten, 63 Abb.). Sie wird in den Ausstellungen und durch die Geschäftsstelle des Arbeitsausschusses verkauft. Außerdem hat der Otto Maier Verlag seit 1956 eine Ausgabe für den Buch- und Spielwarenhandel herausgegeben. Das Handbuch wurde in seinen bisher 5 Auflagen immer wieder bearbeitet und ergänzt und ist seit 1954 in 50.000 Exemplaren erschienen. Für das steigende Interesse an der Schrift spricht die Tatsache, daß in den letzten zwei Jahren 12.000 Stück verkauft werden konnten, während anfangs nur 2.500 Exemplare in der gleichen Zeitspanne gebraucht wurden. Seit 1960 gibt es auch eine englische Ausgabe, die italienische Übersetzung erscheint demnächst.
3. Prüfung, Begutachtung und Auszeichnung von Spielzeug. Sie ist die wichtigste Voraussetzung für alle anderen Aktionen. Die für die Beurteilung maßgebenden Gesichtspunkte (Alter des Kindes, Anregung der Phantasie, Spielmöglichkeiten, Spielinhalt, Größe, Menge, Material, Form, Farbe, Haltbarkeit, Konstruktion,

Mechanik, Sicherheit und Preis) sind im Handbuch „Gutes Spielzeug“ aufgeführt und erläutert. Mitglieder des Arbeitsausschusses besuchen in jedem Jahr die Nürnberger Spielwarenmesse. Sie suchen dort und bei vielen anderen Gelegenheiten nach geeignetem Spielzeug. Entwerfer und Hersteller legen darüber hinaus in zunehmendem Maße von sich aus Spielzeug zur Begutachtung vor. Das Spielzeug wird in Kindergärten, Heimen und geeigneten Familien erprobt, bevor über die Zuerkennung der Auszeichnung „spiel gut“ entschieden wird. Die Ablehnung wird begründet, Verbesserungsvorschläge werden gemacht. Die Auszeichnungsurkunde gibt dem Spielzeughersteller das Recht, auf die Auszeichnung hinzuweisen und sie an dem betreffenden Spielzeug sichtbar zu machen. Satzungen für die Verwendung der Auszeichnung sollen Mißbrauch verhindern.

Das Interesse der Spielzeughersteller an der Begutachtung hat im Laufe der Jahre erheblich zugenommen, nachdem durch ständigen Kontakt die anfängliche Skepsis und oftmals feindliche Einstellung gegenüber den Bestrebungen des Arbeitsausschusses weitgehend überwunden werden konnten. Bisher wurden etwa 1200 Spielsachen ausgezeichnet.

Um den Interessenten – Spielwarenhändlern und Käufern – eine genaue Orientierung zu ermöglichen, wurde ein Verzeichnis herausgegeben, in dem jedes ausgezeichnete Spielzeug mit seinem Ladenverkaufspreis und der altersgemäßen Zuordnung aufgeführt ist.

4. Vorträge, Presseveröffentlichungen, Rundfunk- und Fernsehsendungen geben dem Arbeitsausschuß in steigendem Maße Gelegenheit, seine Erfahrungen einem größeren Publikum zugänglich zu machen.

Die Geschäftsführung in Ulm/Donau (Neue Straße 92) hält die Verbindung zwischen den Mitgliedern aufrecht. Besprechungen in kleinen Gruppen finden etwa allmonatlich statt. Die Mitarbeit ist ehrenamtlich. Der Arbeitsausschuß mußte von Anfang an auf jede finanzielle Unterstützung aus der Spielwarenindustrie und dem Spielzeughandel verzichten, um seine Unabhängigkeit zu wahren. Die öffentliche Hand gibt nur gelegentlich für bestimmte Vorhaben (z.B. eine umfangreiche Elternbefragung) kleine Zuschüsse. Seine Kosten deckt der Arbeitsausschuß vor allem aus den Leihgebühren für die Ausstellungen und aus dem Verkauf des Handbuches und anderer Drucksachen.

Nach der Initialzündung durch Graf Thun verdankt der Arbeitsausschuß die Verbreitung seines Einflusses, sein wachsendes Ansehen vor allem der Geschäftsführung in Ulm. Dort ist aus dem Arbeitsausschuß ein vortrefflich funktionierendes Instrument geworden. Die Dokumentationen, die Protokolle und Verhandlungsberichte, die Korrespondenz, die Listen füllen viele dicke Ordner im schmalen Büro im Ulmer Museum, das die Stadt kostenlos zur Verfügung stellt. Hersteller und Händler respektieren den Arbeitsausschuß von Jahr zu Jahr mehr. In der pädagogischen Fachliteratur – besonders wo es sich um die Anwendung in der praktischen Erziehung in Familie, Schule und Heim handelt, findet seine Arbeit Beachtung und anerkennende Würdigung. Im Ausland wurden inzwischen nach seinem Muster ähnliche Einrichtungen geschaffen.

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DILEMMAS OF EDUCATIONAL INVESTMENT IN THE LESS DEVELOPED NATIONS

Today, among the less developed nations of the world, education is emerging as a salient factor in the attainment of both material and non-material ends. We see more and more of these nations turning to the central government plan, the five, seven, or ten year written plan, to coordinate all nation-building activities, including education. The argument whether education is a consumption or an investment factor is no longer meaningful, for education is clearly both, although with this point settled, planning problems have just begun. Education, as a dimension of the central government plan ¹⁾, competes with other development sectors – industry, agriculture, transportation, and the like – for the attention and scarce capital available to a nation's planners. Hence, education has come within the domain of the economist who, accustomed to working with physical resources, attempts to apply some of the same measures to human resources in an effort to rationalize inputs and outputs ²⁾. While the complex problem of calculating returns on investment in various kinds of education is by no means resolved ³⁾, progress has been made ⁴⁾ and the economist has introduced a measure of sanity into the often confused and emotional claims made for education.

The disparate demands and aspirations of the citizen, the priest, the politician, the political scientist, as well as the economist and educator, converge at education to an extent which surpasses most other institutions in a society. The efforts of the educational planner are confounded by the pressure from these variant demands and by the fact that "... of all the tools at the disposal of the reformer... [education] is the one most hedged about with non-objective and non-measurable considerations" ⁵⁾. Let us examine some of the factors which have created what I call the "dilemmas of educational investment". These dilemmas do not necessarily develop from each other in logical fashion; they are related in their mutual reference to education.

An examination of the diverse forces which press upon the educational planner must begin with the traditional education system, that much maligned colonial relic which somehow persists in the face of the best-intentioned reform efforts. In general, the traditional system is a literary and urban phenomenon while the reformer's expectations are for technical, agricultural, and rural development. Efforts to modify the nature of the traditional school collide with the preferences of the school's clientele who view the schools as vehicles for entry into the cherished white-collar positions which stand out as the rewards of the educated man. Education and elitedom are virtually synonymous in the less developed nations of

¹⁾ Of the eighty-six countries studied in the 1961 *Yearbook of the International Bureau of Education* (See *Educational Trends in 1961-1962*, XXIV, No. 252, 1962, p. vii.), one-third engaged in educational planning; whether the planning was integrated within a five or ten year plan is not mentioned.

²⁾ See Eckhaus, Richard, "Education and Economic Growth," in *Economics of Higher Education*, edited by Selma Mushkin. Washington: United States Government Printing Office 1962.

³⁾ See Bowman, Mary Jean, "Human Capital: Concepts and Measures," *Ibid.*

⁴⁾ The scope of the contributions in this area is evident in *Human Resources and Economic Growth*, An International Annotated Bibliography of the Role of Education and Training in Economic and Social Development, edited by Marian Crite Alexander Fruttschi. Menlo Park, California: Stanford Research Institute 1963.

⁵⁾ *Elements of Educational Planning*. Educational Studies and Documents, No. 45, Paris: UNESCO 1963, p. 8.

Africa and Asia and the elite perception of dignity and work, although undergoing change, has made certain types of labor unattractive. Consequently, we see the perpetuation of the traditional school with its "perhaps ridiculous example... of teaching Latin to many of the secondary students in East Africa" ¹⁾, but we also see the unemployed primary school leavers depart from "the rural areas for the larger towns and cities in search of government and factory jobs, or in search of almost any employment other than traditional agriculture" ²⁾, while positions in agricultural extension and animal husbandry remain unfilled. Notwithstanding the wisdom underlying the different claims made upon education, the traditional school continues to press its case for money, attempting to satisfy student aspirations for positions for which, at best, there is frequently crushing competition and which, at worst, have a low priority in terms of national needs.

A second category of demands upon the educational dollar is a relatively undifferentiated one which brings together the ethical reformer, the politician, and the public. The demand in this category is not for a particular kind of education but for more and more education. M. S. Adisesiah holds that "education is essentially a human right... this means that the criteria of efficiency and productivity and the causal relativity of investment and returns are not determinative in themselves in the educational sector" ³⁾. Paul Hoffman cites a case in the Congo where a confidence man was "selling *college entrance certificates*-packets containing cards of admission to a fictional university, forged airplane tickets, and other travel documents" ⁴⁾. The disappointed purchasers, members of the rapidly expanding fraternity of men and women in the less developed nations who yearn for education, were more disturbed with not going to college than with the loss of their money. Finally, promises of new schools and free education, not always irresponsibly proffered, are weapons in the politician's verbal arsenal. The office-holder and the planner neglect at their own risk the quantitative demands arising from this category. Yet the expansion of education and the number of educated, while probably contributing to the progress of democratic political institutions and to the general wisdom of the educated, and subsequently to the general welfare of the nation, simultaneously contributes to the growth of a politically volatile group – the educated unemployed and the discontented intelligentsia – and does not respond to the more immediate needs of the society for persons with particular skills and knowledge.

Some educational reformers propose changes in what may be considered the spirit of the schools; others suggest the introduction of, or placing significant emphasis on, particular courses in the curriculum or on particular levels of education. Both kinds of recommendation are similar in that they relate to curricular changes and they carry financial implications and therefore contribute to the problem of planning educational investment. Changes in the spirit of the school are proposed by those who perceive that the present goals of the less developed nations call for citizens with new personality qualities, that is, for a type of person

¹⁾ Alexander, Robert J., *A Primer of Economic Development*. New York: Macmillan 1963, p. 158.

²⁾ Harbison, Frederick, "Human Resources and Economic Development in Nigeria," in *The Nigerian Political Scene*, ed. by Robert Tilman and Taylor Cole. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press 1962, p. 213.

³⁾ Adisesiah, M. S., "Education and Development," in *Restless Nations*, ed. by Council on World Tensions. New York: Dodd, Mead 1962, p. 150.

⁴⁾ Hoffman, Paul G., *World Without Want*. New York: Harper & Row 1962, p. 51.

who may be considered deviant in terms of present norms. For example, Millikan advocates as "central goals of education... a rapid expansion in the capacities of people at all levels for problem-solving... also the inculcation of a spirit of inquiry... and a willingness to set out into the unknown"¹⁾, and Myrdal lists physical, mental, and social mobility, enterprise and rationality as "basic elements in the development process which education can promote"²⁾. With regard to the recommendations for stressing certain levels or courses in education, various sources present a bewildering diversity of proposals. Some writers suggest the creation of an elite, and "educated minority... who can build the system of public administration and, for that matter, everything else"³⁾, thereby placing emphasis upon secondary and higher education. In contrast, a regional Asian meeting, held in 1962, established the following priorities: first, primary education and second, adult education (the stress is obviously on mass education and literacy), with expansion taking priority over qualitative improvement in primary education⁴⁾. The religious leader urges the introduction and strengthening of courses relevant to the language and content of his theology; the economist develops plans which relate existing and predicted agricultural and industrial needs to the training of manpower in the schools. Granted the integrity of both proposals, and others as well, does a country, under conditions of painfully limited funds, attempt to satisfy each claim to some extent, support one claim at the clear expense of the other, or what?

A final category of demands upon the scarce educational dollar is emotional or psychological in character. In this category we see pride at work building a modern university, at least with regard to physical facilities, whereas it would be more economical at the outset to send students to universities in neighboring nations or abroad. We see women being trained to the standard of registered nurses when the standard of a nurse's aide would suffice in light of the nation's most immediate and manageable medical problems. Yet, can we properly calculate the psychological good of these economically unwise undertakings or the results of a nation's efforts to keep up with the educational attainments of other less developed nations or to match the accomplishment of the so-called "advanced" countries?

It is self-evident that the many and frequently conflicting demands arising in each of these categories can never be entirely satisfied. In determining the strategy of educational investment we can seek advice from the economist for data on the rates of return, but the settling of questions of priority among claims is a value issue and hence is not responsive to the methods of science. This fact argues for the presence of philosopher-planners as members of government planning commissions. The planner must resort to the increasingly sophisticated findings of the economist and other social scientists in establishing priorities, but, at the same time, he must not neglect the non-quantifiable political, religious, ethical, and traditional claims which create the dilemmas of educational investment and complicate an already difficult task.

ALAN PESHKIN, Madison (USA)

¹⁾ Millikan, Max, "Education for Innovation," in *Restless Nations*, pp. 134 and 142.

²⁾ Myrdal, Alva, "The Power of Education," in *Education in World Perspective*, ed. by Ammet J. Hughes. New York: Harper & Row 1962, pp. 148-149.

³⁾ Galbraith, John, *Economic Development in Perspective*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press 1962, p. 13. Also see Vaizey, John, *The Economics of Education*. London: Faber 1962, p. 13 and Hoffman, p. 53.

⁴⁾ Dutt, Beulah, "Overall Educational Planning in Asia: A Regional Symposium," *International Review of Education*, VIII, No. 2, 1962, p. 245.

BOOKREVIEWS – BUCHBESPRECHUNGEN – ANALYSES BIBLIOGRAPHIQUES

BUCHHOLZ, ARNOLD, *Neue Wege sowjetischer Bildung und Wissenschaft: methodische und organisatorische Probleme*. (Bundesinstitut zur Erforschung des Marxismus-Leninismus: Veröffentlichungen, Band 2). Köln: Verlag Wissenschaft und Politik, 1963. 92 p. DM 10.80.

MEYER, KLAUS, *Das wissenschaftliche Leben in der UdSSR nach dem Stand von 1961*. (Osteuropa-Institut an der Freien Universität Berlin: Philosophische und soziologische Veröffentlichungen, Band 5). Berlin: Hans-Joachim Lieber, 1963. pp. 100. DM 8.80.

Two new books by distinguished German scholars of Soviet affairs constitute timely and most welcome additions to the growing number of studies vivisectioning methodological and organizational problems of education and research in the USSR. Both books are brief accounts of recent developments, and both tend to be highly descriptive rather than analytical. Both are designed for an informed layman, as well as interested scholars of international development. Both studies are remarkably similar in their main focus – an examination of status and trends of the Soviet research establishment as of about year-end 1962 (parenthetically, Mr. Meyer's work may be somewhat mistitled for, just as Mr. Buchholz's study, it presents a summary of trends in the late 1950's and data on reorganization of Soviet education and research up till the end of 1962).

Although both studies are uniquely similar in emphasis, they are by no means identical in contents. In fact, they complement each other in great measure. Mr. Buchholz touches upon educational reforms and examines their rationale in greater detail than Mr. Meyer. Mr. Buchholz's volume places more emphasis upon presentation of factual information in descriptive, textual context, while Mr. Meyer's book abounds with summary statistical tabulations and digests of documentary materials (and also provides an appendix on recent ordinances of the Soviet government concerning higher education and research). Both discuss at length organization problems of higher education and advanced degree training programs, and dwell at length upon reorganization of the research establishment.

There is hardly any need in this review to restate the main findings of both scholars. Their findings are similar to those of other Western students of Soviet affairs in recent years, namely that the Soviet Union, having established high priority in the development of human resources, has scored enormous quantitative gains in the production of trained manpower – particularly in science and technology, multifold growth in literacy rates, numbers of higher education students and professional and semiprofessional graduates, number of research establishments and scientists, etc. Having created an extensive and mushrooming establishment for production and distribution of knowledge and having scored success in educational development, the Soviet government is now involved in a most thorough reorganization of its schools and institutions of research. The puzzling issue is – why?

The answer is not simple, nor does either author attempt to find a single rationale for the reorganizational flux. Mr. Meyer tends to place greater weight upon the search for greater technical efficiency – in singling out priorities and streamlining

decision-making processes concerning scientific research objectives on the part of Soviet planners. Mr. Buchholz tends to emphasize the ideological precepts of the "unity of theory and practice" as a moving force of the current reforms and the desire of Soviet authorities to find a methodological solution for embodiment of these ideals. Obviously, these are not mutually exclusive. The fact emphasized in both studies, however, is that of the highly dynamic nature of Soviet educational and research enterprise.

It is exceedingly hard, if not totally impossible, to engage in crystal gazing where this dynamism will lead. Although both authors (and especially Mr. Buchholz, p. 7-8) cite Soviet targets of future development (goals for 1980) these trends are discussed in quantitative terms. The qualitative dimensions of education and research are not adequately discussed in either study, but the problem of quality is paramount. As Mr. Khrushchev pointed out (*Uchitel'skaia Gazeta*, July 14, 1964) at the July 1964 session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in a speech concerned, among other things, with pay increases for Soviet teachers: "... problems of improving quality of education still require further study. The Central Committee and Soviet Government are studying experiences gained during the school reform in order to reach further decisions concerning public education...". The flux is far from over; and the "new developments in Soviet education and research" will call, no doubt, for further studies.

NICHOLAS DEWITT, Bloomington (Indiana)

ABLIN, FRED (ed.), *Education in the USSR, a collection of readings from Soviet journals*. New York: International Arts and Sciences Press 1963. 212 and 210 pp., \$12.- per volume.

The editor of *Soviet Education*, a translation journal published monthly in America since November, 1958, has here compiled articles illustrating the great debate which has been taking place in the Soviet Union. The five-year period under review is of vital importance. Not only is this the phase of "bringing the schools closer to life" by means of "polytechnical" reorientation; it is also the bridge between the Stalinist concentration of controlled political power and industrial strength through the old-fashioned studies of a formal curriculum, and the newer concept of establishing a truly communist millennium through the development of a new man with a new collective morality. Moreover, external events and technological change have ensured that this same five-year period is one of immense educational prestige for the Soviet Union already, with the possibility of even more formative influence abroad if educational and social adjustments can be made to the prospect of automation and computer planning. (For no less is anticipated by posters prominently displayed in Soviet schools and workshops).

It is against this background of events and claims that we are invited to read not what outsiders say about Soviet education but what the teachers and administrators within the U.S.S.R. are saying to each other. This is the great service made available by *Soviet Education* - one beset with all the difficulties of translation, or of evolving ideas. The fullest credit must be given also to Mr. Ablin's endeavour to give us the present short-cut. *Education in the U.S.S.R.* consists of selections from widely scattered sources and vastly different types, but all with a special

bearing on the great debate. If some of the reading thus provided seems tedious, how much more tedious and time-consuming is it to wade through the immense flow of Soviet pedagogical discussion! In any case it is good for us to have the experience of Soviet prolixity, interminably propounding the principles of poly-technical re-conversion, or paying homage to that "tested Leninist N. S. Krushchev".

The point is that the discussion really does go on within the Soviet Union, that harsh criticisms are made here and there; plenty of evidence is provided of critical difficulties. The information is all here at first hand; and no serious student of Soviet education can afford to miss this inside view. Workers aged 23 are unashamedly catching up with their elementary eight-year education; only 14% of rural youth are in part-time evening and correspondence education; children who are not promoted cause anxiety; teacher-training is far from satisfactory - and so the negative evidence continues. On the other hand, administrators are confident that the 11-year school for all will be a reality by 1970; a total of 1,700,000 are in part-time and correspondence education, much of it at "higher education" level; schools and college opportunities are being associated with factories and enterprises; "scientific work" is an inseparable part of higher education, indeed of every major industrial enterprise. Immense lists are produced of research topics set before the R.S.F.S.R. Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, or before other state commissions and industries. The articles here selected were for internal Soviet consumption, not propaganda for foreigners. Making allowance for courtesies and circumspection, the story of triumphs and blemishes is impressive in carrying the conviction of reasonably honest exchange.

On the other hand, the compilation of *Education in the U.S.S.R.* has its faults. We were prepared to be bored in places by the immense spate of words; but that is no reason for not trimming off a bit here and there. We might have had better-arranged illustrations of consecutively presented topics, instead of bobbing about from a criticism of teacher-training to samples of nursery-school work, and then jumping from advice about fee-collection in kindergartens to an examination of the statutes and ethos of the eight-year school. It is true that the list of contents appears to follow a logical sequence of themes; but the matter of the articles is so diffuse that the reader would have been better served by more eclectic selection of particular topics rather than the age-range of the institutions.

Editorial policy might have been more precise in giving the exact Russian title of some institutions, instead of merely the English (or American) translation. In a few instances (e.g. in the matter of degrees and qualifications) this simply does not work. An index would have helped enormously, too.

Nevertheless, the meticulous scrutiny of so many texts is a triumph of research. Mr. Ablin and his colleagues are to be congratulated on their labours, and he in particular deserves high praise for giving students of Soviet education a rich supply of first-hand domestic evidence such as they could hardly get in so small a compass for any other country.

EDMUND KING, London

Education for South Africa. The 1961 Education Panel. First Report. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press 1963. pp. 70.

Le premier rapport de la Commission de l'Éducation créée en 1961 pour étudier les besoins actuels et futurs de l'Afrique du Sud présente un ensemble de facteurs qui influencent l'éducation sud-africaine.

Il est temps de soumettre les systèmes éducatifs à un examen critique en raison des changements économiques et sociaux rapides auxquels il faut préparer les enfants. Le rapport cite trois sources de changements qui peuvent se manifester en Afrique du Sud :

- 1) la conversion de l'économie agricole basée sur la force humaine et animale en une économie principalement industrielle basée sur la puissance mécanique;
- 2) les découvertes scientifiques qui facilitent les contacts, les transports et la mécanisation mais qui requièrent de plus en plus d'éléments spécialisés;
- 3) la politique dont les changements sont difficilement prévisibles.

Ces trois sources de changements ont une répercussion sur les tendances qui se manifestent dans la composition de la puissance laborieuse, notamment l'accroissement de la proportion des travailleurs blancs, la diminution de la population engagée dans l'agriculture et l'accroissement dans l'industrie de la proportion de travailleurs qualifiés parallèlement à la diminution d'ouvriers non qualifiés.

La tâche de l'Éducation sera donc de pourvoir l'économie en un nombre suffisant travailleurs intellectuels et manuels qualifiés.

Soulevant le problème de la mobilité professionnelle, le rapport attire l'attention sur le fait que la spécialisation ne devrait pas se faire au détriment de la culture générale qui est la seule garantie pour une mobilité professionnelle efficace.

Ce n'est donc pas tant le contenu du programme scolaire qu'il faut changer que la manière de le présenter en mettant l'accent sur les méthodes dynamiques.

Il faut que les écoles équipent les élèves des principes qui leur permettront de participer efficacement à l'évolution mondiale et de prendre des décisions correctes.

Le rapport étudie ensuite le problème des pays à plusieurs cultures. Il met en parallèle différents systèmes d'enseignement et prend pour exemple la Suisse, les Pays-Bas et la Belgique. Nous croyons, toutefois, qu'il est difficile de comparer ces pays avec l'Afrique du Sud. S'il est vrai qu'il existe en Afrique du Sud des populations de cultures différentes, les problèmes y sont rendus plus difficiles, le fossé qui sépare les cultures étant beaucoup plus large que dans les communautés européennes et la participation des différentes communautés à la vie politique et sociale présentant des différences assez nettes.

Quant au rôle du professeur, la Commission estime qu'une plus grande liberté doit être laissée à l'enseignant et qu'il faut éviter les programmes imposés de sorte à pouvoir faire face aux besoins réels de la communauté. S. Pauw, qui fait une mise au point en fin du rapport, considère d'ailleurs que l'absence de discussions libres et vivantes en matière d'enseignement entre professeurs, parents et conseillers locaux constitue l'une des plus importantes faiblesses de l'éducation en Afrique du Sud.

JEAN VANDEN BOSSCHE, Hamburg

TAYLOR, WILLIAM, *The Secondary Modern School*. London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1963. pp. 254. 32/6.

Much has been written about the secondary modern school since it came into being with the Education Act of 1944. The 10 page bibliography of books, articles, official documents, pamphlets and reports at the back of *The Secondary Modern School* affords some evidence of the volume of literature available. And yet, Taylor's book provides - in a mixture of statistical data, sociological analyses and philosophical reflections - a different and in some respects a better picture of the schools to which three-fourths of English youth go.

Based on a Ph. D. thesis, the book is the first in a new series on contemporary culture titled *Society Today and Tomorrow*, with A. H. Halsey serving as general editor. In giving primarily a sociological analysis, Taylor selects carefully to develop his basic idea concerning the future of secondary education and the place of the modern school. He argues that post-1944 economic and technological changes require that education be viewed as a "capital investment rather than as a form of charitable or luxury expenditure."

Chapter 3 opens with the oft-quoted statement from the 1947 Ministry publication, *The New Secondary Education*: "The Modern School will be given parity of conditions with other types of secondary schools; parity of esteem it must secure by its own efforts." Taylor examines buildings, facilities and finance, school uniforms, teachers' status, social origins of pupils and parental attitudes. He concludes that parity of conditions have never been arranged and that parity of esteem is unattainable. The status of the secondary modern school has improved over the past 15 years, but this has been due to four factors which are extra-school in origin: the continuance of full employment and extended tenure in manual and industrial jobs; reduction in differentials between manual and clerical occupations and among various levels of skill in industrial employment; the creation of a range of new forms of employment due in part to automation, jobs requiring skills that can be taught in the extended courses of modern schools or in full- and part-time courses of technical colleges for ex-modern-school-pupils; and the breaking of the examination monopoly of the grammar school and technical colleges. Taylor's analysis argues that parity of esteem was an essentially unrealistic goal which failed to take into account the basic factors affecting status. He believes that it is the occupational implications of secondary education that set a limit on status and esteem.

In three chapters, Taylor describes the changes that have marked the modern schools since 1944 - changes he traces to the efforts of individual school staffs rather than to an official policy or any cohesive educational theory. The hard facts of entry to employment do not justify sharp divisions among school types but the generally accepted concepts of the schools themselves imply clearly defined occupational stereotypes. The grammar school facilitates social and occupational mobility and creates the kind of social and educational environment that encourages upward mobile aspirations. Until recently, the modern school has not been directed toward occupational and social advancement.

The development of links with technical colleges for sixth form work, the growth in examinations and extended courses have contributed to elevation of the modern schools' occupational potential. The slow development of technical schools, Taylor

believes, led the secondary modern school to take over some of the curriculum that normally would have been included in those programs.

The most significant curriculum development has been in the area of examinations and extended courses or advanced work in the secondary modern school. Freedom and flexibility – freedom from examinations and flexibility to develop a program in terms of pupil needs – were the essence of statements two decades ago. The pressures during the intervening years have caused the modern school largely to repudiate its general aims “in favor of work that enables it to contract into the system of examinations, competitions and success.” After considerable hesitation, the modern school teacher has developed programs that aim at interesting and encouraging pupils and, at the same time, furnish the kind of “results” that gain recognition and esteem for the school and the staff.

Taylor argues that the future of modern schools is “clearly political and administrative.” Examining the influences, pressures and conflicts, he concludes that the work of the grammar, technical and modern schools is converging in pragmatic terms, if not theoretically, so that there is “even less justification than before for the educational and social inequalities of the tripartite system.”

The final third of the book consists of four appendixes. The first – quite unnecessary in view of the adequate chapter – consists of selected press headlines to show the importance of social considerations and status factors in determining the public evaluation of modern schools. A second deals with buildings and reorganization schemes, and Taylor suggests that post-primary education for all has developed slowly, more because of building problems than through educational utilization of such buildings. The third appendix details items of specialized and examination courses to indicate the variety being provided. As the author points out, no national statistics are available to measure the great variations among schools and in the content, methods and motivation that exist. The final appendix reports on the qualifications and training, educational and social background, professional mobility, promotion, salaries and rewards, and professional organizations of the modern school teacher. A comprehensive bibliography concludes the work.

Taylor conceives the book as primarily an analytic study rather than an empirical one. The sociological biases in the kinds of analyses made and in the interpretations are clearly evident. The introduction declares that the study illustrates clearly “the difficulties of reconciling an educational system based on premises of equality and the provision of a liberal education, with the realities of occupational stratification.” Taylor’s analysis suggests that the modern school was given the freedom to develop a totally different kind of education within a new breed of education, the modern school has chosen to compete with other types of schools in the only milieu for which society awards status: occupational and social mobility. The argument is made convincingly, especially when stacked against the exhortation of much that has been published recently about the secondary modern school.

A. HARRY PASSOW, New York

SCHMIDT-STEIN, GERHARD, *Die Jahresklasse in der Volksschule. Untersuchung, Kritik, Lösungsvorschläge*. Stuttgart: Ernst Klett 1963, pp. 144. DM 9.80.

In Western Germany as well as in many other countries the pupils in the elementary school are placed in a certain grade according to their chronological age.

In his book under review Gerhard Schmidt-Stein is criticizing this organisational system as many educators have done before him.

He is, however, not limiting himself to express his personal opinion about these matters. He is attacking the problem out of the results from carefully made analyses of available school-statistics for more than 13,000 elementary school children as to the frequency of non-promotion in various grades and as to the marks given to children one year or more after the second year in the same grade.

He points out the great range as to the pupils' intellectual capacity and actual performances within one single grade and also how various classes differ from each other.

A pupil who has to repeat a grade because of his poor performances might have been promoted in another class with another teacher and a different pupil-composition.

The existence of great intra-individual and inter-individual differences has earlier been confirmed by a number of researchers (for instance Huth, Schultze, Gates, Hughes and Willard Olson). I have myself in Sweden, when studying 399 children in the first grade of the elementary school, found a similarly wide range as to mental age. The extreme values in my sample in this respect were 4 years and 11 months on the one hand, and 11 years and 8 months on the other, making a difference of 6 years and 9 months. The differences in chronological age, however, between the children taking part in the investigations were slight. As a result of the sampling methods used, all the pupils were 7 years and 9 months \pm 3 years old, when the testing was carried out.

Schmidt-Stein has taken another step in the study of individual differences by his investigations of the range of chronological age of the pupils within a certain grade. He found in one of his introductory experiments that out of 265 children in a suburban elementary school of Wuppertal 56 (21.1%) were above age for the grade in question. In his main investigations in 1958 he noted that only 70.5% out of all pupils in the elementary schools in Wuppertal-Elberfeld ($N = 10,062$) were attending the grade corresponding to their chronological age. 29.3% of the pupils were older than they should have been according to their grade-placement. And only 0.2% were one year or more younger than the average age for the grade. In some classes more than 50% were above age for the grade.

Schmidt-Stein has from his investigations come to the conclusion that in general the children are not really helped by spending two years in a certain grade, at least not when the success or failure was measured by the marks given one or more years after the repetition.

Three years after their second year in the same grade around 25% of them in arithmetic and 50% in spelling were given marks, showing that their performances in these subjects again were "unsatisfactory".

The author makes a review of all kinds of theoretical suggestions as well as practical experiments with the aim of finding better educational methods, and

more refined organisational arrangements than the existing "year-grade-system" in order that the individual child may have as full and rich a development of its personal resources as possible. He mentions, for instance, the use of differentiation and individualisation of various kinds, subject promotion, group work, Daltonplan, Winnetkaplan, Jenaplan, assistant teacherplan, streaming systems, teamteaching etc. But he wisely points out, that the solution of the problems, arising in connection with the failure of the present year-grade-system, probably is to be sought not by using only one or two of the said methods or systems but by some kind of a continuously flexible synthesis made out of many of them.

As a logical consequence of the results of his study he is questioning the actual marking system in the German elementary schools. He asks for an immediate and serious attack on the whole problem complex of marks in school and their use and effects, founded on experimental research. Claims of a corresponding kind are also very often heard in other countries, for instance in my own, Sweden, where some changes in the same direction as Schmidt-Stein seems to wish, have been realized lately.

Schmidt-Stein's book is of great interest not only for school-people in Germany. The problems treated in his book are to be found in many spots of the international scene of education.

The book therefore deserves to be read and discussed also outside the country, where the studies referred to were made. The greatest value of Schmidt-Stein's study lies in his rigorous presentation of objective data, which seem to me to give a valuable and fruitful base for a further, and judging from the book necessarily intensified debate about problems within this special field.

EVE MALMQUIST, Linköping (Sweden)

MILES, MATTHEW B. (ed.), *Innovation in Education*. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia 1964. pp. 690, \$8.75.

This book, the editor reveals in his concluding comment, was designed "to stimulate more inquiry into the nature of educational innovation and to widen the range of coherent possibilities for innovative practice". It is safe to predict that at least the former of these two purposes will prove to have been served by this intriguing volume. The editor and his associates, who are drawn from the ranks not only of educationists and psychologists but also of sociologists, technologists, teachers of a wide variety of academic subjects, administrators and journalists, pose a number of questions that are often ignored by those who advocate and institute changes in educational organisation and practice. Those who are deeply concerned about the need for reform and those who, whether or not they share this deep concern, find themselves involved in experiments and innovations of various kinds tend to be preoccupied with the content of the changes that they are seeking to introduce. They have already been taught that rigorous evaluation should be applied to the results of their efforts. Enthusiasm and good will are not enough; however desirable a particular innovation might seem to be it is necessary to submit its consequences to objective appraisal. They are now invited by Miles and his colleagues to pay due attention to the *processes* of change as well as to its content and outcome. What, they are asked, are the causes of resistance to changes

in educational practice? Why is one particular strategy of innovation effective and another less successful? These are the key questions that the authors seek to answer but not simply at an empirical level. They are guided by the canons of scientific inquiry and aim at prediction and eventually, control. Their preliminary questions lead them to ask what principles can be used to plan and to guide educational changes in the future. Thus the task they have set themselves is formidable indeed. It is nothing less than an attempt to construct a coherent and viable theory of educational innovation, and this in a domain which is characteristically diversified and complex.

Their approach is sensible and workmanlike. They set out detailed case studies of a wide variety of innovations that have been introduced into the American educational system. Some of these are success stories. Others illustrate various degrees of failure and frustration. All of them are intrinsically interesting and, although drawn exclusively from American experience, provide illustrative material which will be of value to those in other countries who propose to attempt similar changes. Among the innovations described are the introduction of programmed learning, language laboratories, team teaching, the use of television for educational purposes, and of radical changes in the content of the mathematics syllabus. These and many of the other topics discussed are relevant to the concerns of educators elsewhere. The accounts of the progress and outcome of these various innovations provide the data which the authors seek to arrange in a coherent conceptual scheme with a view to constructing a theory of innovation. No fairminded reader will accuse them of having failed in this attempt. One imagines, however, that they themselves will readily share the view that have been by no means completely successful. We must wait - and probably for a long time yet - for a serviceable theory of educational innovation, and indeed it may prove necessary to try to develop a number of distinct theories adequately to encompass the wide variety of circumstances within which changes of differing kinds and dimensions take place. What the authors have undoubtedly accomplished however, is the production of a book that can be read and appreciated at two distinct levels. The case material that they supply will engage - and deservedly so - the attention of those teachers and administrators who are looking for a practical guide to innovations of various kinds. The more ambitious and sophisticated sections of the book will sustain the interest of those who have some experience in and respect for the activity of theory-building. They will applaud a brave and ingenious attempt and, if some of them are stimulated to join in and lend a hand, the authors will no doubt feel adequately rewarded.

ALFRED YATES, Oxford

ROSENBLUM, PAUL C. (ed.), *Modern Viewpoints in the Curriculum*. Maidenhead: McGraw-Hill 1964, xiv + 312 pp., 58/-.

In September 1961 the first national conference on curriculum experimentation was held at the University of Minnesota. The report from the conference has now appeared under the editorship of Paul C. Roosenbloom with the assistance of Paul C. Hillestad.

From the title of the report, *Modern Viewpoints in the Curriculum*, one might perhaps expect a collection of vague and general educational philosophies. However,

the book has almost nothing of the kind. In contrast to the title, it contains a lot of extremely valuable, factual information about different projects on curriculum experimentation in progress.

In recent years a lot of separate progress reports have appeared about new curriculum-projects. Several working papers and printed reports from UNESCO and OECD have shown a world-wide need for educational planning and also a growing insight that this means a need for planning and evaluation in a rational and unbiased way of curriculum content too. In those papers, American projects of curriculum improvement often play an important role as models for other countries. This impression is heavily confirmed by the present volume. Although most of the projects reported have started in the late fifties, many of the textbooks have already been translated into several foreign languages, both European and non-European.

For the first time we now have a comprehensive report of the entire field of curriculum experimentation in academic subjects in the U.S.A. The general background is given by Luther E. Evans "The curriculum and the economy", Eli Ginzberg "Manpower and education - the 1960's" and Ralph W. Tyler "National planning and quality control in education".

The central part of the book consists of twelve chapters reporting the current trends in different areas. These reports cover Physics (by G. C. Finlay), Foreign languages (A. B. Gaarder), Classics (Carolyn E. Bock), Social Studies (J. H. Haefner), Mathematics (E. Moise), English (H. B. Allen), Chemistry (L. E. Strong), Chemistry Education Material (P. R. O'Connor), Music (Marguerite V. Hood), Art Education (K. R. Beittel), Biology (A. B. Grobman) and Earth Sciences (R. C. Stephenson).

In such a review as this, it would be inappropriate to give detailed comments on the different reports. Suffice it to say that they are given in a non-technical language by extremely competent authors. They all give an outline of objectives and of the general design of the projects. Two general trends are common to all: they aim at a clear understanding of the basic principles in the different fields and they do not stop with recommendations for future action but also comprise the production of new textbooks and other teaching materials such as films, slides, tape-recordings and laboratory devices. In most cases they also afford special teacher-training courses. In references and appendices detailed information is given about the location, addresses and leaders of the projects. Through this system it is easy to get access to the latest revision of texts and progress reports in the fields of interest to the reader. In spite of the rather late publication (more than 2 years after the conference) the book, is still of practical value.

Since most of the projects at the time of the conference were still in progress, there are very few evaluation studies reported. The problem of evaluation of new curricula is difficult - but important. It is difficult because one has to evaluate systems of instruction differing in fundamental respects. It is no wonder, then, that most of the evaluation hitherto done is of the intra-project type: In what respects do the results correspond to the expectancies made by the research team, in what respects do they not? What parts of the new curriculum need to be revised more thoroughly? The reviewer thinks that evaluation, in spite of all difficulties, will be of great importance for the future and especially with regard to educational planning. As is pointed out by the "Madison planning group", whose report to the Advisory Board on Education of the National Academy of Sciences - National Research Council is published as a supplement; "appropriate, sufficient and de-

pendable evidence rarely exists at present for determining what changes should be made within the educational system." Thus, there is a great need for better programs of evaluation, even of a comparative kind. However, comparative evaluation must not be one-sided and confine itself only to achievement tests. It has to be multi-dimensional and account for differences between curriculum programs as to objectives, content, need for instruction time, methods of instruction and other relevant variables as well.

Such an approach of evaluation will probably require a much better theoretical basis than is at hand at present. The approach seems also to be in full accordance with the general line of reasoning of Lee Cronbach in his excellent and thought-provoking essay on the psychological background for curriculum experimentation. His analysis of the inherent tension between programmed instruction and teaching aiming at creativity especially deserves to be mentioned. The statistical problems of evaluation are outlined in a non-technical way by Rosedith Sitgreaves with a good sense for the crucial problems of curriculum research.

About half of the book deals with administrative problems. There are too many authors to be mentioned by name here, but I would like to underline that this part of the report together with the eleven supplements gives an excellent survey of the administrative network behind the different projects and the roles played by professional societies, supporting agencies and the government. It is a handbook of great value. Among the appendices, mentioned earlier in this review, are some reprints of key documents, e.g. the texts to the "Improvement of Educational Quality Act of 1962" and the text of president Kennedy's message to Congress relative to the educational program.

Modern Viewpoints in the Curriculum will, indeed, serve as the best handbook of curriculum experimentation for many years. It is also well suited as a basis for university teaching in different fields of education. The problem area is, however, so important for most nations to-day and so many projects are starting and going on at the same time that it is easy to predict an urgent need, in the near future, for a follow-up volume with fresh references and with more evaluation on the function of the new curricula in the U.S.A. and in other countries where they have also been tried out.

URBAN DAHLÖF, Stockholm

FRY, EDWARD, *Teaching Machines and Programmed Instruction*. New York/Toronto/London: McGraw Hill 1963. pp. 244, 46/-.

Anyone who writes an introduction to programmed learning these days, must, in view of the state of the literature on this subject, face considerable competition. Somehow, the growth of ideas in this area seems to have reached a plateau, and those engaged in commenting upon it seem now to concern themselves mainly with the art of summarising notions that have been in currency for some time. Consequently, there is an abundance of introductions to the subject, and, since it is a subject that is easily systematised, some of these are very elegant.

However, for terseness, comprehensiveness, intelligibility and elegance, Fry's introduction would take some beating. The unobtrusiveness with which he slips information into the reader, and organisation into the information, suggests that he must himself be a master of the skills about which he writes. The writing flows

so easily that one is surprised at its end to find that its coverage has been so complete and that the points made have been so well reinforced with documentation. The considerable and well-selected bibliography bears witness to the latter point. Illustrations from actual programmes are used where necessary, and three substantial excerpts from programmes are included among the appendices. The layout of the book certainly enhances the presentation.

Chapter one constitutes a kind of antechamber. This is an elementary introduction to the subject, and those who are familiar with the main features of programmed instruction can pass straight through this. The rest of the book is divided into two parts: first "Basic Considerations in Programmed Instruction", and then "Construction and Evaluation of Programmes". The basic considerations of the first part concern such matters as kinds of teaching machine, basic principles of programming, the main programming techniques, educational objectives, student differences, and matters relating to the use of programmed learning. In the second part, the construction and evaluation of programmes is covered in seven chapters, containing such topics as presentation variables (visual and auditory presentations, kinds of machine, etc.), the individual frame (item length, cueing, etc.), the response (overt v. covert responses, multiple choice v. constructed responses, etc.), rewards, branching, practice and factors bearing upon programme quality.

Of exceptional interest is an appendix entitled "A Classification of Variables in a Programmed Learning Situation". Fry suggests that this classification would be of use to both producers and consumers of programmes. In fact, it condenses the whole business of programmed learning into the space of 7 pages, and would be invaluable for use by anyone who wished to survey the field for any purpose whatever. The classification has twenty-six main headings, labelled A to Z, and is, indeed, an "A to Z" of programmed instruction.

For whom is this book suitable? It would very adequately fit the needs of students of psychology or education. The appended classification of variables, however, could well be published separately, for this is a tool that anyone thinking constructively about the field could use with profit.

JOHN D. WILLIAMS, London

TEAL, GILBERT E.(ed.), *Programmed instruction in Industry and Education. Proceedings of the Institute on Programming*. Stanford: Public Service Research 1963. pp. 309, \$7.50.

This is a verbatim report of a conference attended by representatives from certain industrial organisations which were concerned in some way with programmed instruction. The following topics were introduced in the five days of discussion that took place: learning theory and its relation to the principles of programming, the main features of programmed instruction, controls exerted upon the programmer (a fairly unusual and interesting contribution), programming in industrial training, programming methods, programme preparation and evaluation, programme presentation, problems of deciding whether to introduce programmed instruction, problems of training instructors in the use of teaching machines, programme-improvement. Sometimes these topics were discussed fruitfully, but often the discussions strayed wantonly. As usual, in such sessions, programmes were actually used and constructed.

What was the use of writing down all this? First, if you, yourself, are interested in running such a session you can see here an example of what might happen. Second, it does reveal certain of the problems and preoccupations of the industrialist who is embarking upon the use of this new training technique. Third, a verbatim report of a live discussion has some curious merits that are not shared by a planned dissertation. Into the loose texture of such a discussion can creep all kinds of interesting and deviant snippets of information which might never find a place were the structure of the discourse more insistent. Such unpredictables can deflect the reader's thoughts on to some exciting new courses. Again, this form of presenting information is much more life-like, and consequently the reader can more easily follow and extrapolate from it, than he could were its presentation cut and dried — and *dead*. Fourth, it is amusing, and, one hopes, instructive, to see just how far from the point discussions can wander.

The reviewer would not recommend the book to any but those who have a special interest in industry. For others than these, the tedium of ploughing through a 300-page account of rather confused discussion could not easily be justified. The title is perhaps somewhat misleading, for it suggests that the content is pertinent to other kinds of education besides industrial; this is not so.

JOHN. D. WILLIAMS, London

VALETT, ROBERT E., *The Practice of School Psychology: Professional Problems*. New York: J. Wiley 1963. pp. 339. 57/-.

This well-planned book should certainly be a necessary addition to the book list of Educational Psychologists. It is useful for a world-wide audience although written for the American educational scene, with its use of grade placements, its wide repertoire of tests and its great range of personnel, such as counsellors, psychometrists and school social workers.

It is written by an experienced school psychologist for psychologists practising in the educational field. Essentially, it is a handbook for the field worker, mentioning theoretical issues but keeping them to a minimum. The book, like the work it describes, deals with the concepts of learning theory and psychoanalysis, but, the author notes (p. 23) "because of the scepticism and constructively critical approach fostered through their basic academic training, most school psychologists tend to be eclectic in both theory and practice."

Nowhere does the author baulk the difficult issues in the workaday life of an Educational Psychologist. In the Preface, Valett writes "school psychology is a young profession with many problems", and the book points these out. It has 65 "Problems" in heavy type, many of which will tax the 'social intelligence' of the most experienced workers, and they would serve as decidedly useful themes for postgraduate seminars of Educational Psychologist trainees. The professional psychologist reading this book will find himself nodding at the problems and experiences related, as he will have met the same situations in his relationships with parents, teachers, medical practitioners and other professional colleagues.

The author sees the work of an educational psychologist as (p. 4) "the scientific study of the behaviour of children and their educational problems with the purpose of facilitating learning and total human adjustment." The 14 chapters will certainly help the practitioner since they deal with such varied topics as administration,

liaison with others, referrals, psychological reports, tests, counselling and general professional development. The book ends with seven complete psychological reports and the text has individual case material firmly planted in it: both are aptly used to make general points.

Although balanced and guarded in his approach to the work, the author realizes that a decision must be taken with a child even though "the present state of psychological science is such that the adequate prediction and control of behaviour are still largely unrealized goals" (p. 124). He emphasizes that the professional psychologist must "interpret his professional limitations" to others, and never offer magical cures. Valett, on the subject of psychological reports, advises caution but insists that recommendations must be made and "the psychologist must not only examine and report, he must act on his report and follow through as required" (p. 185). He also accuses the psychologists of shying away from straightforward counselling, and he has a useful chapter on this subject.

One senses, throughout the book, the author's desire for more research. His colleagues would certainly echo his feeling that "the schools provide a giant laboratory for both controlled and action research in which theory can be tested and practice developed" (p. 41).

He states the intraprofessional arguments on training and feels that both educational and psychological training are essential, with teaching experience as a desirable aim. The author notes that difficulties can stem from the "feeling on the part of the teacher that the psychologist does not really understand the uniqueness of the teacher's situation, and because of this many of his recommendations are felt to be impractical, unrealistic or even worthless" (p. 46).

The book brings in some quite modern thought, such as divergent versus convergent thinking, although he does not raise the issue of streaming which is so live in Great Britain. At times there is recourse to psychological jargon which will upset those laymen who dip into the book. There is also a surprising naïveté concerning "underachievers" as though the author had no knowledge of regression to the mean, or a more statistical treatment of the subject.

The following two quotations sum up the present position of school psychology: -

"There will always be many, many, more children in need of service than it will be possible for the psychologist to see" (p. 267).

"The future of school psychology depends on the public image and understanding of the profession" (p. 284).

This book should prove a most useful stimulus to psychological workers in the educational field, and might even tempt more to enter it.

CONRAD GRAHAM, London

VERNON, PHILIP E., *Personality Assessment: a critical Survey*. London: Methuen 1964. pp. 333. s. 42/-.

Vernons neuestes Buch *Personality Assessment* ist ein außerordentlich dankenswertes Unterfangen, das den neuesten Stand theoretischer, methodologischer und praktischer Fragen der Diagnostik repräsentiert. Es wird hier nicht - wie schon so oft - einfach aufgezählt, welche diagnostischen Verfahren es heute gibt und welche praktische Brauchbarkeit ihnen im Lichte neuerer Forschung zuzukommen

scheint; Vernon übernimmt hier vielmehr die Rolle eines klinischen Diagnostikers, der einen besonders schwierigen Klienten zu begutachten hat: die Persönlichkeits-Diagnostik.

In einer für alle Diagnostiker vorbildlichen Weise exploriert er die verschiedenen Entwicklungsphasen seines Klienten, sammelt eine Fülle seiner Selbstbeurteilungen und registriert mit großem methodischen Verantwortungsbewußtsein das Verhalten in einer Vielfalt von Situationen (insbes. Experimentalsituation, Psychotherapie, Berufsauslese und -beratung, klinische Prognoseforschung). In Ermangelung objektiver Kriterien gewichtet er – auch hierin vergleichbar dem klinischen Psychologen – nach eigener Plausibilität die Fülle des vorliegenden Materials und kombiniert nach ungeschriebenen Regeln die ihm bedeutsam erscheinenden Fakten zu einem vielschichtigen und eindrucksvollen Bild seines Klienten. Dabei ist er sich der Gefahren und Mängel dieses intuitiven Vorgehens offenbar jederzeit klar bewußt.

Die Persönlichkeits-Diagnostik in ihrem gegenwärtigen Entwicklungsstand erscheint Vernon erheblich neurotisch fixiert zu sein und kaum in der Lage, sich mit der erforderlichen Beweglichkeit den tatsächlichen Gegebenheiten menschlichen Verhaltens und Denkens anzupassen. Noch im Banne ihrer maßgeblichsten Beziehungspersonen, Tiefenpsychologie und Faktorenanalyse, verfolgt sie mithilfe einer Anzahl ritueller Praktiken das magische Ziel, gewisse Dispositionen und Eigenschaften, welche als irgendwelche Wesenheiten hinter dem Verhalten vermutet werden, aufspüren und valide messen zu wollen. Sie ist nicht bereit, sich in realistischer Weise mit den Korrelationen operational definierter Verhaltens- und Denkeigenarten zu begnügen. So fruchtbar ihre Erzieher, Tiefenpsychologie und Faktorenanalyse, auch für viele Bereiche psychologischer Forschung waren und sind, so sehr hemmten sie doch nach Vernons Meinung auf der anderen Seite auch die Entwicklung der Diagnostik, deren Leistungsfähigkeit mitunter sogar dem Urteilsvermögen unvorgebildeter Laien unterlegen erscheint. Ihre wirklichen Möglichkeiten und Stärken sind heute nur ansatzweise abzuschätzen, ihre Schwächen liegen hingegen – nach Vernons Meinung – so offen zutage, daß sie gut und eindeutig identifizierbar sind.

Ist dieses Bild, das Vernon von der gegenwärtigen Persönlichkeits-Diagnostik gibt, richtig? Die Frage läßt sich nicht beantworten. Wie bei den besten Persönlichkeits-Begutachtungen läßt sich nur sagen: das Bild ist kohärent, plausibel und aufgrund empirischen Datenmaterials überzeugend vorgetragen. Und mehr beansprucht auch Vernon nicht für sein Buch.

In Einzelheiten Kritik anzumelden, würde der Absicht des Buches, eine integrierte Zusammenschau zu bieten, nicht gerecht, so sehr sie sich mitunter dem Leser aufdrängen mag. Zahlreiche Leser werden Vernon vorwerfen, er habe versäumt, sie Untersuchungsergebnisse x, y, z heranzuziehen, und er habe zu wenig berücksichtigt, daß die Untersuchungen l, m und n nicht den Anforderungen wissenschaftlicher Methodik hinreichend genügen (zu letzterem Vorwurf fordert besonders manches im ersten Teil des Buches über Fragen der naiven Persönlichkeitsbeurteilung durch Laien heraus). Sicher werden auch alle Gläubigen der Psycho- und Faktorenanalyse den Eindruck gewinnen, bei der Behandlung ihrer Arbeiten im zweiten und dritten Teil des Buches seien manche ihrer persönlichkeits-theoretischen Verdienste nicht hinreichend gewürdigt worden (zumal Vernons eigener persönlichkeits-theoretischer Ansatz – stark gefärbt durch die Arbeiten von C. R. Rogers, F. H. Allport sowie O. J. Harvey, D. E. Hunt und H. M. Schroder – definitiv recht unverbindlich, wenig gegliedert und für empirische Forschung

nicht unmittelbar verwendbar erscheint). Schließlich werden sicher sowohl die Mystiker des Unbewußten, die auf Offenbarungen aus projektiven Tests warten, als auch die Scholastiker der Basisvektoren, die in mühseliger Kleinarbeit ihr psychometrisches Instrumentarium putzen, unzufrieden sein mit jenen Behandlungsvorschlägen, die Vernon seinem Klienten – recht unsystematisch und nur wenig überzeugend – im letzten Abschnitt seines Buches gibt.

Und dennoch: Es gibt in der gesamten psychodiagnostischen und persönlichkeits-theoretischen Literatur noch keine Arbeit, die den Anspruch erheben könnte, die Fülle des vorliegenden empirischen Materials sowie der verschiedenen methodologischen und theoretischen Positionen auch nur annähernd in solcher Inhaltsbreite mit einer vergleichbaren Souveränität des Urteils dargestellt, methodenkritisch diskutiert und auf knappstem Raum (290 Seiten!) zusammengefaßt zu haben. Aus diesem Grunde sei das Buch jedem, der im Rahmen seiner psychologischen Ausbildung oder danach in praktischer Arbeit mit den Problemen der Persönlichkeitsdiagnostik konfrontiert ist, nachdrücklich und ohne Einschränkungen zum Studium empfohlen. Bei psychologischen Laien hingegen, die mit den Grundlagen der Faktorenanalyse und Testkonstruktion, sowie mit den neueren tiefenpsychologischen Arbeiten etwa von D. Rapaport nicht vertraut sind, befürchten wir jedoch, daß der äußerst einfache und flüssige Stil des Buches leicht zu ungerechtfertigten Generalisierungen und gefährlichen Vorurteilen verführen kann.

RUDOLF COHEN, Hamburg

THYNE, JAMES M., *The Psychology of Learning and Techniques of Teaching*. London: University of London Press 1963, pp. 240. 18/–.

Die Lernpsychologie gehört, besonders in den U.S.A., seit langem zu den bevorzugten Gebieten experimenteller Forschung. Sie hat eine Fülle gesicherter Ergebnisse aufzuweisen und hat eine umfangreiche Literatur hervorgebracht. Deshalb ist es umso erstaunlicher, daß sie bis heute für die praktische Pädagogik recht wenig fruchtbar geworden ist. Unser routinemäßiger Schulunterricht hat häufig selbst von einfachsten, seit Jahrzehnten bekannten lernpsychologischen Fakten wie der Ebbinghaus'schen „Vergessenskurve“ kaum Notiz genommen. Das liegt durchaus nicht nur an wissenschaftlicher Gleichgültigkeit der Lehrer. Die Laboratoriumsversuche der Lernpsychologie scheinen zunächst völlig unergiebig für das schulische Lernen zu sein. Welchen Nutzen soll der Lehrer, der Kindern Lesen und Schreiben beibringen will, daraus ziehen, wenn bei Hunden bedingte Reflexe gestiftet werden oder wenn Ratten lernen, den kürzesten Weg durch ein Labyrinth zu finden? Hier setzt das Buch von Thyne ein. Es will eine Brücke schlagen zwischen wissenschaftlicher Theorie und pädagogischer Praxis, zwischen Laboratoriumsexperiment und Schulalltag, mit dem ausdrücklichen Ziel, das schulische Lernen wirksamer und erfolgreicher zu gestalten. Vor allem ist es für den Pädagogikstudenten, den angehenden Lehrer gedacht, der sich in das Gebiet einarbeiten möchte.

Diesen Zweck erfüllt es ausgezeichnet. Gerade der deutsche Leser stellt immer wieder fast neidvoll fest, wie glänzend es Engländer und Amerikaner verstehen, wissenschaftliche Lehrbücher zu gestalten. Sie sind einfach und klar formuliert, didaktisch geschickt aufgebaut – das Buch ist mit seiner übersichtlichen Gliederung,

seiner drucktechnischen Hervorhebung der Kernsätze und seinen Zusammenfassungen am Schluß eines jeden Kapitels selbst ein Muster angewandter Lernpsychologie – und dennoch nicht dilettantisch simplifizierend oder unselbständig berühmte Standardwerke exzerpierend.

Meist liegt die erste Quelle des Mißverständnisses zwischen Pädagogen und Psychologen bereits darin, daß beide etwas Verschiedenes unter „Lernen“ verstehen. Das Buch beginnt deshalb sinnvoller Weise mit einer Definition des Lernbegriffs, die auch für den Pädagogen akzeptabel ist. Mit Recht geht der Verfasser dabei (und später ebenso bei der Definition von „Verstehen“) nicht von einer bestimmten Lerntheorie aus, sondern vom allgemeinen Sprachgebrauch, über den sich auch der Wissenschaftler nicht hinwegsetzen kann und soll, ein sehr beherzigenswerter Leitsatz, dem man gerade in der Psychologie und Pädagogik mehr Beachtung wünschen möchte. Wenn Thyne allerdings glaubt, auf diese Weise rein logisch, ohne alle Hypothesen, an sein Problem herangehen zu können, so täuscht er sich; es gibt keine „voraussetzungslose“ Psychologie. Gerade dem deutschen Psychologen, der von anderen geistesgeschichtlichen Grundlagen herkommt, wird auffallen, wie sehr die Darstellung in der Denkwelt des Behaviourismus wurzelt. Der psychische Grundvorgang ist das Handeln, man lernt immer, etwas zu tun (p. 53), nicht etwa, was dem Pädagogen, besonders dem deutschen, näher liegen würde, etwas zu wissen oder zu können (eine viel stärker auf innerseelische Vorgänge gerichtete Formulierung). Lernen ist Verhaltensänderung, das ist der Leitsatz des ganzen Buches, und auch das schulische Lernen ist für den Verfasser nichts anderes. Wenn ein Kind lesen lernt, so heißt das, daß es von einem Verhalten, bei dem es mit Buchstaben nichts anfangen kann, hinüberwechselt in ein Verhalten, bei dem es sie kennt und benützt, und als legitime psychologische Fragestellung gilt nur, welchen Gesetzen diese Verhaltensänderung folgt. Die intrapsychischen Vorgänge, etwa die intellektuellen Prozesse, die sich beim Lesenlernen abspielen, sind für einen Behaviouristen, der nur die Verhaltensbeobachtung, nicht aber Introspektion als wissenschaftliche Methode akzeptiert, kein Gegenstand exakter Forschung, allenfalls eine Frage der Metaphysik. Die Lerngesetze werden im Grunde wie die der Mechanik als Naturgesetze betrachtet, sie sind wirksam auch gegen die Absichten des Erziehers, der unter diesen Voraussetzungen ganz konsequent als „Trainer“ apostrophiert wird. („Conditioning will work, so to speak, irrespective of the trainer's intentions.“ p. 114). Der Verfasser bemüht sich zwar immer wieder, auch andere theoretische Voraussetzungen, vor allem gestaltpsychologische, einzubeziehen, im wesentlichen geht jedoch auch er von dem alten behaviouristischen Stimulus-Response-Schema aus: Lernen ist Conditioning, „to learn is to adopt a new response to a situation“ (p. 29). Man fragt sich daher manchmal, ob die Einführung einer neuen Terminologie (etwa des „Auslösers“ (cue) an Stelle von „stimulus“, von „tie“ an Stelle von Thorndike's „connection“) sich bei diesem grundsätzlichen Beibehalten der traditionellen Theorien lohnt, so gut die neuen Termini im einzelnen auch erklärt und begründet sind. Doch mag dies für den englischen Leser weniger störend sein als für den fremdsprachigen, dem das Wiederfinden der gewohnten Fachausdrücke das Verständnis erleichtern würde.

Am meisten fällt die behaviouristische Einengung dort auf, wo der Verfasser sich mit Fragen der Motivation auseinandersetzt. Er sieht in Bedürfnissen, Interessen, Strebungen u.ä. Konstrukta, die für eine Psychologie des Lernens völlig entbehrlich sind. Entscheidend ist für ihn auch hier nur der äußerlich sichtbare Erfolg, das

heißt das Zustandekommen eines lernfördernden Verhaltens „by one means or another“. („For all practical purposes, to create a want to learn means to induce these very behaviours.“ p. 89/90) Über die inneren Ursachen dieser Verhaltensänderung haben wir doch keine Kontrolle, es ist also unnötig, über sie nachzudenken! Bei solcher Erkenntnis-Askese wären allerdings die meisten Forschungen der Lewin'schen Schule und die faszinierenden Ergebnisse der modernen Motivationspsychologie nie zustande gekommen, ein lehrreiches Beispiel dafür, wie die stillschweigenden Prämissen der Forschung selbst bei anscheinend noch so strenger Empirie bestimmen, was überhaupt gesehen wird.

In einem Punkt geht der Verfasser jedoch in einer für die pädagogische Psychologie sehr fruchtbaren Weise über die Theorie des Behaviourismus hinaus: Er baut Vorbild und Unterweisung (bzw. von der Seite des Kindes aus Nachahmen und Begreifen) als „Steuerungsimpulse“ (pilot-cues) in sein Modell des Lernvorgangs ein und betont damit seinen sozialen Aspekt, der gerade für das menschliche Lernen so entscheidend ist.

An den ersten, theoretischen Teil des Buches schließt sich ein umfangreicherer zweiter Teil an, der die praktischen Anwendungen und zugleich die eigenständigsten und interessantesten Beiträge enthält. Da die theoretische Basis des Verfassers im wesentlichen die des Conditioning ist, läßt sie sich am besten auf die Vorgänge der Gewöhnung und der Einübung von Fertigkeiten anwenden. Ihnen sind die ausführlichsten Kapitel gewidmet. Psychologisch bedeutsam sind vor allem die Ausführungen über das „Abgewöhnen“ (habit breaking), wo interessante Anwendungen der Methoden des Ermüdens von Reaktionen und des spielerischen Vorwegnehmens des zu lernenden Verhaltens, die an moderne psychotherapeutische Techniken wie Frankls „paradoxe Intention“ oder Morenos Psychodrama erinnern, geschildert werden. Aber auch andere für die Schule relevante Arten des Lernens und Lehrens (das verstehende Aufnehmen von Erklärungen, das gedächtnismäßige Einprägen) werden mit vielen praktisch wichtigen Hinweisen behandelt. Das letzte Kapitel befaßt sich mit einem besonders umstrittenen Problem, dem des „transfer of training“, der Lernübertragung, eng verknüpft mit der besonders in der deutschen Pädagogik so zäh festgehaltenen These vom formalen Bildungswert einzelner Schulfächer. Allerdings beschränkt sich hier der Verfasser vorwiegend darauf zu zeigen, daß der Begriff des Transfer eigentlich entbehrlich ist, da es sich im Grunde um nichts anderes handelt als um einen Lernvorgang wie andere auch, für dessen Interpretation die aufgestellte Lerntheorie vollkommen ausreichend sei. Der pädagogisch interessierte Leser hätte sich gerade hier etwas detailliertere Hinweise auf konkrete Schulprobleme und ähnlich gute praktische Folgerungen gewünscht, wie sie die vorigen Kapitel in so hervorragender Weise geben. Das ändert nichts an dem Gesamteindruck einer vorbildlich klaren und ausgewogenen Darstellung, die geeignet ist, einer der schwierigsten menschlichen Tätigkeiten, dem Lehren, nicht nur ein theoretisches Fundament, sondern auch eine Fülle praktischer Anregungen zu geben.

ELFRIEDE HÖHN, Tübingen

JALKOTZY, ALOIS, *School for Parents. A Guide for all who are entrusted with the responsibility of bringing-up children*. London: Galley Press Ltd. 1963. pp. 275. 30s.

The book is a translation from German, the original text, entitled *Elternschule*, being published in 1959 by the Jungbrunnen Verlag, Vienna. The translator's name is not given. The reviewer has no possibility of considering the correctness and flavor of the translation as compared with the original text. For a foreigner, however, the English seemed fluent and easy to read.

Even about the person of the author, Mr. Jalkotzy, the reviewer unfortunately, has no other information than that given by the English publishing house on the dust-cover: "The author is an Austrian Quaker, brought up near Vienna, the classic home of child psychology and kindergarten practice. He has taught in many kinds of school, and has been principal of orphanages and approved schools, and also a child welfare officer." Evidently the author represents practical experience in the art of educating children more than research and theory, even if he seems to be familiar with a considerable body of educational literature.

The book has grown out of Mr. Jalkotzy's work in giving lectures to parents about the education of children. In Vienna, several other places in Austria and in Switzerland, too, "Schools for Parents" have been held regularly. As a result of this experience the author gives the following advice: "1) The school must hold an entire series of lectures at regular times, 2) it must keep the same teacher for all lectures, 3) lectures must be backed up by the distribution of pamphlets and 4) every lecture must also afford an opportunity for discussion." The book under review follows the content of pamphlets distributed at four series of eight lectures each and "it is intended as a very simple textbook of education that will be of value in everyone's hand". Probably the best idea of the content and approach of the book is given by a listing of the names of the topics. The first section gives education's seven commandments: "1. Thou shalt love thy child truly. 2. Thou shalt have patience with him. 3. Thou shalt educate him with understanding. 4. Thou shalt teach him orderliness. 5. Thou shalt give him courage in face of life's problems. 6. Thou shalt give thy child the right measure for his life. 7. Thou shalt set thy child a good example." The second section contains the educator's sins: "1. Thou shalt not flatter nor pamper. 2. Thou shalt not jeer nor abuse. 3. Thou shalt not beat nor maltreat. 4. No obstructing, no suppressing. 5. No frightening, no discouraging. 6. No underrating, no slighting. 6. No hypocrisy, no letting down." The third section deals with the progress of education: "1. A child is born. 2. A 'you' leads to an 'I'. 3. The beginnings of community. 4. School as society. 5. The adolescent girl. 6. The adolescent boy. 7. The mature human being. 8. Members one of another." The fourth section of the book contains a "Dictionary for Parents" with more than a hundred key words in behaviour and education of children with short practical advice following each of them.

For many people working in the field of parent education, especially those closely connected with research and theory, Mr. Jalkotzy's very direct and straightforward way of giving advice can be somewhat of a surprise. He also takes a certain philosophy of life and, still more, a certain social and cultural surrounding and outlook, which might be called *bürgerlich* for granted. On the other hand there is no question about his speaking from a deep and open love for children, especially

the difficult ones, and from a broad knowledge and experience of the usual parent's everyday behavior and faults. In this way the book can be useful for people working in the parent education field and, because of its simple and straightforward manner, perhaps still more for many parents themselves, for whom it seems to answer that wish for direct advice which they so often express.

ANNA-LIISA SYSIHARJU, Helsinki

VON HENTIG, HARTMUT, *Das erste Studienjahr an der Universität*. Bericht über eine Tagung vom 8.-10. Januar 1963. Hamburg: Unesco Institut für Pädagogik 1963. 72 S., DM 4.—.

Ostensibly this is a report by Professor Hartmut von Hentig of a conference called by the UNESCO Institute for Education on the first year of university study, but it is in fact a good deal more than it purports to be. Carefully selected participants from Germany, England, Israel, Sweden and the United States reported on the general impact of modern industrial society on the traditional organization of secondary schools, colleges and universities with glancing cross references to a variety of experimental adjustments which are now in varying stages of fulfillment. The carefully prepared agenda "covered the subject" — and Professor von Hentig's report is an informative survey of the discussion and of the relevant professional literature. The state of development in the various countries is, of course, extremely varied in the countries involved, but continuous reference to the specific proposals for new German universities help the editor to provide a focus for the discussion.

To a reader who is familiar with the "university reform" literature — it is almost a new academic field — this is a stimulating review of the relevant questions, but it also reveals the yawning gap that is now developing between the views of the "average" professor who is responsible for the present university programs and of the professional student of the adequacy of his objectives as well as his procedures. Judging by the professional cant which characterizes the typical faculty discussion of these problems, Professor von Hentig's admirably concise and suggestive summary would be a revolutionary document if we could somehow get it read by the high priests of the established academic vested interests. If we compare the traditional stereotypes concerning the inevitably interwoven interests "teaching" and "research" with the conduct of the mass instruction in introductory lectures — or with the statistics concerning related library use by the students — the subversive question suggests itself whether the present interpretation of the dogma of academic freedom — that is to say, the "autonomy" of the faculty in curricular matters — should not have been examined by the conference as the leading roadblock on the road to functional reform? Should someone familiar with the present problems perhaps do a study of the restoration of the vitality of Oxford and Cambridge by Act of Parliament after the exposure of sham scholarship and scholarly irrelevance as a result of college autonomy by Adam Smith in *The Wealth of Nations* in 1776?

The conference was concluded with the compilation of a list of questions concerning which either factual, administrative or psychological clarification or documentation were deemed desirable before the organization of other conferences of this type. The questions would be a good basis for the guidance of anyone

charged with the preparation of the agenda of the average faculty meeting, and a comparison of the questions with a critical analysis of the topics covered in the same faculty's minutes over say, the past two or four semesters, would give some indication of the gap between the concerns of an able group of professional students of these problems and the smug complacency that is reflected in the actual operations of those who are unable to distinguish between professional autonomy and the protection of their personal comfort.

Professor von Hentig is to be congratulated with his novel editorial conception of the recorder's function — his report is a vital professional document which combines a sense of participation in the conference's dialogue with the citation of relevant paragraphs from the rich professional literature in the field.

HARRY D. GIDEONSE, Brooklyn—New York

ROBBINS, GLAYDON DONALDSON, *Teacher Education and Professional Standards in England and Wales*. Columbus (Ohio): Ohio State Univ. Press 1963. pp. 112. \$ 1.75.

The limit of 25,000 words placed on this monograph has necessitated compression so that the sketch of the schools is two-dimensional, and we are not told which types were waxing or waning in 1961. Thus the appeal of Comprehensive Schools and the Leicestershire plan to teachers and laymen alike, and their rapid spread, are not noted. Yet these two developments go far to meet Dean Robbins' criticism of the *élite* system of English educational organisation.

1961–63, when this book was prepared, also saw the preparation in England of national Reports on Higher Education and on the education of average and below average pupils of 13–16. Both recommend changes which concur with Dean Robbins' aims: Teacher Training Colleges are to be subsumed into the University structure, though not to grant their own degrees, and they are to be subject to one master instead of three: in schools the reform of methods and curriculum proposed for average pupils should prepare more of them for the teaching profession.

In assessing teacher training he is eminently fair: he praises the quality of education in Training Colleges and the liberating grant system for students: but he questions the philosophy underlying English practices, which are dominated by academic learning as a prognostic and a large constituent of training. It is true that the qualities most needed by teachers in their daily relationships are as common in the academically average as in the top 25%: but if education is to be a study in its own right, comparable with literature or the sciences, it demands good academic minds: and the status of the profession, admittedly low in England, will not be raised if any number of teachers are less well educated than 50% of their pupils' parents.

With most of Dean Robbins' aims concerning professional standards English teachers will agree; we need more professional unity and autonomy, and universal teacher training, and the work of professional bodies is rightly recognised here. But they will hesitate to approve "a more realistic integration of general, specialised and professional education into a more unified program, based upon the actual needs of teachers". If teacher education consists of what a teacher needs to know, the concept is too utilitarian for those who regard education as beginning where something worthwhile is studied for its own sake.

To see English education through American eyes is stimulating just because the basic philosophies of the two systems are different; and the views of those who aim at a united society built of disparate elements will be of value in a period of rapid change to those whose limited wealth and resources compel them to cultivate individual potential to its highest point.

D. J. D. SMITH, Reading (England)

The Social Impact of Work Life on Young People. (Report on a meeting 10-15 June 1963). Gaunting: Unesco Youth Institute 1964. pp. 55.

The transition from school to work creates problems which are psychological, social and economic. Such problems are effected by and in turn effect, the organization of industry. Technological advance and automation have created problems for youth, as well as others, concerning both the process of industrial production and the process of consumption, and also problems about the use of time by youth, about youth's self image as part of the working force and about a new concept of "skill".

In a highly industrialized and automated society the young worker has to have a set of values and attitudes which will make his absorption into industry smoother and enable him to cope with the leisure activities provided by an affluent and industrialized society. It is therefore clear that preparation for work life in adolescence should start fairly soon in the educational process. In most countries the educational systems are not suited to these requirements and are slow to adapt to changes. The present system of allocation to secondary education at the ages between 11 and 13 seems to generate an early specialization on the one hand, which negates the main need of automation, namely adaptability and flexibility, as well as a wide general education; on the other hand it may inculcate a sense of real failure in those children who are allocated to types of secondary education preparing specifically for work with the completion of school leaving age. This sense of failure, coupled with the first job experience, is a major factor in determining later attitudes to work and society as well as to themselves.

The Unesco Youth Institute report *The Social Impact of Work Life on Young People* discusses the above problems under three headings: -

- 1) Tendencies in the development of industrial work - including aspects of mobility and security of young workers, the new concept of "skilled" and "unskilled" workers, the choice of vocation and the social status of the young worker.
- 2) Attitudes and behaviour of young people in industry - including the transition from school to work, social attitudes of young workers and the problem of working girls.

- 3) Socio-pedagogical implications - including educational implications, and the agency for undertaking the educational task of preparation for work life.

The report deals very profoundly with the problems arising from automation and technological advance in its production and consumption aspects.

It discusses adaptability and flexibility as a new type of "skill" required, and the satisfaction such adaptability may give the young industrial worker. It does not, however, discuss the absence of demand for creativity on the part of the young worker, not only in the unskilled and semi-skilled jobs, but also in the so called

“technician” jobs. This is surprising since this absence of creative satisfaction among young workers might be one of the components of their feeling of alienation.

The second section of the report stresses the comparative ease with which transition to work takes place. The overtly expressed case might be a result of an attitude of indifference to work, place of work and particular job done which, in its turn, might be a result of feelings of failure, helplessness, and alienation; this, then would tie up with the stress on material acquisition, and the lack of social responsibility and identification among young people. The educational problems arising from automation are only viewed from the aspect of the aims of education, but the impact of social values on the system is not discussed. I can be argued that since the prevalent social values are middle class values, and education is one of the channels by which middle class aims are achieved; it is, therefore, difficult to induce educational changes without first making such changes an acceptable social value. The agencies involved in such preparation therefore cannot be confined to youth agencies but involve the whole system of communication and mass media.

S. KANETI-BARRY, London

GODDARD, L. S., *Mathematical Techniques of Operational Research*. Oxford: Pergamon Press 1963. pp. 230. 42s.

Der Autor dieses Buches gibt im Vorwort selbst an, welche Leserkreise er mit seinem Werk gern erreichen möchte. Zum einen sind es Mathematiker, die sich mit Fragen der Verfahrensforschung beschäftigen wollen, zum anderen Personen aus der Industrie, die beabsichtigen, sich über diesen recht modernen Zweig wissenschaftlicher Forschung zu informieren. Für die letzteren ist dann auch wohl das erste Kapitel des Buches gedacht, das auf 31 Seiten gewissermaßen einen Schnellkursus über ausgewählte Fragen der höheren Mathematik anbietet. Ob dieser Schnellkursus in jedem Fall mit Erfolg absolviert werden kann, erscheint sehr fraglich. Der mathematisch unvorbelastete Leser findet etwa Themen wie das Stieltjes-Integral, die Delta-Funktion oder die Bessel-Funktionen auf je einer Seite abgehandelt. Eine derart knappe Darstellung ist wohl nur für jene Personen lesbar, die mit dem behandelten Stoff zumindest in etwa vertraut sind, und hier ihr Wissen leicht und schnell auffrischen können. Der Kreis all derer, die dieses Buch mit Erfolg lesen und durcharbeiten können, dürfte daher recht klein sein. Für jeden aber, der ein hinreichendes mathematisches Grundlagenwissen besitzt, kann dieses Werk als gute Einführung in das weite Gebiet der Verfahrensforschung gelten.

Der bereits besprochenen Einführung in einige mathematische Grundlagen folgt die Darstellung der Aufgaben und Lösungsmöglichkeiten im Bereich des *linear programming*. Es wird hier nach dem Vektor der Argumente einer Funktion gefragt, die den Wert der Funktion entweder maximieren (sofern er einen Gewinn repräsentiert) oder minimieren (wenn der Funktionswert entstehende Kosten bezeichnet), wobei gegebene Restriktionen den Bereich der möglichen Argumente einengen. Die zur Lösung derartiger Probleme anwendbare Simplex-Methode wird ausführlich dargestellt. Es ist besonders hervorzuheben, dass der Autor nicht nur abstrakte Zahlenbeispiele durchrechnet, um die Anwendung der Methode zu

illustrieren, sondern darüberhinaus praktische Anwendungsbeispiele gibt. Dieses Vorgehen dürfte wesentlich dazu beitragen, dem Leser eine Einsicht in die Verwendbarkeit der dargestellten mathematischen Verfahren in realen Situationen zu vermitteln. Auch über Verfahren, die nicht ausführlich dargestellt werden, finden sich Angaben, die es dem Leser ermöglichen, sich weiter zu informieren. Zu diesem Zweck sind reichliche Literaturhinweise gegeben.

Es stellt sich nun die Frage, ob und wie weit der von Goddard erschlossene Wissenschaftsbereich Bedeutung für die pädagogische Forschung gewinnen kann. Gerade in der derzeitigen Situation, in der sich die Schule in vielen Ländern einem deutlichen Mangel an Lehrkräften und einer stetig zunehmenden Fülle an Unterrichtsstoff gegenüber sieht, erscheint es notwendig, die Organisation der Unterrichtsdurchführung auf Rationalisierungsmöglichkeiten zu überprüfen. Dabei ist es wohl sinnvoll, Optimisierungsprobleme und -verfahren aus dem industriellen und wirtschaftlichen Leben auf ihre Übertragbarkeit in den pädagogischen Bereich zu untersuchen. Zu welchem Resultat derartige Arbeiten kommen werden, können wir heute kaum voraussehen; ihre Zweckmäßigkeit dürfte aber dennoch einsehbar sein.

WERNER H. TACK, Hamburg

Questioni di Storia della Pedagogia, by 24 authors, Brescia: La Scuola Editrice, 1963, pp. 1172.

It is in itself a remarkable achievement to compose, without the coordinating responsibility of a competent editor, a work of this size produced by a large number of authors. A book of this size could, perhaps, be better published (and sold) in a more manageable form by splitting it up into parts. In this way a more convenient arrangement would have been possible. An index of names and of subjects would also be desirable in such a huge and incoherent collection of papers.

These remarks do not reflect in any sense on the different papers individually. Each of them may be considered in its own context. It is difficult for a person who does not live in the Italian educational world to know whether a particular contribution surpasses another publication on the subject in Italian.

A comparison with publications in other countries is then inevitable, yet sometimes not fair to the authors' intentions, namely to produce a book for the Italian reader only. We believe that this book will be the source for most students of education in Italy who need an introductory text to different parts of the history of education in the conventional sense of the word i.e. mostly history of ideas and of the school as an institution. Ideas – have they been put into educational reality? in what form? to what extent? – Institutions – how many children of which total population did they ever educate and in which sense? What did "to educate" really mean? What was a child when the average life expectancy was 25? What was a mother, a father, a generation? This kind of question is generally neither asked nor answered in "the history of education" and this book is, in this respect, neither better nor worse than others of its kind. So most of this book is history of ideas and a branch of cultural history; a part is devoted to the institutional aspects inevitably, but with little or no reference to the social reality behind them. This, of course, is even more true where the author is not an educationist and his main outlook is that of a historian, a philosopher or any other specialist.

The structure of the book is built on different principles: surveys of periods (*Educazione Classica*, Pietri; *Scuola Antenicena*, Quacquarelli; *Medioevo*, Bertola; *Umanismo e Rinascimento*, Calò; *Contrariforma catolica*, Springhetti . . .), – then a few special studies of one thinker follow: Comenius (by Orlando), Locke (by Peretti), Rousseau (by Flores d'Arcais), Kant with a tiny outlook on the idealistic development (by Rigobello), the Enlightenment follows now and is connected with the romantic movement (Liguori), Pestalozzi and Froebel (both by Gattullo) followed by Herbart (by Broudo). Two hundred pages later this line is taken up by an article that calls itself explicitly *The Philosophy of history and culture in Germany and its impact on educational thinking* (Marco Laeng), a brief sketch (a text of some 17 pages) from Lessing to Spranger, bringing in Huizinga (from Holland) and Hazard (from France) as well, with Theodor Litt in 10 lines as a Hegelian and with an utterly inadequate characterization of his position. The same author spends five times more space on Sergius Hessen, without however expounding his interesting opposition to Montessori. Probably here – as in many other cases – the treatment depends very much on *le hasard du lecteur* and on what has been translated into Italian. More elaborate bibliographies in the foreign languages cannot make up for disproportions or inadequate representation in the text itself.

Thus the arrangement of the book is somewhat chaotic and a redistribution of the chapters in different volumes might have been helpful here. The history of ideas might well have been completed over the more recent period; also such important developments in the school systems of such countries as England or the U. States could have been described and the reader could be informed about developments in France and the Scandinavian countries.

After Herbart we come to an elaborate treatment of the Italian *Risorgimento* by Angiola Gambaro of some 258 p. This contribution is the *pièce de résistance* of the volume – and rightly so in an Italian publication, together with a comprehensive article of 200 p. about *Le scuole nove e l'attivismo* by Aldo Agazzi. This last article shows numerous repetitions of subjects treated in other articles (e.g.: Rousseau, Montessori) and an insufficient distinction between the important activities and those of minor interest. Currents like positivism, idealism, sociology, marxism, pragmatism, experimentalism, Christian spiritualism are treated separately and scattered generously over the latter part of the volume. All of them are informative on a level of general introduction with sometimes strange gaps in the picture caused by lack of original sources – the vast open spaces called America, England, France, Scandinavian countries, Protestant world and developments since the second world war. Yet, there are well conceived articles or pages, if one accepts the idea that education can be understood adequately by deriving ideas about it from more general ones such as can be found in religion and philosophy. Generally: a book to be rearranged and to be completed, to be split up in parts and to be supervised by a competent and responsible editor and not to be left to the publisher himself.

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PROLEGOMENA TO A DEFINITION OF COMPARATIVE EDUCATION

by GORDON C. RUSCOE and THOMAS W. NELSON
Los Angeles

We have noted with interest the steadily increasing number of attempts to define the province of comparative education through prescriptions of methods of research and aims. Remarking on the interrelations among psychology, philosophy and statecraft, Grace has proposed that research in comparative education be directed at examining the educational consequences of several broad schools of thought.¹⁾ Samonte, advocating an interdisciplinary approach, cautions us against "expertism" when borrowing methods from other fields but enjoins us to promote an "enlightened" interdisciplinary training program for graduate students and to encourage scholars from other fields to participate in professional conferences on comparative education.²⁾

Recently, Hilker has proposed a three-step process of "comparison" in education: description, explication, and juxtaposition (which, of course, includes finding a standard of comparison.³⁾ Bereday has expanded Hilker's process to include a fourth step - comparison proper.⁴⁾

Both Bereday and Kneller have indicated the direction which comparative education will have to take in order to continue progressing as a scholarly discipline.⁵⁾ While we agree that they are quite correct in their plea for an interdisciplinary and cross-cultural approach - one which would be grounded in scientific, philosophical, and educational theory, and would select methodology according to the scope, limit, and focus of the inquiry - we also feel that there have been too many parochial pleas on the part of some comparative educators for a particular methodology. It is true that the natural and social sciences sometimes find that a particular methodology suits a particular kind of recurring inquiry, but we doubt that *any* discipline could sustain progress with a single

¹⁾ Harry A. Grace, "Comparative Theories of Education," *Comparative Education Review*, February 1962, pp. 189-98.

²⁾ Quirico S. Samonte, "Some Problems of Comparison and the Development of Theoretical Models in Education," *Comparative Education Review*, February, 1963, pp. 166-81.

³⁾ Franz Hilker, "What Can Comparative Method Contribute to Education?" Translated and condensed by Ursula Kirkpatrick, *Comparative Education Review*, February, 1964, pp. 223-25.

⁴⁾ G. Z. F. Bereday, *Comparative Method in Education*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, Winston, 1964.

⁵⁾ Bereday, *op. cit.*; George F. Kneller, "The Prospects of Comparative Education," *International Review of Education*, No. 4, 1963-64, pp. 396-406.

methodology. Even the natural sciences are becoming increasingly interdisciplinary.

An analysis of some of these definitions and prescriptions, coupled with some explication of the categories of definition, will serve to clarify and perhaps resolve the controversy over the purposes of this area of inquiry.

Israel Scheffler contends that scientific definitions are specifications or stipulations which operate in technical contexts: they cannot readily be separated from specific inquiries, and they vary greatly among the many branches of research.¹⁾ They are oftentimes postulated to apply to specific hypotheses which are to be tested in specific contexts with specific methods. As such, they cannot readily be assigned to all contexts. General definitions, on the other hand, are attempts to communicate in broad contexts. When applied to an area of inquiry such as comparative education, these general definitions are usually addressed to the public, to teachers, and to other professionals. While lacking the specificity of scientific definitions, general definitions allow greater flexibility in attempting to make sense of less than exact questions – for example, those in comparative education.

Among general definitions, at least three broad types may be distinguished on the basis of the intent of the person defining the terms. These types must be discussed briefly, for they are important to the argument of this paper.

The first of these is the *stipulative* definition, which indicates how a term is to be used or what other term may be substituted for it within a particular context. Stipulative definitions may thus be non-inventive (when a term has had prior usage but is defined specifically) or inventive (when a term has had no prior usage).

The second broad type of definition Scheffler calls attention to is the *descriptive*. This definition is somewhat lexicographical in method: it attempts to clarify by taking into consideration the prior usages of a term. In contrast to the stipulative definition, it serves to summarize the ways in which a term has been used, whereas the stipulative definition specifies the one way in which a term will be used in a particular context.

The third type of general definition is called *programmatic*. It is used not merely to summarize or specify, but to promote a program the implementation of which raises moral and practical questions. For example, the following definition of comparative education is programmatic:

¹⁾ Israel Scheffler, *The Language of Education*. Springfield: Charles C. Thomas 1960, pp. 11–35. We are indebted to Professor Scheffler for the categories of definition used in this paper.

... modern national systems of education are projected both into the past and into the future. As their national past was formed by factors often common to many nations and as their ideals of the future are the outcome of movements, the problems of education in different countries are similar and the principles which guide their solutions may be compared and even identified. The analytical study of these factors from a historical perspective and the comparison of attempted solution of resultant problems are the main purpose of Comparative Education.¹⁾

The author clearly intends for us to use a "problem" methodology in the study of comparative education. The definition is more than an "account", more than a summary of what has been meant by comparative education; it promotes a program, a particular way of looking at the study of comparative education; and it is in this sense programmatic.

It should be pointed out that these broad types of general definition overlap. That is, a definition may be both descriptive and programmatic, as, in fact, was the above illustration, or a definition may be both descriptive and stipulative. An incorrect definition of either the descriptive or the stipulative type does not necessarily invalidate the program connected with it. Nor does a sound stipulative or descriptive definition logically imply that the program connected with it is valuable. There is, then, need to judge independently the various aspects of a general definition. Would the program be feasible? How accurate is the summary of usages?

What these broad categories can show is the particular office or offices to which general definitions belong, and to what extent they can facilitate inquiry into comparative education. We have already noted that there is a difference between general definitions and scientific definitions, and that when we attempt to define comparative education, we must use a general definition. Let us investigate three general programmatic definitions of comparative education in order to note how these dictate our use of methodology or prescribe the limits of comparative education.

The first is stated by Willard B. Spalding in the introduction of Cramer and Browne's *Contemporary Education*:

The comparative study of education can serve two purposes. It can enlighten the professional educator about his own system; and it can shed light on the other national characteristics of the countries being studied.²⁾

The definition is stipulative: it lists the two functions of the field. As a programmatic definition, it also implies that at least part of the job of

1) Nicholas Hans, *Comparative Education*. 3rd. ed. rev.; London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd. 1958, pp. 10-11.

2) John F. Cramer and George S. Browne, *Contemporary Education*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World 1956, p. xv.

the researcher is to list the characteristics deemed "essential" to the country or people studied – *i.e.*, "national characteristics." This would involve the researcher (if, indeed something more than a vagabond be needed) in a kind of international stereotyping, at best, caricaturing, at worst. Here we are not judging the stipulative part of a definition, but the program which it proposes. There is nothing logically wrong with the stipulation, but we deem the program highly inadequate because its methodology is unscientific, if not pre-scientific. It suggests none of the methods in psychology, cultural anthropology, and sociology now used to examine cultures. Certainly no one would deny that historical study, even when loosely conceived, has a place in all disciplines; but it certainly does not have an *exclusive* place in any discipline which often borrows the quantitative methods of physical and social science.

Let us examine another definitional example, this by King:

"These then are the three levels at which Comparative Education may be said to work: (a) the communicative level; (b) the level of factorizing or analytical inquiry; and (c) the holistic or interpretative level on which the various endeavours of man to shape his own development are marshalled and assessed to provide an appropriate perspective for study." ¹⁾

This "account" or descriptive definition of the field contains three approaches commonly stipulated as methods. The communicative level corresponds to what we normally call the "areas" approach; the level of analytic inquiry roughly corresponds to the "problems" approach; and the interpretative level represents the "historical-philosophic" approach combined with area and problem studies in order actually to solve a problem. While it is certainly true that the comparative educator might use all these methods, the field itself is not what plays these roles. Moreover, students study about all three levels, even through King's works. We can see the distinctions that King makes, but we cannot see that they make any difference. Further, "analytical inquiry" as used in the above definition should be spelled out in this case, because we feel that King has something much more specific in mind *i.e.*, the "problems" approach.

Robert M. Ulich's book provides us with one last example:

This book *The Education of Nations* is intended to contribute to an understanding of the forces that have molded the educational ideals and systems of a number of nations. It is historical, because the author is convinced that one cannot comprehend the nature of the educational process without seeing it in its historical context.

¹⁾ Edmund King, *World Perspectives in Education*. London: Bobbs-Merrill 1962, p. 75.

But this book is also comparative, because only by means of a comparison will those features come clearly to light which distinguish the educational evolution in one country from that in others.¹⁾

Here research in comparative education becomes a search for distinguishing features of educational evolution; and the program of inquiry, historical. This kind of definition, where interpreted, easily broadens into a kind of historico-anthropologic research, as Ulich later indicates.²⁾ If this program of historico-anthropologic research be taken seriously, very little, if any, aspect of knowledge can be excluded; and it is only a slightly less ambitious approach than the inquiries of philosophers who once set out to master the world's knowledge. It is very much different from the scientific-humanistic methodology advocated by Kazamias and others.³⁾

The intent of these critical comments is not to discount the careful deliberations and valuable contributions of these scholars, but to show how, in *defining* comparative education, they have, perhaps unknowingly, attempted to incorporate research methodology into programmatic definitions, thereby prematurely delimiting a budding discipline. In line with Kneller and Bereday, we suggest that, since many different methods are now being used in the field, a *descriptive* definition which is non-programmatic be used to *characterize* comparative education. Such a definition, we further suggest, would include two aspects of the field not generally included in definitions of comparative education: teacher-training and international understanding.

Many universities include a course in comparative education for interested teachers who will never do research in the field. This is as it should be, for comparative education is one of the cultural foundations of education. In this context it is limited neither to a study of "national character" nor to the "problems approach." It is the complex of what all researchers in comparative education as an outcome of inquiry have collected and systematized to contribute to the teacher's understanding of education in international perspective. While we may differ as to what we think important for students to be confronted with, we shall all agree that the results of many different kinds of inquiry will be used, for the *subject* of comparative education is not the same as *doing comparative educational research*.

The second aspect which researchers in comparative education often deal with but seldom list in a characteristic of the field might be termed

¹⁾ Robert M. Ulich, *Education of Nations*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press 1961, p. v.

²⁾ *Ibid.*, p. vi.

³⁾ Andreas Kazamias, "History, Science and Comparative Education: A Study in Methodology," *International Review of Education*, No. 3-4, 1962-63, pp. 383-98.

"ambassadorial." Researchers come into close contact with school officials and citizens of other countries. Here their function (besides researching) is something akin to statesmanship. Every researcher who has ever visited other countries realizes that he is performing this role. Why not make this part of our descriptive definition?

It is our suggestion, then, that a general definition of comparative education would have to characterize at least three aspects of the field: the materials which have been collected and methods of collection; the role of the field in developing in the teacher what Edmund King has termed "humane sensitivity;" and the role of the field in maintaining and expanding open and friendly communications with other countries. Such a definition would avoid prescribing how comparative educators must "do" comparative education, and would limit itself to what *is* being done – leaving to our ingenuity what *could* be done. It would, at the same time, erase some of the confusion which the public – and educators, too – must feel about this area of inquiry. Since comparative education is now interdisciplinary and cross-cultural, there is no reason to suppose that any one program or method will lend itself to the study of so complex a field as education – in different cultures at that. Ours is what William James might have called an open- but tough-minded approach to the characterization of comparative education.

PROLEGOMENA ZU EINER DEFINITION DER VERGLEICHENDEN ERZIEHUNGSWISSENSCHAFT

VON GORDON C. RUSCOE und THOMAS W. NELSON, Los Angeles

Ein Überblick über kürzlich erschienene Artikel, die sich mit der Methodologie der vergleichenden Erziehungswissenschaft befassen, zeigt eine seltsame Lage: mehrere Autoren haben verschiedene Forschungsmethoden und verschiedene Ziele vorgeschrieben in der Absicht, dann ihre eigenen Vorschriften als endgültige Beschreibungen des ganzen Forschungsgebietes auszugeben. Die Verwirrung wird noch dadurch vergrößert, daß einige Autoren ihre Vorschriften in eine Sprache gekleidet haben, die einen rein deskriptiven Eindruck erweckt.

Die Verfasser des vorliegenden Artikels vertreten die Meinung, daß eine Erläuterung der von Israel Scheffler aufgestellten 3 Kategorien allgemeiner Definition besser zeigen kann, welche Art Definition für die vergleichende Erziehungswissenschaft angemessen ist:

- 1) auf Vereinbarung beruhende Definitionen zeigen an, wie ein Ausdruck in einem besonders eng begrenzten Zusammenhang gebraucht werden soll;
- 2) beschreibende Definitionen stellen zusammenfassend dar, wie ein Ausdruck tatsächlich gebraucht worden ist;
- 3) programmatische Definitionen bedienen sich meistens der sprachlichen Form

einer der ersten beiden, zielen aber auf die Förderung eines Aktionsprogramms. Wenn eine programmatische Definition mit einer der beiden anderen Kategorien verbunden ist, wie dies oft der Fall ist, folgt jedoch noch nicht daraus, daß eine ausreichende Vereinbarung oder Zusammenfassung automatisch das Programm, das in der programmatischen Definition enthalten ist, rechtfertigt oder umgekehrt.

Die Verfasser haben festgestellt, daß viele Definitionen der vergleichenden Erziehungswissenschaft Programme für eine Methodologie oder Zielsetzungen für das ganze Forschungsgebiet enthalten. Dies scheint weder legitim noch nützlich, da ja das Forschungsgebiet *prima facie* inter-kulturell und inter-disziplinär ist. Die Verfasser schlagen vor, daß eine überzeugende Definition der vergleichenden Erziehungswissenschaft alle nützlichen Methoden durch eine Charakterisierung oder eine beschreibende Definition zum Ausdruck bringen sollte. Solch eine Charakterisierung könnte sehr wohl zwei Aspekte in sich schließen, die heute zum allgemeinen Thema gehören, aber selten in einer allgemeinen Definition erwähnt werden, nämlich Lehrerbildung und internationale Verständigung.

Von den Verfassern wird der Schluß gezogen, daß eine Charakterisierung der vergleichenden Erziehungswissenschaft drei Dinge erläutern müsse:

- 1) die Daten, die gesammelt worden sind, und die Methoden ihrer Sammlung und ihrer Ausdeutung;
- 2) die Bedeutung dieses Bereiches für die Entwicklung der „menschlichen Sensivität“, wie Edmund King es genannt hat;
- 3) die Rolle, die dieser Bereich in der Aufrechterhaltung und Erweiterung offener und freundschaftlicher Beziehungen mit anderen Ländern spielt.

Solch eine Definition würde es vermeiden vorzuschreiben, wie Forschung in der vergleichenden Pädagogik durchgeführt werden muß, und würde sich auf das beschränken, was tatsächlich geschieht, und es würde unserer Erfindungsgabe überlassen bleiben, was zusätzlich getan werden könnte. Sie würde gleichzeitig einen Teil der Verwirrung ausräumen, die in der Öffentlichkeit – ebenso wie bei den Pädagogen – hinsichtlich dieses Forschungsgebietes verständlicherweise eingetreten ist.

NOTES PRELIMINAIRES A UNE DEFINITION DE L'EDUCATION COMPAREE

par GORDON C. RUSCOE et THOMAS W. NELSON, Los Angeles

Un rapport sur des articles récents se rapportant à la méthodologie de l'éducation comparée met en lumière une situation singulière: plusieurs écrivains ont présenté différentes méthodes de recherche et différents buts uniquement pour prendre leurs propres prescriptions comme descriptions définitives de l'ensemble de l'enquête. Tout aussi embrouillant est le fait que certains écrivains rédigent leurs prescriptions dans ce qui apparaît être un langage descriptif direct.

Notre avis est qu'une explication des trois catégories de définitions générales d'Israël Scheffler montrera mieux le genre de définition qui convient pour l'éducation comparée: (1) des définitions stipulatives montrent comment un terme doit être employé dans un contexte particulier et limité; (2) des définitions descriptives servent à résumer les façons dont un terme doit être employé et (3) des définitions programmatiques prennent généralement la forme grammaticale des deux précé-

dentes, mais en fait favorisent un programme d'action. Quand une définition programmatique est combinée avec l'une des deux autres catégories, comme c'est souvent le cas, il ne s'ensuit pas nécessairement qu'une stipulation ou un résumé adéquat valident automatiquement le programme qui découle du programmatique ou vice-versa.

Nous avons remarqué que de nombreuses définitions de l'éducation comparée ont en elles des programmes pour la méthodologie ou les buts pour l'entièreté du domaine de l'enquête. Ceci ne semble ni légitime ni bénéfique pour autant que le domaine est *prima facie* inter-culturel et inter-disciplinaire. Nous suggérons que chaque définition valable de l'éducation comparée représente toutes les méthodologies utiles par une *caractérisation* ou une définition *descriptive*. Une telle caractérisation pourrait bien inclure deux aspects qui appartiennent maintenant au sujet général, mais qui sont rarement mentionnés dans une définition générale: formation du professeur et compréhension internationale.

Notre conclusion, dès lors, est qu'une caractérisation de l'éducation comparée devrait inclure une explication sur (1) les matériaux qui ont été récoltés et les méthodes de récolte et d'interprétation; (2) le rôle du développement dans le professeur de ce que Edmund King a appelé "la sensibilité humaine" et (3) le rôle de ce domaine dans le maintien et l'expansion des communications libres et amicales avec d'autres pays. Une telle définition éviterait qu'on prescrive comment la recherche en éducation comparée doit être faite et se limiterait à ce qui a été fait – laissant à notre ingénuité ce qui pourrait être fait. Par la même occasion, elle effacerait certaines confusions que le public – également les éducateurs – éprouvent certainement quand il s'agit de ce domaine d'enquête.

EFFICIENCY IN EDUCATION

by FRIEDRICH EDDING, Berlin

1. The title of this article will cause librarians some difficulty. They may have in their classification scheme the heading "economics of education," and they may have subheadings like "educational finance," "education and manpower needs" and "education and economic growth." They probably have these headings because there is quite a body of literature on these subjects. If they have difficulty in classifying an article on "efficiency in education," it is because there are relatively few publications which fall or seem to fall under such a heading.¹⁾

2. Reflecting on the possible reasons for this neglect, I formed the hypothesis that this subject is nearest to the core of economics, and is consequently most difficult to approach. It is concerned with one fundamental principle, namely, to achieve given ends with a minimum of resources and energy, or, put another way, to achieve an optimal relation between cost and quality. Since the beginning of this century education has been following industry in expansion of plant and manpower employed. We know, however, that these were not the most significant features of industrial development. The increase in productivity of these inputs was the greatest single achievement. In this regard education has failed to advance, and efforts to improve the cost/quality relationship are still in the initial stages. Efficiency in education is comparatively underdeveloped, even in the most advanced countries. At a time when a new and enormous expansion of education is planned in the less industrialised countries, this lagging behind in a most essential field of research and practice needs to be rectified.

3. Research in this area is handicapped by a certain unwillingness on the part of educators to have the economic principle applied in their province. They sometimes tend to confuse economics with economies²⁾ and often claim that in contrast to industry, education cannot be subjected to rational principles. Education, it is argued, has to do mainly with an incalculable growth process of body and mind and with imponderable spiritual values. Allowances must certainly be made for such

¹⁾ See the bibliographies in: R. Callahan, *Education and the Cult of Efficiency*, University of Chicago Press, 1962, and F. Edding, *Ökonomie des Bildungswesens*, Freiburg: Rombach 1963.

²⁾ This is understandable if one looks through the volume on economies published during the crisis of the thirties, where governments recommended and practised the reduction of salaries and the prolongation of teaching duties. *Les économies dans le domaine de l'instruction publique*. Bureau International d'Education. Genève 1934.

values.¹⁾ But they should not be allowed to hinder research. The purpose of research is to clarify issues. Responsibility for action rests with the politicians. They should see to it that both the rational and irrational are given a fair chance of expression in all their consequences. Economic research in this field is also strongly opposed on grounds of tradition, prejudice and vested interest. If not supported firmly by farseeing politicians, research into efficiency in education will always remain underdeveloped. Hardly any major research on this subject can be done without the co-operation of public agencies.

4. Some much-debated educational issues spring to mind such as: small schools distributed widely over the countryside *versus* large schools situated only in central places; conventional teaching by fully trained teachers *versus* teaching by teachers with different lengths of training using modern techniques. The comparison of costs is usually the first type of assistance offered by economic research towards the clarification of such issues. It is always worthwhile to ask how a change in the organisation, staffing, equipment or methods of education affects costs. Costs can be expressed in terms of student and staff manhours. But it is practically impossible to compare facilities, equipment, transport and other services in kind. Desirable as such calculations in real terms would be, particularly for international comparisons, I see no way of obtaining them. It is, therefore, indispensable to use the money expression for comparisons.

5. In order to make costs comparable, total expenditure for an educational institution is divided by the number of students in enrolment or attendance. This is the method used so far in most countries. It is a very crude measurement. Since students attend school for varying lengths of time, either a standard full-time equivalent should be taken as a unit or a standard hour. In most countries so far, this simple refinement in the method of calculation cannot be made because of inadequate basic statistics. The insufficiency of educational statistics has been criticized so often,²⁾ that I can abstain here from going further into this matter. Any larger investigation in this field presupposes a strong effort to improve accounting statistics.

6. Assuming proper unit cost calculations, what could we learn from them for the present purpose? We could probably learn that unit costs in small schools are, as a rule, higher than in big schools. We would also

¹⁾ See F. Edding, "Bildung und Wirtschaft," *International Review of Education*, Vol. VI, 1960, p. 129 ff.

²⁾ See for instance *Policy Conference on Economic Growth and Investment in Education*, Vol. II, p. 60 ff., OECD, Paris 1962.

probably find that beyond certain limits of school size, unit costs tend to increase. The cost curve would show us the optimum size as far as unit costs are concerned, assuming that the product remains the same.

7. Investigations in various countries confirm, as a rule, what has been said in the foregoing paragraph, but they show also considerable deviations from the general rule. Anybody who is, for non-economic reasons, in favour of small schools, can point to some example where these schools entail the lowest unit costs. This situation necessitates further analysis of the factors influencing unit costs. The expenditure related to the unit can comprise, in very different proportions, outlays on staff, maintenance, equipment, learning materials, auxiliary services, debt service, etc. If the cost of teaching per student hour in small rural schools is very low, the cause can be a high student teacher ratio, extremely long working hours and poor quality and pay of the teacher (or perhaps nuns receiving no pay). It may happen that in larger schools, supporting the same unit costs as the smaller schools, all these circumstances are completely reversed. Here we have highly qualified well paid teachers teaching small classes using all modern equipment. In this case, advantages of scale are not reflected in unit cost which simply relates the total expenditure on teachers of an educational institution to its number of students.

8. More refined methods of calculation are needed for many reasons, one of which is to find out how the size factor influences unit costs under various conditions. Whenever we want to discover how a certain change in school organization or teaching will influence costs, we require a method of calculation which enables all the relevant factors to be brought into a formula as variables. Such a more refined method of costing gives the opportunity to play around with a great number of factors in various combinations. In this way and using a computer, any educational programme can be expressed quickly in unit and total costs. If a certain size of school seems for non-economic reasons desirable, this size can be put into the formula as a fixed factor. If, nevertheless, a certain level of costs should not be exceeded, all other factors named above have to be chosen so as to suit this purpose.

9. This approach permits the calculation of the numerous alternative combinations of educational goods and services which can be acquired for a given outlay and alternatively, enables plans and estimates of future needs to be translated into monetary terms. This method is also ideal for comparisons, because only in this way can one find out the real comparative merits of complex different systems of education in terms of costs. The computers are available, but we are far behind in the provision

of statistics and the development of methodology. To date, only the first steps have been taken to translate the ideas outlined above into reality. The main point to be borne in mind is that the work can be done, and this with increasing precision.

10. The number of factors can be increased so as to include new techniques of teaching, new methods of building and new ways of overcoming the handicaps of distance. To begin with the last, I refer to the study of W. P. McLure on the effect of population sparsity on school costs.¹⁾ We can find there most of the relevant factors quantified and brought into mathematical relation. A population sparsely distributed over a wide area, means that consideration must be given to the cost-increasing effect of small schools serving sometimes not more than ten children and, on the other hand, to the costs of a transport system as part of the cost of big central schools. In recent years we think also of direct assistance to pupils scaled according to the distance between their homes and the school. Those who have to commute long distances or pay for room and board away from home receive assistance in cash or kind; this is then another cost factor which should be included in an attempt to calculate the comparative unit costs of centralised or decentralised systems of school organisation.

11. School size also affects building costs and other facilities not coming under the heading supplies, but rather under capital. To date, it is uncommon to find costs expressed as annual costs and added to the recurring expenditure. But it seems necessary to do this in order to improve investigation into efficiency. At present, capital costs are accredited, as a rule, to the year when the bills for the construction of a school were paid. This expenditure cannot be considered as an input serving the production of knowledge in this year. It has to serve this purpose for at least 50 years. And it cannot be assumed that there is a steady flow of new construction which permits the adding of the actual building costs of one year to other educational outlays of this year. On the contrary, the proportion of actual capital costs in total educational expenditure differs considerably from one year to another. For proper unit cost calculations it is, therefore, necessary to find out which amount of capital is used up per student per year or per hour in school. This can be done and has been done by studying life-time expectancies or replacement periods²⁾ of buildings and equipment.

¹⁾ Teachers College Columbia University. *Contribution to Education* No.929. New York 1947.

²⁾ See: W. Wasserman, *Education price and quantity indexes*. Syracuse University Press, 1963, p. 59 ff.

12. It is important to differentiate properly in the accounts of durable equipment, because replacement periods of tables or blackboards differ considerably from those of teaching machines or television sets and because it is particularly interesting to see the effect of modern equipment on unit costs. So far, I have rarely seen any data on the life-expectancy of the various new audiovisual teaching devices. Neither can I remember, with few exceptions, such data for buildings and calculations of total capital consumed per student and per year. These very calculations may reveal important differences in unit costs. They may or may not be justified, but as long as they are unknown, all talk about efficiency is mere tongue wagging.

13. The analysis of building costs must be pursued in depth if unit-cost comparisons are to be established which really give an insight into the causes of differences and into the great variety of possible combinations of cost factors in the same total unit cost. The unit in these calculations can be the student-place, the square meter or the cubic meter. Total costs of a building, for instance, are related to the number of students for which it has been designed. But such a total unit cost may deviate between 40 and 60 percent from the average in twenty out of a hundred schools of the same size and type. The normal checks on government expenditures are unlikely to uncover the cause of such disparities. Indeed, it is significant that those appointed to act as watchdogs on the public purse are usually pre-occupied with checking the integrity of civil servants, spotlighting outlandish or extravagant expenditures and examining the profit margins of government contractors. While such investigations are certainly justified, they may be regarded as being superficial in so far as attention is not concentrated on probing basic causes.

14. Thus, in the case of differences in school building costs, the causes may only be found by relating each major cost-element in a structure to the unit. Such elements are, for instance, the area or cubic meter per student in the classrooms, in the circulation areas, common rooms, workshops, laboratories etc. The height, number and quality of windows and doors may be another important element. One school has plenty of outdoor space with swimming pool, gymnasium, cafeteria. Another school has none of these facilities, considered by some as unessentials, by others as strictly necessary. The same can be said of all these elements, as has been mentioned above about cost factors, like the student/teacher ratio or the size of school in the recurrent account. With the help of a computer, it is possible to make a choice between various combinations inside the same total unit cost. If one element, for instance, a swimming

pool, is considered in space and quality as being strictly necessary, then other elements may have to be reduced in cost or left out. Vice versa this method enables us to translate any specific building programme quickly into money terms and enables us, at the same time, to pinpoint the detailed causes of differences we want to compare in total costs of school buildings. We can also learn the effect of size on building costs by keeping all other factors constant and by changing only the number of student places.

15. The methods outlined here have been developed and carried farthest by a special department in the Ministry of Education in London.¹⁾ It can claim to have lowered unit costs in British schools considerably, mainly with the help of cost limits and cost analysis. I have reason to believe that in many countries, average unit costs of buildings could be lowered by 30 and more percent, just by applying and adapting the British methods. In order to do this, special research is needed in individual countries or regions, because conditions and requirements vary so much that a mere copying of methods which have proved successful in other countries is insufficient.

16. Harold Clark²⁾ has pointed to the fact that during this century the ratio of investment in buildings to investment in equipment has changed radically in industry but not in education. In the case of the latter, outlays on equipment remain, on average, around 10% of total capital outlay, whereas in American industry in recent years the proportion of equipment was around 75% of total capital investment. Mainly because of expansion in upper secondary and higher education, facilities requiring costly equipment have multiplied during the last decades. But this has had only small effect on the average proportion cited above. The mass of educational institutions are still rather "labour intensive." The probability is that this will be altered drastically before this century ends. Programmed and televised instruction, language laboratories and other modern devices will increase the capital intensity of all types and levels of education and change the proportion, inside total capital investment, in favour of the outlay for equipment.

17. As far as these new inputs are concerned, no particular difficulties of costing will arise. It will merely mean that unit cost calculations will have to take into account some new factors, whose prices and depreciation rates will have to be studied. Comparative cost analysis will reveal the

¹⁾ See particularly Building Bulletin No. 4, published by this Ministry in March 1957. See also: F. Edding, *Problems of expanding investments in education*. Regional technical assistance seminar, Bangkok, April 1964. UNESCO/AD/AS/29, Paris 13. March 1964.

²⁾ *Cost and Quality in Public Education*. Syracuse University Press 1963, p. 8 f.

break-even points, where for instance unit costs of conventional instruction are about the same as in televised instruction, but each student beyond a certain number in the closed-circuit televised course means a decrease in unit costs.¹⁾ There seems no doubt that airborne television, reaching far greater numbers of students, can lower unit costs or at least marginal unit costs drastically. The same is true of programmes, tapes, records, and other massproduced teaching devices. They can, in principle, provide instruction of the highest quality at a very low price, and attainment tests combined with cost analysis can help to find out how far, and under which conditions, they do this in practice.

18. In addition to new technical teaching devices, new ways of organizing instruction are under investigation. Flexible class-size, team teaching and payment of teachers according to performance may change the educational landscape in the future no less than is to be expected from new technical means. Proper job descriptions and investigations into the possible division of labour between fully trained teachers and auxiliary personnel will probably lead to a liberation of the master teacher from many nonprofessional chores. Here again, the costing of the change in inputs presents no serious difficulties. One can say without calculation that a flexibility in class size can result in an increase in the average student/teacher ratio thus tending to lower unit costs. This may be offset by lower average teaching duties or higher pay to teachers. The possible combinations can be worked out in the way indicated above without encountering any serious methodological problems.

19. The difficulties really begin when one questions the effects which the various input combinations have had, or will have, on the output, product or results of education. A lot of circumstantial evidence has led most experts in the field to the belief that educational investment is, on the whole, bringing comparatively good returns. Marginal returns also seem to be, in general, defensible in comparison with other possible investments. We have furthermore a great number of experiments intending to prove that one method of teaching gives better results than another. But these experiments are rarely linked with costing. The question as to whether the better results are obtained with higher or lower unit costs has, as a rule, been left open. In consequence, we are fairly sure that it is economically justified to continue with the expansion of educational investment. But we know amazingly little about the economic merits or demerits of the various possible ways to operate education.

¹⁾ *Instructional Television Research. An Investigation of Closed-Circuit Television for Teaching University Courses.* The Pennsylvania State University, 1958, p. 101 ff

20. Most educational reformers assume that increased expenditures which may arise from changes they propose will bring proportionate returns in terms of a higher quality of achievement. There is a widespread belief in educational circles that any increase in expenditure will have this result and is, therefore, perfectly justified. Non-educators are less sure about this. The more education expands the more important it will be to have reliable cost/quality analysis in this field.

21. This necessitates experimental research and development as is to be found in industry and the natural sciences. It calls for controlled experiments with sufficiently large numbers of groups under various conditions. It requires a strict isolation of factors and, more specifically, the efficient exclusion of that particular factor known as experimental enthusiasm. A strong effort to improve the means of testing is also called for. All this can be achieved. It is already in reach of the research institutes farthest advanced in this field. It can really be done there, and can become common practice if sufficient support is made available. The costs of such research are rather high and the degree of cooperation required from schools and administrations is unusual. But so much depends on such work being undertaken that an unusual effort is certainly justified.

22. The principle of doing this type of research seems simple. In a sufficient number of student classes or groups, education has to be organized so that either only one factor is changed during a period of observation, or a specific factor combination is changed. The first may be appropriate if, for instance, the effect of class-size is to be investigated. The second seems indicated if the effect of operating with teachers' aids in combination with certain new technical devices is to be studied. All other factors, then, have to be fairly constant in all groups under observation, that is, in the groups where the change is operated and in the control groups where instruction is continued in the conventional way. The effects of change on unit costs can be easily assessed. The effect on quality has to be measured by tests. As far as tests can measure quality, it can then be established how much unit costs and achievement have been increased or decreased.

23. Changes in class-size exert a considerable influence on unit cost. Many experiments have been carried out to discover whether a corresponding lowering or improvement of achievement can be assumed to be the normal consequence of such changes. However, the results obtained so far are rather confusing and provide little help in the solution of practical problems. My impression is that none of the experiments has been either large enough or sufficiently well prepared to exclude all

possible sources of error. Experts state that it could be done in such a way as to ensure that the results are universally acceptable. They assure us that practically any new combination of inputs could be tested for output if only research were given all the opportunities of experimenting it needs.

24. In this connection and in other respects, the teacher performance factor merits the closest examination. The development of methods to evaluate this performance has made slow progress considering the vital importance of what teachers can do and whether they give of their best. Experiments as outlined above, make little sense if it is assumed that each input of a teaching hour is equal. The quality of teachers is usually measured by the years and type of training they have had and sometimes by the salary they receive. But the measurement of actual performance is rarely undertaken. Somehow it is assumed that length of training is a sufficient yardstick by which to gauge quality.

25. More research activity directed towards the evaluation of teachers' performance seems necessary to improve the reliability of cost quality analysis. The fact that it constitutes one of the bases on which merit systems of teachers' compensation are erected, makes such research all the more essential. In many countries, teachers receive salaries according to the status achieved by graduating from training institutions with the addition of some allowances for age, number of children and local conditions. Few systems grant premiums to teachers for educational performance during their careers, the reason being the difficulty of measuring performance. If this could be changed, it would revolutionize the efficiency in education. Without proper incentives most people fall back to a kind of routine work.¹⁾ But teaching is an art as well as a gift and requires an active interest, dedication and continuous learning throughout the working life.

26. This leads to the last point made in this paper which seems to the writer to be essential for the improvement of efficiency in education. It is that ways and means must be provided to make sandwich courses the rule for both teachers and those engaged in many other professions and vocations.²⁾ Knowledge has been growing and continues to expand at so fast a rate, that it seems absurd to cling to the old notion that most of the knowledge that has to be acquired by systematic learning must

¹⁾ See: Economic Aspects of the Teachers' Role. In: C. S. Benson, *Perspectives on the Economics of Education. Readings in School Finance and Business Management*. Boston 1963, p. 399 ff.

²⁾ See: Selma J. Mushkin, *Resource Requirements and Educational Obsolescence*. Paper prepared for the Conference of the International Economic Association at Menton St. Bernard, 1963. (To be published by MacMillan)

be taught in institutions of education between the age of 5 and 25. Inefficiency resulting in wastage of valuable teacher and student man hours is a consequence of the continued implementation of this traditional concept. Too much is frequently pressed into poor brains in too short a time. During the years of compulsory school, pupils are often neither really interested nor willing to learn. Even in higher education, many students are enrolled mainly because it is the conventional thing to do. But we know that a real transfer of knowledge can be brought about only if the recipient is willing and interested to learn. It is part of the art of teaching to evoke such willingness and to keep it alive. The chances of attaining success in this great art are enhanced if the student is strongly motivated towards learning. Such keenness is characteristic of persons returning to systematic learning during, or at intervals in, gainful employment. This category of student is able to bring to the classroom a fresh interest based on his experience of the problems of everyday working life. Normal eagerness to make the best use of the interval of study is increased if, as is frequently the case, he has to consider income or scarce leisure time foregone. There is a strong probability that the returns accruing to educational expenditure are highest in these circumstances. The verification of this hypothesis by research, and the study of the consequences of any findings arising from such an investigation, would appear to be crucial to the future organization of education.

EFFIZIENZ IM BILDUNGSWESEN

VON FRIEDRICH EDDING, Berlin

Effizienz im Bildungswesen ist ein Thema, das verhältnismäßig selten untersucht wird. Es sollte aber klar gesehen werden, daß ein weiterer starker Ausbau der Bildungseinrichtungen kaum möglich sein wird, wenn nicht gleichzeitig das ökonomische Prinzip angewandt wird, Kosten und Ertrag in eine möglichst günstige Relation zu bringen. Ein Mittel dazu ist die Kostenanalyse und der Vergleich der Kosten je Schüler oder je Schülerplatz. Dabei treten auffallende Unterschiede hervor, deren Ursachen dann weiter untersucht werden können. Sind hohe Kosten immer ein Ausdruck hoher Qualität des Unterrichts? Sind niedrigere Kosten bei gleicher Qualität zu erwarten, wenn kleine Schulen zusammengelegt werden zu großen Zentralschulen, wenn die durchschnittliche Klassenstärke erhöht wird, oder wenn moderne Lehrmittel benutzt werden? Unter welchen Bedingungen ist dies der Fall? Inwieweit und mit welchen Methoden ist es möglich, Schulen ohne Qualitätsverlust billiger zu bauen? Auf diese und ähnliche Fragen versucht der betriebswirtschaftliche Zweig der Bildungsökonomie Antwort zu geben und kann damit bereits Nützliches zur Verbesserung der Effizienz beitragen. Ein noch kaum gelöstes Problem liegt darin, die Qualität des Ertrags im Unterricht bei verschiedenen hohen laufenden Einheitskosten und Kombinationen von Kostenfaktoren exakt oder annähernd zu messen. Die Forschungen auf diesem Gebiet müssen mit Hilfe von

umfassenden Experimenten bei guter Faktorenisolierung weiter getrieben werden.

Es hängt sehr viel davon ab, unter anderem auch die Möglichkeit zu untersuchen, die unterschiedliche Leistung der Lehrer zu messen und durch Prämien Anreize für gute Leistung zu geben. Jenseits aller Kosten- und Ertragsanalyse kann man sagen, daß eine Verkürzung der geschlossenen Lernzeit zwischen 5 und 30 Jahren und eine teilweise Verschiebung des systematischen Lernens in spätere Lebensjahre die Effizienz sehr verbessern müßte. Dazu wäre ein öffentlicher Fonds nötig, aus dem jeder unter bestimmten Bedingungen Lernurlaub finanzieren könnte. Der Fonds würde nicht das ganze entgehende Einkommen erstatten. Damit wäre ein persönliches Interesse geschaffen, das neben der größeren Reife ein optimales Verhältnis von Aufwand und Ertrag sichert. Außerdem wäre es auf diese Weise möglich, Fehlinvestitionen zu vermeiden, die dadurch entstehen, daß die frühe Ausbildung oft nicht dem entspricht, was später im Beruf benötigt wird.

EFFICACITE DANS L'ENSEIGNEMENT

par FRIEDRICH EDDING, Berlin

Le problème de l'efficacité dans l'enseignement est un thème relativement peu étudié. Il faudrait cependant qu'il apparaisse clairement qu'un développement ultérieur puissant des institutions éducatives n'est possible que lorsque est appliqué le principe économique mettant en relation favorable les frais et le rendement. Dans ce but un moyen consiste à analyser et à comparer les frais et ce que coûte chaque élève ou chaque place d'élève. Dans ce contexte se manifestent de frappantes distinctions, dont les causes peuvent en outre être étudiées. Les frais élevés sont-ils toujours la manifestation d'un enseignement de haute qualité? Peut-on s'attendre à des frais moins élevés pour une qualité égale quand de petites écoles forment ensemble de grandes écoles centrales, quand la composition moyenne de la classe est augmentée ou quand sont employés des moyens modernes d'éducation? Dans quelles conditions ce cas se présentera-t-il? Dans quelle mesure et à l'aide de quelle méthode est-ce possible de construire des écoles plus économiques sans porter atteinte à la qualité? A ces questions et à d'autres du même genre, la branche d'économie politique de l'Economie de l'Education s'efforce de trouver une réponse par laquelle elle peut apporter utilement une amélioration à l'efficacité. Un problème encore à peine résolu consiste à évaluer exactement ou approximativement le rendement de l'enseignement à différents niveaux de frais courants ou de combinaisons de postes de dépenses. Les recherches doivent en ce domaine être menées à l'aide d'expérimentations étendues en faisant un bon isolement des facteurs.

Il est important entre autre d'examiner la possibilité de mesurer l'efficacité des professeurs et d'améliorer le rendement par des primes. Indépendamment de l'analyse des frais et de rendement on peut dire que le raccourcissement de l'ensemble du temps d'étude entre 5 et 30 ans et le glissement partiel de l'apprentissage systématique vers un âge plus tardif devrait favoriser l'efficacité. Pour cela un fonds public est nécessaire grâce auquel chaque congé d'étude pourrait être financé dans des conditions déterminées. Le fonds ne restituerait pas l'entièreté des dépenses. Ainsi serait créé un intérêt personnel assurant, outre une plus grande maturité, une relation optimum entre les investissements et le rendement. Il serait ainsi possible d'éviter des investissements mal fondés résultant du fait que la formation ne correspond souvent pas à ce que peut exiger une profession plus tard.

PROBLEMES ACTUELS DE L'UNIVERSITE ROUMAINE

par JEAN LIVESCU, Bucarest

Les universités de chaque pays se développent toujours suivant une certaine tradition: elles déploient leur activité dans un milieu social bien déterminé, et répondent à des sollicitations qui varient non seulement selon le développement mondial de la science et de la technique, mais aussi – et, je pense – surtout, selon les nécessités de la société respective, ou selon l'intérêt social pour telle ou telle branche de la connaissance humaine. C'est ce qui explique, d'ailleurs, les différences qui existent entre les universités, d'un pays à l'autre, bien que leur but commun soit toujours le même.

Dans ce sens, la réorganisation de l'enseignement universitaire roumain est devenue une nécessité objective après la guerre, lors du passage à l'édification du socialisme. Le développement planifié, intense, des forces de production exigea un niveau technique et culturel des plus élevés, ainsi que la diffusion de la culture et de la science dans toutes les couches de la population. Notre pays a eu besoin, dans de très vastes proportions, d'enseignants, d'ingénieurs et de techniciens, de gens de lettres et de savants; l'essor de la construction économique dans l'industrie, la mise en valeur des richesses du sol et du sous-sol, le passage à l'exploitation mécanisée des terres, à l'utilisation des méthodes agrotechniques modernes, ont entraîné l'intensification du travail de recherche scientifique, ainsi que la formation d'un grand nombre de spécialistes, dans bien des domaines théoriques et pratiques, dont quelques-uns tout neufs pour notre enseignement. Dans le secteur social et culturel, la sollicitude de l'Etat s'est dirigée vers la santé du peuple, vers l'art et la littérature, en vue de la création d'une large culture de masse. Mais pour en arriver là, il fallait ne plus avoir d'illettrés, il fallait généraliser l'enseignement élémentaire et prolonger sa durée, élargir l'enseignement secondaire et créer les conditions requises afin que tout jeune doué puisse bénéficier de l'enseignement supérieur, quelles que soient sa situation matérielle, sa nationalité ou son sexe.

Tous ces objectifs scientifiques, techniques et sociaux-culturels réclamaient un nombre considérablement accru de chercheurs, de professeurs, d'instituteurs, d'ingénieurs, de médecins, de bibliothécaires, de muséologues, etc.

Cette impératif sociale a modifié de fond en comble les rapports entre l'université et l'Etat. L'appui matériel et moral dont jouissent les établissements universitaires et les professeurs a augmenté con-

sidérablement; les études mêmes de l'étudiant ne constituent plus une préoccupation personnelle de ce dernier, mais bien un problème d'Etat, car l'Etat y est directement intéressé et il demande à l'université de mettre à sa disposition toujours plus de diplômés hautement qualifiés. Il est peut-être nécessaire de mentionner qu'en fait, le nombre des spécialistes ayant fait des études universitaires reste – en dépit de tous nos efforts – toujours inférieur aux sollicitations qu'on nous adresse.

La formation de ce grand nombre de spécialistes dont les connaissances scientifiques doivent correspondre au niveau de la science et de la technique actuelles, est revenue, à bon droit, à l'enseignement universitaire. Mais, pour satisfaire aux nouvelles exigences, le système d'enseignement universitaire a dû être sérieusement élargi et approfondi.

Ce sont les enseignants eux-mêmes qui ont appuyé – de la manière la plus enthousiaste et la plus compétente – ces transformations, car ils connaissaient les vices de l'enseignement et désiraient les corriger. C'est que naguère bien des savants de grande renommée ont été professeurs à l'Université; les remarquables succès scientifiques qu'ils ont obtenus dans leur travail, étaient le plus souvent le résultat des efforts personnels, car l'appui des milieux officiels leur manquait. La base matérielle de l'enseignement était assez réduite: un petit nombre de centres universitaires, des constructions insuffisantes, peu de laboratoires, un équipement vieilli ou improvisé. Quant à la base sociale de l'Université elle était réduite elle-aussi. Il manquait un système de bourses d'Etat, il y avait très peu de foyers et de cantines, les taxes scolaires étaient exorbitantes; nombre de jeunes talents, qui faisaient partie de la grande masse des paysans, des ouvriers et des petits fonctionnaires étaient en réalité dépourvus du droit d'accéder à la culture supérieure.

Notons également le fait que l'enseignement supérieur ne correspondait ni du point de vue structure, ni du point de vue organisation, aux nécessités pratiques. L'enseignement supérieur des mathématiques, de la physique et de la chimie – sciences fondamentales pour le progrès des sciences – était totalement dépassé – tout comme l'enseignement technique – et ne comptait qu'un petit nombre d'étudiants. L'enseignement technique, par exemple, comprenait en 1938 moins de 10% du total des étudiants. Pour certaines branches importantes et spécifiquement nationales de l'économie telles l'industrie du pétrole ou même l'industrie légère, sans parler de l'industrie lourde – il n'était point possible de se spécialiser dans le pays; même pour l'agriculture – qui représentait la principale occupation des deux tiers (2/3) de la population d'alors – le pourcentage des étudiants atteignait, en 1938, seulement

3,9; autrement dit, 950 étudiants sur un total de 25.000 étudiants.

Tous ces problèmes, anciens et nouveaux, de l'université roumaine ont été largement débattus; ils ont mené en 1948 à la loi sur la réforme de l'enseignement supérieur, suivie par des arrêtés réglant les détails. Sans empiéter sur les traditions positives antérieures, on a jeté les fondements d'un enseignement moderne, dont le niveau correspond aux problèmes que posent la science et la technique actuelles, ainsi qu'aux exigences nouvelles de l'économie et de la culture nationale.

Un des premiers problèmes soulevés a été celui de la spécialisation des étudiants.

On pouvait concevoir deux solutions extrêmes concernant l'objectif commun de toutes les branches de l'enseignement universitaire: soit la continuation des vieilles traditions, selon lesquelles le but de l'étude est de donner une formation humaniste, des connaissances générales, non-spécifiques, soit le passage à une spécialisation étroite, en renonçant au fonds humaniste qui élargit l'horizon culturel et scientifique de l'étudiant.

Ce problème du rapport, dans la formation universitaire, entre la spécialisation et les valeurs humanistes est aujourd'hui longuement controversé. Il occupe d'ailleurs une place de choix dans les travaux qui analysent la situation de l'enseignement supérieur anglais, par exemple, chez A. K. C. Ottaway, *Education and Society. An Introduction to the Sociology of Education*, London 1960, ou chez Sir Richard Livingstone, *Some Thoughts on University Education*, London 1948.

Pour mettre en relief deux extrêmes, penchons-nous un instant sur les divers problèmes qui se posent en France et aux Etats-Unis. Dans l'étude commune des chercheurs américains et français Saul K. Padover, F. Goguel, L. Rosenstock Franck et Eric Weil *French Institutions. Value and Politics* Stanford Univ. Press 1954 = Hoover Institute Studies, les tâches qui reviennent à l'enseignement universitaire de France sont caractérisées comme suit: "La France paie cher le riche patrimoine de sa culture littéraire et la négligence relative des autres disciplines. Le pays doit maintenant s'efforcer de réorienter son enseignement humaniste et son esprit individualiste. Pour devenir une puissance du XX-e siècle, la France doit combler le fossé entre les valeurs de son humanisme individualiste et les exigences techniques et scientifiques". Aux Etats-Unis la situation est inverse: le criterium dominant, celui de l'utilité, empiète sur les valeurs théoriques, à caractère généralisateur. Je cite R. Ulrich *The Role of Education*, dans: *Confluence* 6, nr. 2/1957, page 103: "Les Américains devront apprendre qu'on ne peut juger de la profondeur scientifique ou de l'audace théorique d'après le critère de l'utilité immédiate et que l'aide la plus efficace que l'on puisse apporter à un vrai savant,

c'est de lui donner la possibilité de travailler et de penser et pour le reste – ajoute l'auteur – de le laisser en paix”.

Lors des amples débats qui ont eu lieu sur la réforme de l'enseignement supérieur, on n'a pas accepté de tels points de vue extrêmes, car ils ne sont guère conformes aux buts de la formation universitaire. La première solution aurait éloigné l'université de tous les problèmes immédiats, des besoins aigus de spécialistes ressentis par la société roumaine engagée sur la voie de l'édification socialiste: la deuxième aurait sûrement mené à la formation de spécialistes, capables – peut-être – de résoudre les questions courantes de leur domaine étroit de qualification: mais elle les aurait poussés vers l'empirisme et la routine, vers le manque de perspectives scientifiques, vers l'incompréhension du sens social et humain de leur propre activité. La société ne demande pas uniquement d'excellents spécialistes, elle a besoin de spécialistes-citoyens, qui mettent avec dévouement leur savoir au service de la communauté. D'ailleurs, étant donné le développement de la science moderne, l'accumulation rapide des nouvelles découvertes, il n'est pas possible aujourd'hui de former un spécialiste hautement qualifié, créateur dans son domaine scientifique, pendant les 5 ou 6 ans de scolarité normale. Une spécialisation plus approfondie ne peut être assurée que par d'autres formes de perfectionnement, postuniversitaires; elle suppose des fondements théoriques très vastes, allant des connaissances essentielles de la science et de l'utilisation de l'équipement à la possibilité de détacher et d'interpréter les lois générales qui régissent la nature et la société.

C'est à partir de ces considérations que l'on est arrivé à la solution acceptée et réalisée dans l'enseignement universitaire roumain: un équilibre harmonieux entre la formation scientifique générale et une solide connaissance des fondements de la spécialité et de ses méthodes de recherches spécifiques. Il en résulte que, dès la fin des études, le jeune diplômé peut déployer une activité utile pour la société, dans sa spécialité, sans avoir renoncé pour autant à sa formation scientifique générale et à son éducation civique.

Pour réaliser cet objectif complexe il a fallu organiser très attentivement la formation de l'étudiant, par la prolongation de la scolarité à 5 ou 6 ans, ainsi que par l'élaboration de plans d'enseignement et de programmes d'études adéquats. Ces plans et ces programmes sont préparés avec la collaboration des enseignants et des spécialistes de la production; ils n'ont point de caractère fixe, étant périodiquement revus et modifiés afin d'être en harmonie avec les dernières conquêtes de la science et de la technique et avec les besoins, sans cesse accrûs, de la pratique sociale. Les plans d'enseignement établissent le cadre général de la formation

théorique et pratique de l'étudiant, l'ensemble des disciplines qui déterminent la spécialité, leur ordre, leur interpénétration, le quantum de connaissances considérées nécessaires et possibles (notamment le nombre d'heures de cours et de travaux pratiques attribuées à chaque discipline), la périodicité des épreuves et examens par lesquels on vérifie l'assimilation des connaissances.

En général, les trois premières années sont réservées à la culture générale scientifique; la formation de stricte spécialité commence à partir de la III^e année d'étude, elle s'approfondit jusqu'à l'avant-dernier semestre; au cours du dernier semestre, les étudiants mettent au point leur thèse et se préparent pour l'examen d'Etat.

Ce système – assez rigoureux – des plans d'enseignement qui toutefois présente l'avantage d'orienter les jeunes vers les problèmes fondamentaux de la discipline à laquelle ils se sont consacrés, permet également aux étudiants de compléter leur formation par toutes sortes de disciplines facultatives, propres à susciter leur intérêt. Lors de l'élaboration de ces plans on accorde une place de choix à la pratique des étudiants dans la production: on y précise la durée de la pratique ainsi que les périodes pendant lesquelles elle doit s'effectuer.

L'enseignement universitaire porte des fruits par ses permanentes attaches avec les réalités économiques, culturelles et sociales: c'est là un principe à même d'assurer l'efficacité de la formation de l'étudiant.

Le sens de ce principe, particulièrement important, n'est ni empirique, ni "pragmatique" – si je puis dire ainsi – et se trouve à la base de la conception et de l'organisation de l'enseignement universitaire.

Mis au service de l'élévation continue du niveau de vie matériel et culturel du peuple, l'enseignement se rattache, par mille liens, au travail productif et fait, à son tour, que ce travail devienne toujours plus efficace. C'est ce qui explique, d'ailleurs, les formes multiples et variées que revêtent ces attaches.

L'activité scientifique des enseignants tend à contribuer grandement à la solution des problèmes, tant théoriques que pratiques, soulevés par la pratique sociale; elle tend également à rattacher – dans une très large mesure – le travail de recherche aux problèmes actuels et de perspective du développement économique et culturel. Les cours universitaires mettent en évidence les voies qui mènent aux implications techniques des problèmes théoriques; l'exposé est toujours illustré d'exemples tirés des réalités économiques, sociales, politiques et culturelles. Les étudiants font, chaque année, pendant une certaine période, des stages pratiques – suivant leur spécialité – dans les usines, les exploitations agricoles, les établissements scientifiques, culturels ou administratifs du pays, afin de

connaître les aspects réels du travail, afin d'aimer davantage la spécialité choisie, de mettre en valeur et de contrôler, par l'expérience, les connaissances acquises aux cours, aux travaux pratiques et dans les laboratoires.

Les étudiants qui se préparent pour l'enseignement effectuent un stage pédagogique dans les écoles secondaires sous la direction de professeurs expérimentés.

Ces périodes d'études pratiques font partie intégrante du processus de formation des étudiants; elles sont prévues par les plans d'enseignement. Tous les frais de déplacement et de séjour sont à la charge de l'établissement universitaire.

Dans l'organisation de l'activité universitaire qui a pour but de former de jeunes spécialistes, les programmes des cours jouent un rôle de premier ordre, aux côtés des plans d'enseignement. Les prévisions de ces derniers y sont minutieusement détaillées: il y est question de la succession de l'enchaînement des connaissances et de leur sélection du point de vue valeur, afin d'assurer à l'étudiant une haute qualification, et afin de réaliser une étroite relation entre son savoir et les nécessités de la vie. Compte tenu de ces principes qui régissent l'élaboration des programmes, (les étapes requises pour leur mise au point sont différentes) on a recours, avant toute chose, à l'appui des personnes compétentes travaillant dans l'enseignement et dans la production; leurs propositions sont discutées publiquement. Dans les collectifs au niveau des sections de l'université – collectifs qui réunissent tous les spécialistes de la même discipline – les discussions portent surtout sur la valeur scientifique des connaissances, sur leur succession rationnelle, méthodique et pédagogique, sur ses liens avec la pratique.

Les conseils scientifiques des facultés suivent la coordination des divers programmes pour éviter les répétitions et le parallélisme, pour établir une connexion entre les disciplines. Le renouvellement périodique des programmes permet de les adapter aux nouvelles exigences de la pratique, aux dernières conquêtes de la science et de la technique.

Grâce aux suggestions, faites par les conseils des facultés d'une même spécialité, le Ministère de l'Enseignement a pu élaborer pour bon nombre de disciplines des programmes uniques, valables pour le pays tout entier.

Il serait injuste d'affirmer – on le fait parfois – que les programmes viennent empiéter sur la personnalité scientifique et didactique du professeur.

Les programmes sont destinés à préciser les problèmes du cours, à indiquer la quantité et le genre de connaissances qui étayent l'avance progressive dans le domaine scientifique et que les étudiants assimilent

soit en suivant le cours du professeur, soit en lisant d'autres traités ou manuels.

Le professeur, dont l'objectif permanent reste l'ensemble des connaissances indiqué par le programme, a néanmoins la possibilité d'insister davantage sur certains chapitres, directement rattachés à son propre travail de recherche: il peut le faire non seulement pendant les cours généraux, mais aussi, et je dirais, surtout, pendant les cours spéciaux des derniers semestres d'études.

C'est toujours à partir des programmes d'études que l'on établit les thèmes des travaux pratiques et de laboratoire, confiés, d'habitude, aux assistants, aux chargés de cours et aux chefs de laboratoires.

L'essor de la science moderne, la ramification continuelle de ses problèmes, l'augmentation massive du nombre des étudiants (d'où la nécessité de mieux organiser, de suivre et de stimuler l'activité individuelle de l'étudiant) a déterminé une révision du concept traditionnel de faculté.

Cette division de l'établissement universitaire qui avait, à l'origine, un sens plutôt corporatif désignant toutes les personnes d'une même section, professeurs et étudiants, a acquis, peu à peu – et au fur et à mesure que se précisaient les diverses branches de la science – son acception moderne: objet d'étude et non personnes qui étudient.

En ce qui concerne le concept de faculté, il suffit de comparer la situation des différents pays, pour en arriver à démontrer la force de la tradition, le reflet du moment historique de la création de l'université et la conception même que l'on se fait de la science, à l'époque en question. Rappelons, par exemple, que dans le système universitaire allemand, les mathématiques sont enseignées à la faculté de philosophie; dans le système français, dont l'organisation est plus récente, à la faculté des sciences. Le progrès incessant de la science et les besoins en spécialistes imposés à l'université par la société, justifient la nécessité d'une permanente adaptation de l'enseignement aux nouvelles exigences. Ceci concerne également, l'organisation de l'étude par facultés. Le nom de faculté de "philosophie" (ou "lettres et philosophie") que garde traditionnellement la faculté des sciences humaines, englobe toute une série de sciences bien déterminées du point de vue objet et méthode de recherche: la philosophie elle-même, la psychologie, la pédagogie, l'histoire, l'ethnographie, le folklore, l'économie politique, la philologie. Moins précise encore est la dénomination traditionnelle de "faculté des sciences", héritée du temps où seules les sciences naturelles avaient fixé les contours de leur domaine d'activité et de leurs méthodes de recherche. De nos jours, ce genre de facultés comprend des divisions scientifiques qui constituent elles-mêmes un complexe de disciplines dépassant la capacité d'assimilation d'un étudiant au cours

d'une scolarité normale de 4 à 5 ans; c'est le cas de la physique, de la chimie, de la biologie, et même celui de la géographie ou de la géologie.

Ce sont des considérations de ce genre qui ont orienté les discussions se rapportant au problème de l'organisation universitaire, pendant les années 1948-1954, et qui continuent aujourd'hui encore. Quels ont été les résultats de ces débats? Des propositions concernant la réorganisation du système des facultés universitaires.

En ce moment, l'Université de Bucarest comprend 9 facultés: 1 faculté de mathématiques et de mécanique, 4 facultés de sciences naturelles (physique, chimie, biologie, géographie-géologie), 4 facultés de sciences sociales (philosophie, histoire, philologie, sciences juridiques). Ce système n'est pas rigide; il évolue suivant les nécessités. Il y a quatre ans encore, les mathématiques et la physique formaient une seule faculté. Lorsque le nombre des étudiants et des enseignants, lorsque l'ensemble des problèmes scientifiques et didactiques ont dépassé la capacité d'organisation et de direction du conseil de direction (doyen), on est tombé d'accord sur la séparation des deux facultés.

Le même problème se posa, il y a deux ans, pour la faculté de philologie qu'on a divisé toujours en deux: une faculté de philologie roumaine et un institut avec quatre facultés de philologie étrangère.

On peut obtenir une meilleure organisation sans éprouver pour autant des difficultés fondamentales et ceci, grâce au fait que l'unité proprement dite de l'enseignement est la section de spécialisation que choisit l'étudiant (avec possibilité de transfert) dès son entrée dans la faculté; chaque section est pourvue du nombre d'enseignants nécessaire et possède un plan d'enseignement et un programme particulier. La faculté réunit des spécialités apparentées; elle doit organiser, coordonner et diriger l'activité didactique et scientifique.

L'Université de Bucarest compte 58 spécialités (dont 8 pour les mathématiques-mécanique, 8 pour la physique, 6 pour la chimie, 3 pour la biologie, 3 pour la géographie, 1 pour la géologie, 3 pour la philosophie, 2 pour l'histoire, 22 pour la philologie, 2 pour les sciences juridiques).

A notre avis, cette forme d'organisation favorise la formation de spécialistes au niveau des exigences scientifiques et des nécessités sociales. L'expérience a confirmé, d'ailleurs, les qualités du système, par le grand nombre d'étudiants qui, une fois leurs études terminées, ont pleinement répondu aux tâches de la production et de la culture. La seule question pouvant soulever des objections est la possibilité d'assurer, dans le cadre des spécialités – étant donné leur relative indépendance – le côté humaniste et de culture générale de la formation des étudiants – principe énoncé ci-dessus. L'expérience est positive, de ce point de vue également,

et nous engage à persévérer dans cette voie. Qu'elle a été la solution que nous avons trouvée? Tout simplement le déplacement des professeurs qui enseignaient les disciplines philosophiques et de culture générale vers les différentes facultés et sections de spécialisation. Un chimiste, un biologiste, un géologue ou un technicien, par exemple, auquel nous demandons de compléter sa culture de spécialité par des connaissances de philosophie, de mathématiques ou de physique, pourrait difficilement arranger son programme d'après celui des autres facultés. Il est de beaucoup plus judicieux que l'autorité universitaire organise de tels cours dans les facultés en question. Cette solution présente en outre l'avantage d'orienter les cours généraux des enseignants à partir des problèmes que pose la spécialité. En exigeant en même temps un accroissement considérable du nombre des professeurs et des maîtres de conférences, mais surtout des assistants, cette solution entraîne l'existence de larges réserves de jeunes cadres que l'on peut promouvoir et utiliser – au fur et à mesure de leur perfectionnement – en vue de l'extension du réseau universitaire et de celui de la recherche scientifique.

En pratique, on réalise ce principe par la création de chaires affectées aux autres facultés ou de groupes de professeurs et d'assistants. Dans tous les établissements d'enseignement technique il existe des chaires de philosophie et de disciplines de culture générale. A l'Université, c'est à la faculté de philosophie que revient la tâche de dispenser l'enseignement philosophique à toutes les facultés et sections, par ses chaires dont le personnel a beaucoup augmenté. Il en est de même pour la faculté de philologie dont dépend l'enseignement des langues étrangères. Dans les facultés de mathématiques, de physique ou de chimie, on a créé des sections pour les étudiants qui suivent ces cours en tant que disciplines de culture générale.

Les solutions sont différentes non point à cause des moyens financiers que l'Etat met très généreusement à la disposition de ces divers établissements, mais de la différence de quantum des obligations planifiées.

En dehors de ces mesures d'organisation qui déterminent une nouvelle structure des facultés et sections universitaires, il a été nécessaire de résoudre nombre d'autres problèmes directement rattachés au progrès de la science et de la technique, à l'accroissement du nombre des effectifs; il a fallu assurer l'accès dans l'enseignement supérieur de tout jeune capable, de s'occuper d'une répartition territoriale plus judicieuse des institutions supérieures, et établir – compte tenu des nécessités économiques et culturelles – une proportion plus réaliste des effectifs étudiants, par sections scientifiques.

Je les mentionnerai brièvement, en donnant aussi quelques chiffres

significatifs des progrès réalisés. L'enseignement gratuit, un système de bourses qui tient compte aussi bien des résultats scolaires de l'étudiant que de la situation matérielle de sa famille, la construction et l'aménagement de nombreux foyers d'étudiants et de cantines, ont réalisé l'équité sociales devant l'enseignement: tous les étudiants sont libérés des soucis matériels et peuvent se consacrer entièrement à leurs études. A l'Université de Bucarest, sur 10.000 étudiants qui fréquentent les cours habituels, cette année, peus de 6.000 bénéficient d'une bourse; l'Université a 5.500 lits dans les foyers et environ 6.000 places dans les cantines. Grâce à de telles mesures, dans notre pays, le nombre des étudiants (cours habituels) dépasse 93.000 (leur nombre a presque quadruplé par rapport à 1938). Pour les personnes qui travaillent dans la production ou que des questions de famille empêchent de suivre les cours pendant la journée, on a instauré, dans plusieurs facultés, des cours du soir et par correspondance, qui comptent encore quelque 27.000 étudiants. Le nombre des centres universitaires est passé de 5 à 15, surtout du fait de la création de nouveaux établissements d'enseignement supérieur techniques et pédagogiques, et de la planification des taux de scolarisation d'après les nécessités sociales (les facultés ont été popularisés, et les candidats guidés de manière à promouvoir l'enseignement des mathématiques et des sciences naturelles dans les universités, ainsi que dans le secteur technique supérieur).

Si en 1938, les facultés de mathématiques, de physique et de chimie de l'Université de Bucarest ne comptaient que 330 étudiants, aujourd'hui par contre, leur nombre s'élève à 1.300. Le pourcentage des étudiants de l'enseignement technique supérieur est de 31 par rapport à 9,4 en 1938, celui des agronomes 11 par rapport à 3,9 en 1938.

On a créé de nombreuses spécialisations imposées par les problèmes de la science moderne, de la culture et de la technique. Je citerai quelques-unes de ces nouvelles sections de l'Université: machines à calculer, physique nucléaire, radio-chimie, électrochimie, chimie des macromolécules, biochimie, biophysique, phytopathologie, langues slaves, turque et tartare, chinoise, arabe.

L'intérêt de l'Etat qui veut que les établissements d'enseignement supérieur donnent un nombre toujours accru de diplômés hautement qualifiés, a stimulé la recherche de nouvelles méthodes didactiques à même d'élever la responsabilité de l'étudiant envers l'étude tout en assurant son assimilation créatrice de la science; ceci évite les "pertes" d'étudiants entre les concours d'admission et l'Examen d'Etat. Il va sans dire que la sélection rigoureuse à l'admission et les conditions matérielles de travail sont tout autant de prémisses favorables aux bons résultats de l'étude. D'autre part, certaines "pertes" sont inévitables, car il arrive

parfois qu'un étudiant ne puisse dépasser le stade d'une assimilation mécanique, fondée avant toute chose sur la mémoire — pour s'élever à une assimilation personnelle, créatrice, de la science. Le système, assez sévère, des examens semestriels et annuels obligatoires élimine de pareils éléments pour les diriger vers d'autres domaines d'activité dans lesquels, suivant leur capacité, ils peuvent devenir utiles à la société.

Mais notre expérience a démontré que ce problème revêt, dans bon nombre de cas, un aspect pédagogique qui, une fois pris en considération, peut donner d'excellents résultats.

Des professeurs d'université, des hommes de science formés qui utilisent des méthodes de recherche rigoureusement scientifiques, en arrivent à oublier parfois que les étudiants, les débutants surtout, doivent être introduits d'une façon méthodique, progressive, dans les problèmes scientifiques et que toute carence dans ce domaine peut avoir une fâcheuse influence sur la formation des futurs spécialistes. Il existe une pédagogie des cours universitaires, des travaux et leçons pratiques, et nous nous efforçons de la promouvoir par des discussions sur les méthodes d'enseignement, dans les sections et les diverses facultés.

Une attention toute spéciale a été accordée à la place que doivent occuper dans l'activité didactique les travaux et les cours pratiques. Leur importance est bien connue; si au cours théorique l'étudiant est passif, dominé par l'autorité du professeur, lorsqu'il suit son exposé, pendant les travaux et les cours pratiques il devient actif, s'exerce dans la dialectique de la connaissance, éclaircit ses imprécisions, confronte ses propres idées avec celles nouvellement acquises, les dispose d'une façon systématique, les vérifie par l'expérience. La manière dont se déploient ces activités pratiques mérite toute l'attention des autorités universitaires. Non seulement on accorde un soin particulier à la formation professionnelle et pédagogique des assistants qui s'occupent des travaux et cours pratiques, mais l'on tient compte aussi d'une autre donnée essentielle de ce problème: le nombre des étudiants qui y participent.

Plus le nombre est élevé, plus il devient difficile d'entraîner périodiquement chaque étudiant dans l'activité du cours pratique. Voilà pourquoi l'on a introduit dans notre pays le système des groupes de 20 à 25 étudiants en tant qu'unités constantes pour les cours pratiques, et des sous-groupes de 10 à 12 étudiants pour les travaux de laboratoires et l'étude des langues étrangères. Il est évident que ce système suppose l'existence d'un grand nombre d'assistants. Il est vrai que, pendant les années qui ont suivi la réforme de l'enseignement, ce nombre a considérablement augmenté, bien souvent de 10 à 20 fois de ce qu'il était auparavant. Ce trait spécifique vient appuyer judicieusement le processus d'enseigne-

ment, sans parler du fait que la jeune génération de chercheurs, dont la formation professionnelle et scientifique est suivie de près, constitue une large réserve de cadres en vue du développement continu de l'enseignement, de la science et de la culture.

L'expérience acquise depuis la réforme de l'enseignement, a prouvé l'efficacité et la valeur du système; notre école a donné, au cours de cette période, de nombreux diplômés qui témoignent, là où ils travaillent, de leur capacité professionnelle et de leur attachement à l'activité créatrice du peuple. Comme toute chose, notre système n'est ni définitif, ni fermé; il peut être amélioré; et combien importants et utiles sont, à cet égard, les échanges d'idées et l'expérience de nos collègues d'autres pays. La coopération entre les universités est indispensable dans le monde contemporain; elle contribue à l'entente entre les peuples, et justifie également son utilité dans le domaine de la connaissance réciproque des systèmes d'enseignement.¹⁾

PRESENT PROBLEMS OF THE RUMANIAN UNIVERSITY

by JEAN LIVESCU, Bucarest

Although Universities in various countries have common goals, they differ according to the different requirements of the society which they serve. In the post-war period, Rumanian higher education has been faced with new tasks in connection with the building up of socialism demanding an ever greater number of specialists in all branches of economy, culture and science.

These tasks made necessary a revision of the old system of higher education with a view to harmonizing the traditional study of the humanities with the present trends towards a narrow specialization of undergraduates. Shifting the emphasis of University education on to specialized departments with curricula of their own, suggested by bodies of specialists, has made it possible to organize the faculties on a wider basis and to keep abreast of developments in science and the requirements of society. Government-supported measures have added materially to widening the social basis of the student population.

AKTUELLE PROBLEME DER RUMÄNISCHEN UNIVERSITÄT

von JEAN LIVESCU, Bukarest

Obwohl die Universitäten in den verschiedenen Ländern gemeinsame Ziele haben, unterscheiden sie sich doch auf Grund der verschiedenen Bedürfnisse der Gesellschaft, der sie dienen. In der Nachkriegszeit stand die rumänische Uni-

¹⁾ Cet article nous fut cédé par la Division de l'information et du matériel pédagogique de l'Unesco.

versität vor neuen Aufgaben im Zusammenhang mit dem Aufbau des Sozialismus, der eine immer größere Anzahl von Spezialisten auf allen Gebieten der Wirtschaft, der Kultur und der Wissenschaft forderte.

Diese Aufgaben erforderten eine Neugestaltung des alten Hochschulsystems, um einen harmonischen Ausgleich zwischen der traditionellen humanistischen Universitätsausbildung und den aktuellen Tendenzen nach einer engeren Spezialisierung zu schaffen. Die Verlegung des Schwergewichtes des Studiums auf Fachsektionen mit eigenen, von Fachkollegien vorgeschlagenen Lehrplänen, gestattete eine elastische Organisation der Fakultäten und die Möglichkeit, mit dem wissenschaftlichen Fortschritt und den gesellschaftlichen Bedürfnissen Schritt zu halten. Vom Staate großzügig unterstützte Maßnahmen sicherten die Erweiterung der sozialen Basis der Studentenschaft.

THE DANISH FOLK HIGH SCHOOL: CAN IT BE TRANSPLANTED? THE SUCCESS AND FAILURE OF THE DANISH FOLK HIGH SCHOOL AT HOME AND ABROAD

by JINDRA KULICH, Vancouver

Historical Background

In the years between the two world wars, and especially during and after the last war, residential adult education became the subject of an increasing number of studies and experiments. The Swedish and especially the Danish folk high school movement, which originated from the educational ideas of N. F. S. Grundtvig, gave inspiration and factual material to this interest and to these studies.

Grundtvig's folk high school idea was the result of several influences. In the residential aspect he was no doubt influenced by his several visits to England around 1830, during which he was greatly impressed by the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge. However, he immediately realized that these colleges were a preserve of a privileged class. Impressed by the excesses of the French Revolution, Grundtvig wanted his new school to offer education for the people to enable them to take responsibility that the coming democratic governments were to lay on their shoulders.

Having in vivid memory the dreadful years he experienced in the Latin school at Aarhus, Grundtvig felt strongly that the new school should be a centre of liberal education, a "school for life." It should waken and further a desire and ability to live life fully. To Grundtvig, this meant a school in which the individual is confronted with other human beings in daily situations and develops a sense of fellowship. In addition to the social life of the school, the "living word" was to help to awaken the students.

The "living word" is one of the central concepts in Grundtvig's ideas. The bookish, academic knowledge of the Latin schools was the "dead word." "Living presupposes an element of inspiration. Something of the flame of the prophet and the bard must fire the tongue of him who would kindle youth to action. The 'living word' has its source in idealism, in a deep belief in nation and humanity. It cannot draw its power from books alone." ¹⁾

Thus the new school should be closely related to the language of the common people – the mother tongue – and to their entire mode of life. It should foster and further a culture in which all people share, a *folkelig*

¹⁾ As quoted in J. C. Möller, *Education in Democracy* London: Faber 1944, p. 25.

culture. This is the second central concept. *Folkelig* is a Danish word that defies all attempts at translation. It encompasses both the folk tradition developed through the centuries and a feeling of being part of this tradition. It is no narrow-minded nationalism but rather a full realization of the national cultural heritage as a part of the old Norse heritage, and also part of the cultural heritage of mankind. In this concept one can distinguish clearly the influence of German romanticism, and the practical influence of the Danish struggle with the overwhelming German cultural domination in Slesvig.

It is thus not surprising that Grundtvig's idea was first put into practice in South Jutland, where a folk high school was established at Rödning in 1844 to combat the influence of the German-speaking upper class. The next two folk high schools were equally closely connected with the peasant class. Uldum Folk High School was founded in 1848 and Ryslinge Folk High School opened in 1851 under Kristen Kold, who became equally celebrated as the practitioner of the folk high school, as Grundtvig was considered the father of the idea.

Soon, the folk high school idea spread also to Norway which was similarly striving to find and preserve its old culture. In 1864 the first Norwegian folk high school opened at Sagatun, followed in 1877 by a school at Vonheim. Sweden's first three folk high schools were established in 1868 at Herrested, Önnestad, and Hvilan. In Finland, a Finnish folk high school was established at Kangasala in 1889 and a Finnish-Swedish school opened at Borgaa the same year.

With the variations of Grundtvig's folk high school idea established in the Scandinavian countries and Finland, the stage was set for further expansion in Scandinavia and abroad.

The Folk High School Comes of Age in Scandinavia

Grundtvig hoped that his educational ideas would materialize in a central Royal Academy at Sorö, but the death of his friend King Christian VIII, and the opposition of the Ministry of Education, brought the plans to a standstill. The liberal cabinet which came to power after the new 1849 Constitution also shelved the plan. The idea, though, has never been dropped completely, and curiously enough the "People's Academy," this time supported by the Nordic Conference of Ministers of Education, is going to be established at Kungälv in Sweden.

It is easy to see that, at least as far as the Danish experience is concerned, it was to the advantage of the movement to start at the grass-roots level rather than with a Royal Academy. Not only was the reali-

zation this way much more congenial to Grundtvig's central idea, but also it affected a large proportion of the peasant population.

The Prusso-Danish war of 1864, resulting in the loss of South Jutland to Germany, was the decisive event in modern Danish history. Grundtvig's motto, "outward loss, inward gain," inspired the people to apply all efforts to the building-up of cultural, social, political, and economical resources. The folk high schools played an important role in this effort and proved to be of vital importance. Between 1864 and 1869, twenty-six new folk high schools were established! By 1880 there were sixty-four schools in Denmark, by 1900 the number reached seventy-four, and rose to seventy-nine schools by 1911. Since then, the number of the Danish folk high schools fluctuated between a low of fifty-five schools in 1940 and the present seventy schools. The enrollment rose from 190 students in 1854-55 to 7,006 in 1920-21, then dropped to a low of 4,736 in 1945-46 only to rise rapidly again to reach in 1961-62 7,499 students.¹⁾

By the turn of the century, the Danish folk high schools managed to transform, within two generations, a largely backward peasantry into a progressive farming middle class.²⁾ No other country using the folk high school approach achieved similarly striking results. Undoubtedly the institution in Denmark was set off against a background of favourable circumstances and met a societal need. The movement appealed to the romantic nationalism of the intelligentsia and was combined with a religious reform. The peasant class was beginning to stir under the influence of the French Revolution and its leaders were in a favourable frame of mind for popular education. The war and loss of South Jutland provided a rallying point for the whole nation, while it was not severe enough a set-back to seriously cripple it. Undoubtedly the results would have been impossible without the devotion of the folk high school teachers and supporters of the movement, and without the willingness of a sufficient number of the peasant population to change its outlook. However, devotion and willingness alone, under different circumstances would hardly have been able to achieve such a striking feat.

The development of the folk high school movement in Norway can serve as a case of point. The needs of the people were very similar to the Danish. The circumstances, however, present both similarities and

¹⁾ Undervisningsministeriet, Denmark, *Betaenkning vedrørende Folkehøjskolen* Copenhagen: Undervisningsministeriet 1960, p. 14, and Roar Skovmand, ed., *Folkehøjskolen i Norden; Aarborg 1962* Copenhagen: Det nordiske Folkehøjskole-raad 1963, p. 124.

²⁾ For an excellent account of this striking social change see Holger Begtrup, Hand Lund and Peter Manniche, *The Folk High Schools of Denmark and the Development of a Farming Community* Copenhagen: Nyt Nordisk Forlag 1949, 4th ed.

differences. The Norwegians, too, were concerned about their folk culture and their own language – *Landsmaal*. On the other hand, whereas Denmark in the middle of the 19th century was predominantly agricultural country, the main products of Norway were fishing and lumber, with only a little farming in the south. Also, the population of Norway was much more scattered in small pockets, separated by the mountains and the fiords. Obviously this presented obstacles to the development of the folk high schools that Denmark did not have to face. In addition, the movement in Norway was restrained by adverse policy of the conservative government. Soon, the movement was further weakened by a split into three groups, each with a separate and distinct set of aims: "extremely liberal Grundtvigianism, culturally broadminded Christianity, and pietistically-coloured orthodoxy." ¹⁾

In order to hamper the development, the government started in 1875 its own rival system of County Residential Schools. The folk high schools were then given state subsidy, if they accepted similar state control as the County Schools.²⁾ The Danish folk high schools, on the other hand, resisted successfully all attempts at state control and kept their independence in spite of rising state subsidies (over four million Danish Kronor, approximately \$ 570,000, in 1958–59).³⁾ Further, Christian Youth Schools were established in the 1890's as another competing institution in Norway. This tri-partite system was equalized for grant purposes in the 1930's, given a generic name "folk high schools," and became an integral part of the Norwegian school system. In 1955, seventy-one schools were in operation with 4,050 students; of these seventy-one folk high schools, only twenty-nine were folk high schools in the original meaning.⁴⁾

Thus one can say that the folk school movement in Norway was not in the position to establish itself like its Danish counterpart and went even beyond mere adaptation to practically merge with the state school system. As a result it was not able to play an equally important spiritual, social, and political role in the development of the nation which achieved its political independence from Sweden in 1905.

Sweden, unlike Denmark and Norway, was not involved in a struggle to maintain and to preserve the mother tongue of the people and their

¹⁾ Poul Engberg, *The Northern Folk High Schools* Copenhagen: The Nordic Folk High School Council 1955, p. 4.

²⁾ Ragnar Lund et al., *Scandinavian Adult Education* Copenhagen: Det Danske Forlag, 1952, p. 166.

³⁾ *Betaenkning*, op. cit., p. 14.

⁴⁾ Ingeborg Lyche, *Adult Education in Norway* Oslo: Royal Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1957, p. 28.

folk culture, and consequently there has been no struggle of a people's culture against an academic one. On the contrary, Swedish academic cultural life, with its philosophy of personality and marked Greek and Christian humanism, has greatly influenced the ideas of the folk high schools established a close contact with the universities and the university men.¹⁾ In addition, the Swedish folk high schools were from the beginning influenced by the demand of the farming class for secondary and citizenship education. When the farmers took power in the Second Chamber, after the 1866 Constitutional Reform, the demand for citizenship education established a strong civic tendency in contrast to the Danish stress on moral and spiritual education. The founders of the Swedish folk high schools were practical men and consequently science was from the beginning also given a place in the curriculum.²⁾

Early 20th century brought a considerable expansion of the Swedish folk high schools. During the first fifteen years of this century, twenty-two new schools were established. Today, there are ninety-five folk high schools located all over Sweden, the highest number in any country. The founding of the Brunnsvik Folk High School in 1906 with its Labour Movement backing was significant. On the whole, the folk high schools in Sweden seem to attract a considerably higher proportion from the non-agricultural groups of society than is the case in Denmark and Norway. The Labour Movement in Denmark established a folk high school in Esbjerg in 1910 and took over a school at Roskilde, but it is significant that these schools remained largely distinct labour schools, whereas Brunnsvik attracted all classes and the Swedish folk high school students represent a fair cross-section of the population. It is for this reason that M. F. Forster claims that "the Swedes have actually arrived nearer the aim that Grundtvig had from the beginning, namely, that of a 'free citizen-school' – they are truly *folkhögskoler* – colleges for the people." ³⁾ However, this statement may be questioned as an oversimplification of Grundtvig's rather complex idea. Also, as far as effectiveness is concerned, Forster must acknowledge at the conclusion of her comparison: "It must be conceded that the Danish colleges have had so far a greater influence upon their country's development than the Swedish, changing Denmark in a few decades from a poor and backward country into one of the most flourishing, up-to-date and democratic in Europe." ⁴⁾

¹⁾ Engberg, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

²⁾ M. F. Forster, *School for Life*, London: Faber 1944, p. 17.

³⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁴⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

Some of the factors influencing the Danish success have already been mentioned. Another factor, that of concentration of all of the resources on one class which was the most outgoing in its acceptance of the movement and was going to show by far the most striking results, can be pointed out too.

Since the last war, considerable experimentation in the field of citizenship and international education has been going on in Denmark, especially in the new Krogrup Folk High School, Magleås Folk High School, and the Nordic-European Folk High School at Snoghøj. Of course the work of the International People's College, founded in 1921 at Elsinore must also be kept in mind. The Danish folk high school movement is, especially in the last few years, seeking new ways and adapting by experimental processes to changing individual and social needs and circumstances.

It is interesting after this comparison of the two countries to reflect on the folk high school situation in Finland. Finland, especially at the end of the last century, was engaged in a desperate struggle to maintain its national culture and its two languages (Finnish and Swedish) in the face of forceful russification. In accordance with long tradition, the folk high school movement in Finland divided into a Finnish group and a Swedish-Finnish group. Characteristically, the Finnish folk high schools followed closely the Danish prototype, while the Swedish-Finnish group drew on Swedish experience.¹⁾

After the turn of the century, and especially between the two world wars, the folk high schools became increasingly known throughout the world, and many educators and social reformers came to Denmark (and in a lesser degree to Sweden) to study the dream of Grundtvig which became reality. As a consequence, attempts have been made to transplant the schools also outside Scandinavia. To these attempts and their implications we will turn next.

The Folk High School Abroad

In England and Scotland, the interest in the Danish folk high schools was fairly strong. Already in 1903, George Cadbury founded the Quaker Woodbrook College and in 1909 the Fircroft College, to which Tom Bryant devoted his life as a Warden, was established. Wales got its Coleg Harlech, and in Scotland the Newbattle Abbey became a residential college in 1937. Before the last war, there were about ten adult residential colleges, some of them influenced directly by the Danish example, others, as Dr.

¹⁾ Engberg, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

Waller points out, based on the residential tradition of the old English universities and Public Schools.¹⁾

The English experiment with transplantation of the Danish folk high school is rather significant and provides many opportunities for analysis. In this paper, only a few of the factors can be treated. Obviously the two most striking differences between Great Britain and Denmark are those of geography and national resources and economy. Culturally, England was since the absorption of the Norman conquest never in danger of domination by a foreign culture. The strong development of W.E.A. gave English adult education an entirely different direction. The farming population evidently found no inspiration in the residential colleges and therefore did not support them. The clientèle of these colleges was almost exclusively intelligentsia, the colleges in England could not hope to serve as institutions of mass education.²⁾ The long-term course, stretching in some cases over two years, eliminated automatically those of the working class who might have been interested, unless they were willing to give up their job.³⁾ Sir Richard Livingstone, a great admirer of the Danish folk high schools, realized this problem when he commented that the residential aspect of the colleges would be successful in England only if a system of release from work could be worked out with the industry.⁴⁾

Sir Richard Livingstone contributed a great deal to the interest in residential adult education in England. The British Institute of Adult Education published its report on *Adult Education after the War*, and further education was accepted in the 1944 Education Act. A favourable climate for residential adult education has thus been created. In the Report of the British Institute of Adult Education a striking difference from the folk high school idea comes to light. In the Report, residential courses are designated as "the crown of adult education for the community as a whole, in the same manner as the university is regarded as the crown of the educational system which covers the earlier years of life,"⁵⁾ i.e., a terminal concept, whereas the folk high school concept is that of opening horizons for lifelong learning. This difference in outlook is rather important and has many consequences.

After the war, many adult residential colleges sprang up throughout

¹⁾ R. D. Waller, "The English Experience," *Food for Thought*, vol. 17 (December 1956), p. 127.

²⁾ Sir Richard Livingstone, *On Education*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1954, p. 44.

³⁾ Guy Hunter, *Residential Colleges; Some New Developments in British Adult Education*, New York: Fund for Adult Education, n.d., p. 25.

⁴⁾ Livingstone, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

⁵⁾ British Institute of Adult Education, *Adult Education After the War*, London: Oxford University Press, 1945, p. 27.

England and Scotland. These new colleges differ considerably from the old, pre-war centres. The new colleges offer a great variety of adult experiences, both on a short-term (weekend, week, fortnight, and month) and a long-term (five to twelve months) basis.¹⁾ The courses of study stretch from liberal arts to vocational training and the latter is causing some concern among adult educators in England. Guy Hunter sees in this development a perilous risk, "a risk of losing their independence and becoming a mere tool of industrial training or administrative bureaucracy."²⁾ Another danger that Hunter sees on the horizon is the possibility of popular pressures exerted on the colleges, which are being maintained from public funds by the Local Educational Authorities, to offer mere recreational weekend courses.³⁾ Undoubtedly, England is bringing forth a new concept of residential adult education, adapted to the needs and possibilities of a highly industrialized society. Much of this is yet in an experimental stage, but some valid pattern seems to be emerging and taking root. The inspiration lies without doubt partly with the Danish folk high school idea, but England gave it a new creative twist.

In continental Europe, between the two world wars, numerous attempts have been made to transplant the Danish idea. The most successful of these, outside of Scandinavia, seem to have been undertaken in Poland, where ten folk high schools were established during the early 1930's and presented an impressive activity until the German invasion destroyed them in 1939. The schools have been reestablished after the war and seem to carry on the old tradition.⁴⁾ In Switzerland, in spite of the energetic attempts of Dr. Fritz Wartenweiler, the folk high school idea remained a fancy of a handful of people. Two folk high schools were established, but on the whole the movement is rootless. Adult educators from Austria, Bulgaria, Estonia, Germany, and Hungary were interested in starting the movement in their countries in the 1920's and 1930's, but the political development in these countries was not congenial to a democratic educational experiment. Post-war conditions were on the whole more favourable, and a variety of folk high schools sprang up in Austria, the Netherlands, and the Federal Republic of Germany. The Austrian and Dutch folk high schools, although inspired strongly by their Danish prototype, have accepted the English short-term solution. In the Federal Republic

¹⁾ G. F. Kneller, "The British Adult Residential College," *Journal of Higher Education*, vol. 21 (January 1950), p. 8.

²⁾ Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

³⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

⁴⁾ Aake Tönvik, "Fraan en resa i Polen," *Tidskrift för Svenska Folkhögskolan*, vol. 43 (No. 2, 1962), pp. 111-115.

of Germany, some of the *Heimvolkshochschulen* followed the Danish, while some accepted the new English concept.

On the North American continent, the movement spread first with Danish immigrants. A number of Danish folk high schools were formed at the end of the 19th century, among these Elk Horn in Iowa (1878), Nystad in Nebraska, and Danebod in Minnesota. These were very successful with the first generation of immigrants, but then the acculturation process of the second and third generation set in and transformed the schools beyond recognition. In Canada, only one Danish folk high school of this kind was opened in the settlement of Dalum in Alberta.¹⁾ The attempt to transplant a genuine Danish folk high school to the North American continent, and especially to the United States with its "melting pot" philosophy, was obviously destined to fail.

However, interest in the folk high school idea was by no means confined to Danish immigrants. The most prominent among the Americans, whose imagination was inspired by the Danish success, was Mrs. Olive D. Campbell who travelled extensively in Scandinavia and wrote an inspiring book about her experience.²⁾ After her return, she founded the John C. Campbell Folk School near Brasstown, N. C., one of the few folk high schools in the United States which survived until this day. Among the present-day spokesmen of the folk high school idea in the United States is Dr. Royce Pitkin, President of Goddard College, Vermont. However, like in England, the movement seems to, at least at the present, have reached its peak with some eight or nine schools. Also in the United States, the short-term residential course is since the war gaining considerable following and will undoubtedly become of great importance in the development of adult education on this continent.³⁾ One in its implications and consequences, important difference between residential adult education in England and on this continent is that, in the United States and Canada, the residential courses are not regarded as the "crown of adult education" but rather are seen as a part of continuing, lifelong learning.

In Canada, a folk high school movement developed rapidly after the last war. However, only the short-term course was adopted and the participants came almost exclusively from farming circles, even to a

1) Fridlev Skrubbeltrang, *The Danish Folk High Schools*, Copenhagen: Det Danske Selskab 1952, p. 85.

2) Olive D. Campbell, *The Danish Folk School*, New York: MacMillan 1928.

3) For a thorough and imaginative study of the historical roots, present status, and indications of future development of residential adult education in the United States, the reader should consult Robert H. Schacht, *Residential Adult Education - An Analysis and Interpretation*, unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1957.

higher degree than in Denmark. The Folk School Councils of Nova Scotia, Ontario, and Manitoba sponsor numerous (mainly weekend) courses called "folk schools." These councils are influenced to a great deal by the Danish prototype, in spite of the short-term approach.¹⁾ An interesting experiment has been the Youth Training School at the University of British Columbia, established in 1944 as a Federal-Provincial project. This school came closest to some of the modern Danish folk high schools, but was discontinued in 1959. Like in England and the United States, residential adult education inspired by the folk high schools developed rapidly after the last war along the short-term pattern and often having specialized areas of interest. The most notable examples are the Camp Laquemac in Quebec, the Fairbanks House in Ontario, the Banff School of Fine Arts in Alberta, and the Human Relations Institute at Fort Qu'Appelle in Saskatchewan. British Columbia has thus far no residential centre, outside of the Naramata Camp, operated for internal purposes by the United Church.

In Asia and Africa, residential schools influenced by the folk high school idea have been successfully established in several places, often with direct Danish and Swedish assistance.

Already in the late 1920's, two or three folk high schools were established in Japan. The political development and the war interrupted their further development, but after the war the idea was picked up again and two schools, influenced by the Danish idea, are now in operation.²⁾ Dr. Peter Manniche, founder and until 1954 principal of the International People's College at Elsinore, has been untiring in the service of helping to establish folk high schools wherever there seemed to be fertile soil for the idea, and his activities in this field increased after his retirement.

At the present, residential schools influenced by the folk high school idea are the Awudome College at Tsito in Ghana, the Kivukoni College in Tanganyika, and eight Vidyapeeths now established in the State of Mysore in India. The idea is being considered also by Ethiopia, and a residential centre for women is being established by Scandinavian co-operation as "Karen House" in Kenya.

Every year, increasing numbers of educators from the developing countries are coming to Denmark and Sweden to study the folk high schools and receive all possible help both from the two Governments and from the folk high school movement. The Danish organization for

¹⁾ Peter Manniche, "Møde med højskolepionerer i Japan," (*Højskolebladet*, vol 84 (August 21, 1959), pp. 507-510.

²⁾ For an interesting account of this movement see J. K. Friesen & J. M. Parsey, *Manitoba Folk Schools*, Winnipeg: Co-operative Services Branch, 1951.

international co-operation, *Mellemfolkelig Samvirke*, assists the Awudome College and one of the Vidyapeeths in India both with financial help and by sending out Scandinavian adult educators to help to establish the schools. The excellent and untiring work of Poul Bertelsen, formerly at the Awudome College and now in Tanganyika, for the spread of adult residential schools in Africa must also be mentioned. In 1962, a new organization for educational help to the developing countries was established in Denmark by the representative organizations of the folk high schools and of the alumni of the folk high schools. It is in the developing countries of Asia and Africa that the Danish folk high school idea could be of great benefit and might come to play an important role.

Assessment in the Nineteen-Sixties

In the second half of the twentieth century, adult education is in a degree it never has been before of utmost importance to the future of mankind. Residential adult education, with its unique social and spiritual powers, will have to come to play an important role. The Danish example with its far-reaching consequences indicates how residential adult education can transform an entire important segment of a nation. It is doubtful if the Danish feat can be duplicated elsewhere, but it can serve both as an inspiration and as a prototype, to be studied and applied with necessary modifications to suit local needs and circumstances.

Experience abroad seems to point out that in the developing countries, with their largely agricultural population and with a similar struggle for the maintenance of native tongue and culture as that of Denmark a hundred years ago, the Danish prototype can be adopted with less modifications and with more success than in the highly industrialized and urbanized countries of Western Europe and North America. The pattern, distinct already in the case of Finland and Sweden, (the number of folk high schools is evidently not in any direct proportion to their influence in the life of the nation), is thus repeated in the spread of the movement on a worldwide scale.

However, it is not only the developing and primarily agricultural societies that can benefit from the folk high school idea. The western industrialized nations have an equal, if not greater, need for the development of residential adult education. At no other time in the history of mankind was there a greater need for a truly liberal education of the adult. Never before has the threat of atomization of society and break-down of communications through excessive specialization been so great as in our technological society. In the age of the computer, our society needs broad,

liberal education, without which mere technical knowledge turns from a blessing to a grave threat to the future of mankind.

It would be foolhardy to try to imitate without modification an institution which has such an admirable record of serving another society, in another place, and at another time. The English concept of residential adult education points in the right direction and will, at least for the western industrialized countries, prove more important, especially when enriched by the concept of continuous learning. Inspired by the Danish success and considering all the varieties and modifications of residential adult education, each society will have to find its own approach, suited to its own needs, institutions, and circumstances. One of the basic values of education is that it does not arrest progress, but rather fosters a concept of continuous, lifelong search and development of human potentialities. Residential adult education must also be guided by this concept if it is to be of importance in the social, political, economic, and spiritual development of mankind.

DIE DÄNISCHE VOLKSHOCHSCHULE: KANN SIE VERPFLANZT WERDEN?

Erfolg und Mißerfolg der dänischen Volkshochschule
in Dänemark und im Ausland.

von JINDRA KULICH, Vancouver

Von N. F. S. Grundtvig stammt die Idee einer „Schule für's Leben“ in Form einer Heimvolkshochschule, welche durch das lebendige Wort eine Kultur pflegen und fortentwickeln sollte, an der das gesamte Volk teilhat, eine *folkelig* Kultur, wie die Dänen es nennen.

Kristen Kold verwirklichte mit Erfolg Grundtvigs Gedanken und richtete 1851 eine Volkshochschule ein, die zum Vorbild für alle anderen wurde. Norwegen erhielt zuerst 1864 eine solche Schule, Schweden 1868. Als auch noch 1889 zwei Schulen in Finnland eingerichtet waren, war der Grund gelegt für die weitere Ausdehnung in Skandinavien und im übrigen Ausland.

Die dänische Volkshochschule war eng verbunden mit dem Bauerntum. Ihre Direktoren übten einen merklichen geistigen Einfluß aus, und die Volkshochschulen spielten eine bedeutende Rolle in der nationalen Regeneration nach dem preußisch-dänischen Krieg von 1864. Bis zur Jahrhundertwende hatten die dänischen Volkshochschulen die Umformung einer noch weithin rückständigen Bauernschaft zu einem fortschrittlichen Mittelstand zuwege gebracht.

Infolge des Zusammenwirkens verschiedener Umstände haben die Volkshochschulen in Norwegen keine bedeutsame Rolle gespielt. Die schwedischen Volkshochschulen waren von Anfang an mit akademischen Kreisen verbunden, und es gelang ihnen, Menschen aus allen Gesellschaftsschichten anzusprechen. Ihre Ziele waren mehr praktischer Natur. In Finnland folgte die schwedische Minderheit

dem schwedischen Vorbild, während die Finnen des dänische Modell vorzogen.

Teilweise unter dem Einfluß der skandinavischen Volkshochschule wurden kurz nach 1900 in Großbritannien mehrere *residential colleges* gegründet. Nach dem letzten Krieg kamen weitere *residential colleges* für kurzfristige Kurse hinzu, die zum Modell für andere hochindustrialisierte Länder wurden. Auf dem europäischen Festland war zwischen den Kriegen mit wechselndem Erfolg versucht worden, die dänische Volkshochschule zu verpflanzen. Nach dem letzten Krieg waren solche Versuche in Österreich, den Niederlanden, der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und Polen erfolgreich.

In den Vereinigten Staaten scheiterten die frühen Versuche der dänischen Einwanderer, ihre Volkshochschulen zu verpflanzen. Aus späteren Versuchen sind einige Schulen hervorgegangen, die heute noch am Leben sind. In Kanada hat eine *folk school* Bewegung nach dem letzten Krieg in einigen ländlichen Bezirken Wurzeln gefaßt. In beiden Ländern sind Zentren mit Wohnmöglichkeit zur Abhaltung von kurzen Kursen innerhalb der letzten 15 Jahre sehr beliebt geworden.

In den 20er und 30er Jahren waren einige Versuche der Verpflanzung nach Afrika und Asien gemacht worden. Solche Versuche wurden nach dem letzten Krieg vermehrt, und es gibt heute Volkshochschulen, die mit dänischer oder schwedischer Hilfe in Ghana, Tanganjika und Mysore State (Indien) betrieben werden. Die Entwicklungsländer könnten sehr wohl aus der Übernahme des Volkshochschulgedankens unter Anpassung an die jeweiligen Verhältnisse Gewinn ziehen.

Erwachsenenbildung in Zentren mit Wohnmöglichkeit könnte im späten 20. Jahrhundert eine wichtige Rolle spielen. Was die Dänen erreicht haben, wird sich kaum wiederholen lassen, kann aber als Anregung für alle jene dienen, die sich für die Erwachsenenbildung verantwortlich wissen.

LA FOLKEHØJSKOLEN DANOISE: PEUT-ELLE ÊTRE TRANSPLANTÉE?

Le succès et les échecs des Folkehøjskolen danoises
dans le pays et à l'étranger

par JINDRA KULICH, Vancouver

N. F. S. Grundtvig concevait l'idée de l'internat de formation pour la vie qui par la réalité favoriserait et poursuivrait la culture à laquelle chacun peut être associé, comme une culture communautaire. Kristen Kold réalisa avec succès l'idée de Grundtvig en 1851 et établit le prototype de la Folkehøjskolen. La Norvège créa pour la première fois une telle école en 1864 et la Suède suivit en 1868. Avec l'établissement de deux écoles en Finlande en 1889, fut établie la base pour une expansion ultérieure en Scandinavie et ailleurs.

Les Folkehøjskolen furent étroitement associées aux fermes. Les directeurs exercèrent une influence spirituelle marquée et les écoles jouèrent en 1864 un rôle important dans la régénération nationale après les conflits Prusso-Danois. Au tournant du siècle les Folkehøjskolen danois s'efforcèrent de transformer une paysannerie très retardée en une classe moyenne progressiste.

En Norvège, les écoles ne jouèrent pas un rôle aussi significatif en raison de la

combinaison de certains facteurs. Les écoles suédoises furent dès le départ associées aux cercles académiques et s'efforcèrent d'attirer une moyenne de la population. Leur conception était plutôt pratique. En Finlande, la minorité suédoise suivit les Suédois tandis que les Finnois adoptèrent le prototype danois.

Plusieurs collèges résidentiels, partiellement influencés par les Folkehøjskolen, furent établis au début du 20^{ième} siècle dans le U.K. Après la dernière guerre, plusieurs internats à court terme furent établis servant de modèle aux pays hautement industrialisés. En Europe Continentale, différentes tentatives pour transplanter l'école dans l'intervalle des deux guerres mondiales, rencontrèrent des succès variés. Après la dernière guerre des adaptations se firent avec succès en Autriche, aux Pays-Bas, en Allemagne Fédérale et en Pologne.

Aux Etats-Unis, des transplantations récentes d'immigrants danois échouèrent. Des tentatives subséquentes donnèrent lieu à la création de plusieurs écoles dont certaines fonctionnent encore. Au Canada, un mouvement *folk school* prit racine dans certaines régions rurales après la dernière guerre. Dans les deux pays, l'internat à court terme devint populaire au cours des derniers 15 ans.

Certains essais de transplantation vers l'Afrique et l'Asie eurent lieu entre 1920 et 1939. Après la dernière guerre les tentatives furent poursuivies et les écoles fonctionnent avec quelque assistance danoise ou suédoise au Ghana, au Tanganyika et dans l'Etat de Mysore (Inde). Les pays en voie de développement pourraient bénéficier de l'adaptation de l'idée de la Folkehøjskolen.

L'éducation dans des internats pour adultes pourrait jouer un rôle important dans la dernière partie du vingtième siècle. L'expérience danoise peut difficilement être répétée mais elle peut servir d'inspiration aux éducateurs pour adultes.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF PIAGET AND ITS EDUCATIONAL APPLICATIONS ¹⁾

by HARDI FISCHER, Zürich

If you know the meaning of assimilation and accommodation in biology, if you are familiar with grouping, reversibility and equilibrium in logic, then Piaget's theory will be more easily understandable for you. Piaget is perhaps the best known Swiss psychologist. Other names of Swiss psychologists may be familiar to you: Claparède, Binswanger, Bleuler, Rorschach, Meili, Jung, Sechehaye. But with his more than 50 books Piaget is, in comparison to the others, much more difficult to understand, because he gives us always a sort of synthesis of different theories: Piaget studied biology, he taught experimental psychology (especially visual perception problems) and sociology, and became increasingly interested in symbolic logic and genetic epistemology, fields in which he has published more and more in the last few years.

Piaget teaches psychology at the University of Geneva, a University of about 3000 students, more than 50% of whom come from other parts of the world. This small city which is the center of so many international organizations – the International Committee of the Red Cross, the World Health Organization, the International Labor Organization, the International Bureau of Education (directed since 1929 by Jean Piaget) – is pervaded by a mixture of the ideas expressed by Calvin and Rousseau. No wonder, then, that this atmosphere gave Piaget the chance for his studies in child development, which were already started before him by Claparède in the light of strict logical thinking.

For Piaget intelligence is the field in which he is especially interested and means simply adaptation between the organism and the environment, as in biology one should look for an equilibrium between assimilation and accommodation. Assimilation means: action of the organism on surrounding objects. Accommodation means: action of the environment on the organism. If the assimilation is much stronger than the accommodation, we observe an egocentrism. This happens to the younger child when he explores the world. If accommodation is too strong, we have then an excessive imitation. It takes a long time for the child to feel the necessity to search for an equilibrium. This equilibrium is never stable and we need new adaptations. These needs have the function of motivations.

The function of his research often seems to be to investigate, measure

¹⁾ From a paper read at Ohio State University, Columbus (Ohio) on 13 May 1964.

and categorize for its own sake. The value of Piaget's theory and work seems to be that it attempts an integrated understanding of the whole of the child's thought, not just fragments. He examines it from all aspects, but with an especial interest in cognition, and the entire developmental sequence. He does this always with definite hypotheses in mind.

What is his *method of research*? He uses a clinical method of investigation, similar perhaps to a psychiatric interview. The questions of course vary within certain limits. The use of concrete materials for examination serve as a point of departure for the following discussion. There are no time limits or right answers with higher or lower scores. What is important is the answer of *why*, rather than the performance. Intelligence tests do not help us to see how the answers are worked out. Intelligence tests are too stereotyped; they neglect the spontaneous answers of the subject.

The information given by the child is analyzed qualitatively. Protocols are taken of everything: manipulation of the material, verbalizations, expressions (mimic, surprise, puzzling). In spite of differences in explanations and so on, one can still categorize results. Piaget applies symbolic logic to analysis, introducing means for describing and analyzing that, which, in a highly connected way, a child does at different stages of his development.

The originality of the method consists of the search for developmental transitions between different levels of behavior, expressed through schemata. On the other hand, Piaget gives demonstrations of networks of related behaviors which can be regarded as elementary structures of the intelligence.

Piaget is interested in many *areas of research*, but here only his interest in the study of cognitive functions from birth to adolescence might be described.

His early investigations into the nature of a child's conception of the external world should be mentioned first. Conversations with children aged between 4 and 8, at the *Maison des Petits*, on such topics as causality, origins of names and relations to object named, movements of stars and clouds, and attribution of life and consciousness to living beings or to objects, resulted in the subsequent publication of numerous books and papers. All these observations on children's play, dreams, imitation, language and thought, the concept of reality, judgment and reasoning, and moral judgment of the child are characteristic of his early investigations.

With the birth of his own three children he started detailed observations of pre-verbal behavior from earliest reflex activity to the first inventive, or, if you prefer, to the first intelligent behaviors. During this

period he elaborated his theory of intelligence as an adaptation between assimilation and accommodation. He described the genesis of the permanent object in space and time during the first stage of development, that is, during the sensory motor-intelligence-level.

At that time he began further studies of logical thinking in children up to adolescence through the use of experimental set-ups. He studied concept formation with respect to the structure of thinking, in connection with time, speed, movement, space, weight, volume, number, quantities, etc. By doing this he was able to consider the idea of cognition in its higher levels. For him forms became the primary concern; distinction could be mainly between two stages: concrete operations and formal or propositional operations.

Finally Piaget developed his ideas of genetic epistemology, which stemmed from his observations of the similarity of the child's conception of physical phenomena to that of the early Greek philosophers. He then started to examine the relationship of the individual to the world of objects through a systematic, chronological inventory of complete and incomplete answers to so-called natural questions.

The different stages of development posited by Piaget and developed through his experiments will be presented in the following paragraphs; however, it must be kept in mind that these problems are being re-examined in a longitudinal study currently in progress. This study is based on a selected group of children who are well-balanced emotionally and who are examined with the consent of parents. They are tested every four to six months, so that progress on differences related to concept formation can be observed. During these sessions complete films and tapes are made. No results are given to teachers, so no importance is attached to scoring high. Some replications of test-situations may have an influence on the stages, because learning is probably involved. This question and others being raised by Piaget, co-workers and critics, may as a result of the current studies be answered – the answers perhaps will bring about revisions in the system or strengthen existing notions.

When one considers the flexibility of the clinical method and the enormous heterogeneity of the testers – foreign students at different levels of understanding of the problems involved, and differently gifted for this rather difficult type of research – one is surprised by the homogeneity of the results.

Piaget distinguished the following stages:
the sensory-motor period from about 0 to 2 years,
the stage of the pre-operational thought from 2 to 7 years,
the period of the concrete operations between 7 and 11 years,

and the period of the propositional or formal operations from 11 to 15 years.

Before the appearance of language, the small child can only perform motor actions, but these actions show some of the features of intelligence; for instance, the child pulls the cover toward himself so as to obtain the object placed on it. Sensory-motor intelligence is not operational in character since the actions are not yet internalized in the form of representation. But a certain tendency exists toward reversibility which is already an evidence of construction of certain invariants. The most important of these invariants is that involved in the construction of permanent objects, permanent even when they exist beyond the limits of the perceptual field. At first, the infant never thinks about objects being permanent. He gives up any search when the object is hidden. And when the child does begin to search, he doesn't notice changes of position. If he finds it at A, then sees it moved to B, he still looks at A. Toward the end of the first year the objects become permanent in the surrounding spatial field. The object's permanence results from the organization of the spatial field brought about by the coordination of the child's movements. This presupposes that the child is able to return to the starting point — we are speaking then about associativity. All this takes on the form of a grouping similar to the mathematical group in the theory of numbers. The sensory-motor space becomes organized by such a group of displacements and the permanent object is constructed by means of such a group. So even at this level, intelligence tends towards reversibility and conservation.

Toward the age of two years the symbolic function appears. The development of language, symbolic play and deferred imitation becomes possible. Now the child develops the ability to internalize actions seen before. So the actions occur in the past and in distant space. Mental divisions of objects and collections into parts by anticipation, is developed step by step. He cannot immediately construct operations. For instance: the child can coordinate his own movements from place to place, but he needs time to be able to represent the same movements in this thought. So the plan of the garden or the room is constructed with the help of the objects. Throughout this period of pre-operational thought we may observe an absence of reversible operations and concepts of conservation on any level higher than the sensory-motor period. Here are some examples: the child of 4 to 6 years has before him two bottles with the same amount of beads. He pours the beads from one bottle into another bottle with a different form. For the child, the quantity increases or diminishes according to the different shapes of the bottles. The child is not able to multiply logically, which means he is not able to consider two dimensions simultaneously, proceeding then by qualitative compensation. If you show two sticks of the same length to the child, and move one of the sticks, he denies the equivalence of the two lengths because he pays attention to just one end and forgets to compensate, by a virtual reverse action, for the other end; Or the child may have a conflict between perceptual configuration and the logic. So, when you show two equivalent fields represented by green papers, each of them also containing a cow eating the grass, the child agrees that both of the cows have the same amount of grass to eat. But if the two owners of the two fields build exactly the same houses, one of them in a corner, the other in the center of the field, the child is not now sure that the cows always have the same amount of grass to eat.

We often observe the child's egocentric thought. He shows inability to shift his perspective and there seems to be no differentiation between his own and the other's point of view. There is no doubt that the socialization of thought is important for objectivity. Animism and magical thinking gradually give way to pre-operational thought.

Various types of thought activity of the preceding period finally acquire the character of reversibility during the stage of concrete operations. In this way, logical operations result from the coordination of the actions of combining, dissociating, ordering, and setting up of correspondence, which then acquire the form of reversible systems. The child, now in school, is still only dealing with operations carried out on objects themselves. These concrete operations belong to the logic of classes and relations, not yet taken into account totally for possible transformations, as we will see later on. One of the first important operational systems will be the classification or the inclusion of classes under each other. For instance: sparrows < birds < animals < living beings. A second system will consist of serialization or linking of asymmetrical or symmetrical relations into a system, for instance rods of unequal length requiring minute comparison. Up to 7 years the child compares unsystematically in pairs. After the age of 7 years he chooses the smallest element, then the smallest of those left, etc. All that presupposes coordination of two inverse relations: $E > D, C, B, A$ and $E < F, G, H$, etc.

There are two operations possible: addition and multiplication. On the other hand the child considers the classes or the relations. Most of the concepts are a sort of combination of two groupings simultaneously. If the additive operation of classes could perhaps explain the cardinal character of the number, the additive operation of asymmetrical relations could, on the other hand, explain his ordinal character. If the child is able to connect both in a whole system – and abstraction is then necessary – he will have the concept of the whole number which is operational. He doesn't have the concept of three or of five, but he has an operational meaning of the group of whole numbers. A similar deduction is possible for the measure, the time, the movement, the speed, etc.

In spite of acquisitions of this period, the operations are restricted in two respects. They have an insufficiently formal character. They are not yet dissociated from concrete data to which they apply. Operations develop field by field. They show progressive structuring, but without complete generality. An example which may be mentioned here is the conservation of matter, weight and volume. Two equivalent balls of clay don't represent the same matter for a small child, if one of the balls is cut into many parts. Only at 7 does the child understand the conservation of matter, only at 8 years the conservation of weight, and only at 10 years the conservation of volume. Thus each field of experience gives structure by a group of concrete operations, for classes or for relations or for both of them. But they are incompletely formalized, because the structure is not yet separated from the given material. Now, on the other hand, the operational systems are fragmentary. If classifications, serializations, equalities and correspondences between objects can be observed, these operations are nevertheless not combined into a single-structured whole. With the propositional or formal operations we have a new feature: the ability to reason by hypothesis. Verbally the child or the adolescent can accept any data as purely hypothetical and reason correctly from it. Experimentally, after a few trials with equipment, the adolescent can attempt to formulate all possible hypotheses and he can arrange experiments as a function of these

factors. For instance: exploring the question of whether the variation of oscillation is a function of the length, the amplitude, the weight, or the initial impulse of the pendulum. Subjects of 8 to 12 years simply vary factors in a haphazard way. Then they start to classify, to set up correspondence between the results obtained, to give them an order. The adolescent tries to establish or to verify actual relationships between things. The logic now used is concerned with propositions as well as objects. A proposition may then be the result of a connection between classes and relations. This changes the whole experimental attitude. We can observe mechanisms of proof, varying one single factor at a time, all the others being kept constant. This behavior appears only at 12 to 15 years. It allows the discovery of new invariants falling outside the range of empirical verification. We have now the appearance of a new group of operations or new operational schemata. Within them are involved combinatorial operations such as combinations, permutations, etc. and proportions.

The resulting structure of thinking is similar to the commutative group of Klein with three sorts of opposite functions like the negation, defined as the complement with respect to the tautology, the reciprocal defined by the same operation, but with the signs of the propositions reversed, and the correlative defined by the same propositions, but with operation signs of conjunction and disjunction substituted for one another. In a developmental way they generally appear in this order.

Piaget stopped his genetic investigations at the 15 year old level. We are actually, trying in the field of language, to find out if the development is similar between 15 and 20 years.

Geneva, where these research projects have been worked out, is the city of Rousseau. Together with another Swiss educator, Pestalozzi, he tried to interest the population in education. Today Geneva's schools are one very large laboratory for research in child psychology and in education. But relatively few applications of Piaget's psychology are observed there and elsewhere.

At first, one may have the impression that Piaget's stages imply teaching according to these developmental levels; for instance numerical operations should then not be introduced in classes before the age of 7 years. I remember, when I was a student in Geneva, we often discussed the results of Carleton Washburne, who was then superintendent of the Winnetka schools near Chicago. He published statistics showing at which level mathematical or other concepts could be introduced with success into the children's thinking. Today, a higher developed teaching, a little bit similar to what has been tried out by Washburne, the method of programmed learning, destroyed radically this older stage-theory. What then is the difference to the stages described by Piaget?

If a child changes from one stage to the next one, he integrates not only the earlier stage in the following, but he restructures the whole. In other words: if the problems are similar, they are nevertheless expressed

in a new form. I would like to give you an example from my own son. When he was 5 years old he developed in a very concrete situation the law in algebra saying that the multiplication of two negative digits will be a positive product. Teachers in high school generally have some difficulty explaining this law. They often use diagrams or they introduce the law by induction or they do it axiomatically. I think, they may learn more about their teaching by observing children's behavior.

My boy got an automobile as a toy with a battery inside. A lever gave him the possibility to let it move forward (positive) and backward (negative). One day his battery was used up and I bought him a new one, but asked him to install it himself into the automobile. He then worked for a long time and came back somewhat confused, because now when he put the lever in the forward position his automobile moved backward and when he put the lever in the backward position his automobile moved forward. It took a long time until he found out that he had to turn his battery. He was very happy with the following new game (and he often showed it to his friends):

battery right position (+) and lever forward (+): movement forward (+)

battery right position (+) and lever backward (—): movement backward (—)

battery false position (—) and lever forward (+): movement backward (—)

battery false position (—) and lever backward (—): movement forward (+)

But this is exactly the qualitative meaning of the well known law in algebra, already mentioned before. Why not then start early enough with these discoveries for the child by giving him the right educational material? Learning by doing, as John Dewey told us sixty years ago, is necessary for understanding. But we know today that this doing has to follow a specific plan according to the structures to be developed in the child's mind. Piaget is convinced that the child's understanding depends on what he is doing at an earlier stage. Acceleration will probably be possible, if we observe the necessity for the young child to manipulate by himself and if we give him the chance to go through all the stages by doing it himself. All that we can do is to prepare the educational material for classification, for setting up correspondences, for ordering, etc. Many children count before they are admitted to the first grade of school, but they didn't discover by their own actions the operational concept of the number. Telling my boy how the battery in his automobile works is again

useless; he had to explore himself, after which I was certain that he really understood.

On the level of concrete operations he can then study the problem again. For instance: what is the contrary of the contrary of beautiful, and so on with other classes and relations. On the level of the formal operations he again will explore the problem by formal logic introducing the structure of equivalence perhaps, similar to a structure of a strong correlation in statistics.

Educators should know that the younger child is able to reason in qualitative rather than in quantitative structures. Why then not start in the primary school or even in the Kindergarten with topology instead of Euclidian properties of the world's spatial relations? Why not discuss first qualitative properties of time, speed, measurement, number, etc. so preparing a better understanding? Using the methodology of programmed learning, one should pay attention to the fact that this teaching will finally only be successful when the pupil has previously had the possibility to structure his thinking. While Gestalt psychology saw a similarity between cortical and perceptual structures, we should now consider the fact that the meaningful coordination of our actions flows into a mental structure characterized by a mobility in it. For Gestalt psychology representation was never reversible because there are just static pictures collected in the mind. In the operational psychology of Piaget the pictures as such are not important, but the actions changing their position, so that representation is active and makes anticipation possible.

There is another application of Piaget's psychology to consider. The different experiments could serve as a new technique in developmental testing. As a matter of fact, most of the Binet-scale type tests are not based on a consistent theory in child development.

The mentioned longitudinal study will probably show us which of the experiments give follow-up solutions. These experiments, when transformed into tests, could then be ordered with the help of a Guttman-scale. Unfortunately for those who are interested in testing I must confess that I cannot yet see how to quantify the typically clinical experiments. On the other hand, each clinical use of these tests gives us the opportunity for the construction of psychopathology from normative genetic data.

Most of the well known intelligence tests are too verbal, also containing numerical tasks, or they depend on scholastic performances. Piaget's experiments, when used clinically, present a broader situation than in these tests. In tests you have mostly a sort of performance to judge, but you don't know the underlying reasoning processes. Piaget's experiments give this information and they also permit an evaluation of educability.

They have in general more motivational make-up and this is important for young people. Perhaps they have a greater predictability of development?

Because the experiments in Piaget's psychology are mostly explainable in terms of a bivalent symbolic logic, it should be possible to connect his system with logic machines. Piaget is himself interested in these problems and in the ideas of cybernetics. It should then also be possible to judge children's or adult's behavior not in a statistically differential, but in a logically differential way.

DIE PSYCHOLOGIE PIAGETS UND IHRE PSYCHOLOGISCHE ANWENDUNG

VON HARDI FISCHER, Zürich

Neben Claparède, Binswanger, Bleuler, Rorschach, Meili, Jung und Sechehaye ist Jean Piaget der bekannteste, wenn auch der am schwierigsten verständliche Psychologe der Schweiz.

Für Piaget bedeutet Intelligenz Anpassung zwischen Organismus und Umgebung und zwar in Analogie zum angestrebten Gleichgewicht zwischen Assimilation und Akkomodation in der Biologie. Dieses Gleichgewicht kann nie stabil sein.

Piagets Arbeiten stützen sich auf eine klinische Methode, in der die Begründung des Handelns und nicht die Leistungen wichtig sind. Die kindlichen Antworten werden qualitativ ausgewertet; die symbolische Logik hilft, die Zusammenhänge zu kategorisieren.

Die erforschten Gebiete betreffen die kognitiven Funktionen und ihre Entwicklung (sensu-motorische und vor-operatorische Stufen, dann Stufen der konkreten und formalen Operationen des Denkens).

Die pädagogischen Schlußfolgerungen aus Piagets Entwicklungspsychologie sind noch relativ bescheiden. Eine Möglichkeit, diese zu erweitern, besteht darin, die Begriffsbildungen in jeder Entwicklungsstufe dem Intelligenzniveau gemäß immer wieder neu erarbeiten zu lassen, wobei auch im Erziehungsprozeß die qualitative Denkstruktur jeder quantitativen vorausgeht. Im Gegensatz zur Gestaltpsychologie, die zwischen den kortikalen Strukturen und denen der Wahrnehmung eine Ähnlichkeit zu sehen glaubt, unterstreicht Piaget seine Beobachtung, daß eine sinnvolle Koordination unserer Handlungen in eine geistige Struktur mündet, die durch eine innere Motilität gekennzeichnet ist. Piagets Versuche erlauben auch eine Einschätzung der Erziehbarkeit, und es ist zu vermuten, daß sie die Entwicklung der Kinder besser vorausahnen lassen werden.

THE PSYCHIOLOGY OF PIAGET
LA PSYCHOLOGIE DE PIAGET
ET SON APPLICATION A L'EDUCATION

par HARDI FISCHER, Zürich

A côté de Claparède, Binswanger, Bleuler, Rorschach, Meili, Jung et Sechehaye, Jean Piaget est certainement le psychologue suisse le plus connu, mais aussi celui dont la pensée est la plus complexe.

Pour Piaget "intelligence" signifie adaptation entre organisme et entourage, analoguement à l'équilibre recherché entre assimilation et accomodation en biologie. Ce phénomène d'équilibre ne peut jamais être stable.

Les travaux de Piaget se fondent sur des méthodes cliniques, dont l'important n'est pas l'examen des performances proprement dites, mais bien la compréhension des mobiles de l'action. Les réponses des enfants sont évaluées de façon qualitative, à l'aide d'une logique symbolique permettant une classification des relations.

Les domaines déjà explorés concernent avant tout les fonctions cognitives et leur développement (le stade sensori-moteur, pré-opératoire, puis le stade des opérations concrètes et formelles de la pensée).

Les conclusions d'ordre pédagogique issues de la psychologie génétique de Piaget sont encore relativement modestes. Une possibilité d'étude de la formation des concepts est celle de les reprendre et de les retravailler à chaque stade du développement de l'intelligence. De cette façon au cours du processus éducatif les structures aussi bien qualitatives que quantitatives de la pensée apparaissent. La psychologie de la "Gestalt" croit pouvoir reconnaître une ressemblance entre les structures corticales et perceptives. Piaget s'oppose à cette pensée en soulignant l'existence d'une étroite coordination de nos activités avec les structures de l'intelligence. Ces structures sont reconnaissables à leur motilité innée. Les recherches de Piaget facilitent une évaluation de l'éducabilité de l'individu et par cela l'intuition du développement des enfants.

THE INFLUENCE OF BROADCASTING

by JOHN S. SHIELDS, Winchester

Advances in civilization depend on the exchange of ideas. In primitive societies one man teaches another. This process of communicating ideas from one individual to another received its first acceleration when writing became common and its second with the invention of printing. In the last forty years radio and television have provided a new means of accelerating the pace of civilization. The invention of broadcasting caught mankind unprepared. In the 1920s very few people had the vision of what would develop from radio's infancy. Yet one man at least realized its immense possibilities. The United Kingdom, and possibly one should say the world, should be grateful to Lord Reith, the first Director General of the British Broadcasting Corporation, for including in the charter of the B.B.C. the words "information, education and entertainment" in his prescription of the purposes of broadcasting. It is not unreasonable to surmise that the business men who engaged this young Scottish engineer expected him to provide a programme of popular music and light entertainment, and nothing more. It is a fact that at first he was even forbidden to broadcast any news at all, a restriction against which he protested and fought so resolutely that in the end he won and introduced news bulletins which are now a regular part of every broadcasting service. Popular music and light entertainment are indeed obvious and natural material for broadcasting and they rightly occupy and should occupy much of its time. Nothing in this article is intended to suggest their elimination: all it purposes to do is to argue that they should not occupy the whole of broadcasting to the exclusion of more serious material.

It is necessary first to make clear that broadcasting differs from journalism in one very important respect. In a given area the only limitation to the number of newspapers is an economic one: but in broadcasting there is a physical limitation to the number of different programmes that can be broadcast. Assuming that a 625-line system is in use, an 8 Mc channel is desirable for each television programme: this means for example that in Britain after reserving the wavelengths needed for communications other than public broadcasting, there remains room for only six national programmes. Consequently, quite apart from the question of finance, there cannot be enough channels to satisfy the many claimants who would like to broadcast programmes for their own purposes, commercial, political, religious or educational. There has to be some system of rationing and therefore of control. Who should be given the right to

broadcast? How can he be controlled? In an authoritarian state, the answers are simple; in a democracy they are difficult and complicated.

Television is costly: very large sums of money are required to build, equip and run studios. Artists of national, or international, fame are expensive; producers and their assistants must be adequately paid. So the simplest course is to take advantage of the desire of advertizers to use the medium and establish a purely commercial system. The company employed, unless it is grossly inefficient, will provide a service acceptable to the majority of those receiving it and will provide it at no direct cost to the public.

In considering this, let us first dismiss the idea that such a service is "free." It is not. It is paid for by the public as part of the cost of the goods and services advertized. There is a similar fallacy in the United Kingdom about education being "free": it is of course paid for indirectly through rates and taxes. Everyone pays for it, although not everyone uses it. The same is true of commercial television. But there are more important aspects of commercial television than this one and it is necessary first to decide what are the purposes of broadcasting.

Few people seriously concerned with television would dispute Reith's principle that it should disseminate information, education and entertainment, and few will deny that these elements are not necessarily distinct or contradictory to one another. For instance a programme about some activity in a strange country may easily be informative, educative and entertaining. Yet a news item about the explosion of an atomic bomb is of little educational value and has a clear minus sign against it as entertainment. All programme directors, whether in commercial television or in any other system, will expect to include information and entertainment: they may also include education, either because the terms of their contract require it or for reasons of prestige. But commercial television is and must be regulated by the rights of the shareholders. They have engaged and are employing their managers and other staff to produce programmes which will attract advertizing revenue. The duty of these employees is to know what sort of programmes attract and retain large audiences and therefore command the largest advertizing fees. In the Pilkington Committee's report of June 1962 on pages 42 and 61, the percentage of hours given to serious viewing (excluding drama, which was too difficult to classify) in B.B.C. and Independent Television programmes is stated. In peak hours (7.00 p.m. - 10.30 p.m.) there is a marked difference: the B.B.C. averaged about 33%, I.T. about 11%. The Independent Television Authority in evidence to the committee in 1961 did not dispute the figures and indeed declared that serious programmes were deliberately placed

outside peak viewing hours. (In July 1962 the Authority published a paper *More facts and figures* in which it challenged the validity of the figures stated above.) But some programme companies, in evidence, expressed the opinion that since commercial television derives its income from advertizing, it is compelled to aim at securing the largest audiences. Serious programmes, which appeal to smaller audiences as a rule, could not occupy in their programmes the amount of space that a proper balance required.

It is sometimes argued that the very large proportion of possible viewers who in fact watch a programme is a proof that this programme is what they want to watch and that they do not want to watch programmes that make more demands on their intellect or on their interest. "We know what the public wants and we provide it." This is an arrogant claim: it is not possible to know what the public wants until the public has been offered and has seen every possible kind of programme with sufficient frequency to allow a taste to develop. It is common knowledge that new television series start with low viewing figures but often increase the number of their viewers as the series progresses. In television familiarity breeds affection. The more competition there is in a commercial system the greater the temptation to stick to the old, well-tried favourites: an experiment in something original may lead to an immediate loss of viewers with a consequent loss of advertizing revenue. Yet a well-balanced programme of television should include experiments of all kinds; new forms of entertainment, novel ways of conveying information and original methods and fresh fields in education. The effect of unrestricted commercial competition was illustrated in the Pilkington Report on page 248, where the programmes available in New York on a December evening in 1960 were summarized. There were seven channels in operation and they rung the changes on "thrillers," Westerns, comedies and plays with only three exceptions: one included wrestling, another Divorce Court news and the third an actuality series of catastrophe and assassination. Would it be unfair to describe the fare provided from these seven stations on that evening as consisting of triviality, violence and sex? A cynic might comment that the public shows by its willingness to remain switched on, that this is what it wants. This is untrue. It shows only that it tolerates such programmes, not that it wants them.

Programmes that capture large audiences may do so for very different reasons. One common reason is that they offend no one; another is that they appeal to interests very widely spread. Correspondingly, programmes that deal with controversial subjects may offend and so reduce their viewing public. Programmes that are concerned with themes that appeal

only to minorities have no hope of capturing a large audience initially. Yet in the end they may. In the United Kingdom, for example, presentation on television of show-jumping was expected to appeal only to a small audience of pony-club supporters and perhaps some hunting people. Yet the skill of the horses and excitement of the competitions began to attract audiences far bigger than was originally expected. Outside the realm of broadcasting it is easy to find examples of interests that begin as the special activity of a few and develop into the sport of multitudes. Bathing and swimming are now practised by almost all young people and by many of their elders: yet not so long ago it was a habit confined to a small, privileged minority who could afford a seaside holiday. Cycling started as a sport and if in 1890 anyone had said, "Does the ordinary working man want a bicycle?," the answer would have been "No," and the answer would have been wrong. Within twenty-five to thirty years bicycles were being produced in millions. A similar situation has developed both in radio sets from the 1920s onwards and in television sets from 1950: in each case public demand could not easily be foreseen. Similarly television producers may now be making a similar mistake about the appetite of the masses for more demanding programmes. They overlook the fact that all over the world more people are being educated and more people are being educated longer. Just as in Europe and America a literate public has provided a market not only for horror-comics but for serious paper-backs by the million, so all over the world minds stimulated by education may be growing tired of trivial television and ready for stronger meat.

But, it may be said, why is Independent Television in the United Kingdom not wholly devoid of all serious programmes, if the effect of commercialism is so bad? There are various answers. The first is that the Television Act of 1954 required of Independent Television that its programmes should contain a proper balance of the three elements, entertainment, instruction and information and instructed the I.T.A. to achieve this aim. Another reason is the coexistence of the B.B.C. with its Reith tradition of balanced broadcasting. But the main reason is the quality of the people concerned in Independent Television. In the managers' chairs sit men like the Bernstein brothers who not only want to make good profits but also to provide a television service of which they can be proud. The producers and programme planners whom they employ are professionals. They practice broadcasting in the same way as doctors practise medicine or solicitors practise law. They do it for a living; they do it also because they are interested in the subject as an intellectual challenge and they do it too because it involves them with people. Broad-

casting has this element of service in it and the people engaged in it, like good professionals, rise to the demands it makes. Each of the two systems, B.B.C. and Independent Television, is stimulated by the other. The success of one is copied by the other, a failure acts as a warning. The United Kingdom is fortunate that commercial television came second: it inherited from the B.B.C. both skill and principles. It was staffed at the outset with a nucleus of men whose previous experience had been gained in the B.B.C. Such men were reluctant to produce mindless and trivial programmes. They wanted to improve on the B.B.C.'s performance and in many fields they did. It was the Independent Television News men who introduced a livelier, prompter service of news. It was Independent Television that put bite and vigour into religious broadcasting. It was Independent Television that extended and vitalized regional programmes. It might be inferred from all this that the system of financing and organizing broadcasting is unimportant compared with the selection of the men who run it. In a sense this is true: the archangel Gabriel would as director-general run a faultless service. A Reith, in the early days, was able to guide a developing organization along his own lines. But in general the system of organizing and financing will decide the general nature of the programmes broadcast: the choice of exceptional directors or the imposition of regulations may ameliorate but cannot radically alter a faulty structure.

The point of view maintained in this article is that programmes financed by the advertisements attached to them will tend to be those that command the largest audiences. Programmes directly designed for minorities or programmes likely not to appeal to majority tastes will either disappear altogether or be pushed out to times when many of those who might enjoy them are unable to see them at all. What alternatives are there to the commercial system? Many variations exist. One that seems to secure the best of both worlds is the Italian one. Radiotelevisione Italiana is financed partly by license fees, partly by advertizing revenue and to a very small extent by a royalty on the sale of new sets. The advertisements are not, as in many systems, placed between or in natural breaks, but are confined to advertizing sessions, separate and distinct from the programmes. The effect is that advertizers are not tempted to press for more popular items. All they require is that the programmes shall in general command big audiences. Consequently Radiotelevisione Italiana has been able to devote time to programmes for minorities of which the most distinguished have been those for the education of illiterates. Before they started, the percentage of illiterates in Italy was believed to be 12.9%. The percentage dropped to 4.5, of whom

it would be reasonable to suppose that about half were unteachably illiterate by reason of their physical or mental condition. Brilliant work for minority audiences is possible only if the profit motive has been subordinated to the public good. A license system is the safest way of ensuring this but if revenue from advertizing is thought to be essential, the organization of broadcasting must separate the advertizer from the programme designer. The electronics engineer has given us a means of spreading civilization farther and faster than has been possible in any previous age. Which course shall we follow? Shall we exploit television's commercial possibilities and surrender it to programmes that are at best harmless but trivial and at worst destructive and demoralizing? Or shall we use its immense power to enrich, enlighten, educate and civilize?

DER EINFLUSS VON RUNDFUNK UND FERNSEHEN

VON JOHN S. SHIELDS, Winchester

Die Erfindung des Schreibens ermöglichte es den Menschen, ihre Gedanken in größerem Umfange einander mitzuteilen. Die Druckerkunst hat dann noch die Wirkung des Schreibens vervielfältigt. In unseren Tagen kann das Fernsehen Ideen auch den Millionen nahebringen, die weder lesen noch schreiben können. Aber es besteht die Gefahr, daß es nur für triviale Zwecke benutzt wird. In Großbritannien hat der erste Generaldirektor der British Broadcasting Corporation den Grundsatz aufgestellt, daß der Rundfunk für „Informationen, Bildung und Unterhaltung“ verwendet werden sollte. Der Gebrauch, den wir von Rundfunk und Fernsehen machen, unterliegt dem Einfluß des Finanzierungssystems. Wenn die Sendungen durch Reklame finanziert werden, müssen die Programme so geartet sein, daß sie sehr große Zuhörer- und Zuschauermengen ansprechen und festhalten. Es sind dies aber Programme, die am wenigsten Mitarbeit von seiten der Zuhörer und Zuschauer verlangen, wie etwa Westerns, Komödien und Kriminalgeschichten. Sie sind die erprobten Lieblinge, die die Massen fesseln. Wenn aber Rundfunk und Fernsehen richtig gebraucht werden, sollten ernste Programme, die sich an viel kleinere Zuhörergruppen wenden, ihren Platz finden. Einigen von ihnen mag es gelingen, für sich selbst ein größeres, interessiertes Publikum zu gewinnen. Beim Rundfunk und Fernsehen wächst die Zuneigung mit der Bekanntschaft.

Ein Faktor, der die Programmgestaltung beeinflussen sollte, ist die große Entwicklung auf dem Gebiete der Erziehung; mehr Menschen als früher haben heute Zugang zur Bildung, und mehr Menschen gehen länger zur Schule. Dadurch wachsen die Ansprüche, die das Publikum an die Programme stellt. Solche Programme werden nur von Sendern ausgestrahlt werden, bei denen die Verantwortung von Menschen getragen wird, deren oberstes Ziel es ist, gut ausgewogene Programme herzustellen und nicht nur möglichst hohe Einkünfte aus der Reklame zu erzielen. Dies kann nur gewährleistet werden, wenn Einnahmen aus anderen Quellen und nicht nur aus der Reklame kommen; das Motiv des Profits muß dem Allgemeinwohl untergeordnet werden. Der sicherste Weg, dieses zu erreichen, ist ein Lizenzsystem.

L'INFLUENCE DE LA RADIO-TELEVISION

par JOHN S. SHIELDS, Winchester

L'invention de l'écriture a permis la communication des idées sur un plan plus étendu. L'imprimerie a multiplié les effets de l'écriture. De nos jours, la télévision peut diffuser des idées parmi des millions d'illettrés. Mais elle peut être n'employée qu'à des fins superficielles. En Grande-Bretagne le premier Directeur Général de la B.B.C. établit le principe qu'elle devrait être employée pour l'information, l'éducation et le divertissement. L'emploi que nous faisons de la radio-télévision est dépendant du système qui la finance. Si elle est financée par la publicité, les programmes devront être choisis de manière à attirer et à maintenir en éveil un public très vaste. Mais ces programmes sont ceux qui exigent le moins de collaboration de la part du public tels les "Western", les comédies et les romans à sensation. Ce sont les thèmes favoris qui retiennent une large audience. Mais si la radio-télévision veut être employée convenablement, des programmes sérieux, s'adressant à un public plus limité, devraient y trouver leur place. Certains de ces programmes pourraient s'attirer l'intérêt d'un public important. En radio-télévision la familiarité engendre l'affection.

Un des facteurs qui devrait influencer l'organisation du programme est le grand développement de l'éducation. Plus de gens sont éduqués par rapport au passé et il y en a plus qui sont éduqués pendant une période plus longue, ce qui a pour conséquence de créer un public prêt à suivre des programmes exigeants. De tels programmes ne pourront être obtenus que si la radio-télévision est contrôlée par des gens pour que le but principal est un programme bien équilibré et non seulement le revenu que rapporte la publicité. Ceci ne sera toutefois possible que s'il existe d'autres sources de revenus que celle de la publicité. Le profit matériel doit être subordonné au bien public. Le meilleur moyen d'y parvenir est de faire appel à un système de brevet.

COMMUNICATIONS – BERICHTE – COMMUNICATIONS

MODERN APPROACHES IN THE FIELD OF TRAINING LANGUAGE TEACHERS IN THE U.S.¹⁾

Twelve years ago a rigorous examination of language instruction was started by the Modern Language Association of America (MLA). It was undertaken with the help of a Rockefeller Foundation Grant of \$ 235,000 and the vigorous support of the U.S. Office of Education. The climax occurred when the study of modern languages was considered vital enough to include it in the National Defense Education Act (NDEA) of 1958.²⁾

At the same time the descriptive linguist's new ideas about the fundamental nature of language, the educational psychologist's research in the learning processes as well as the gargantuan strides made in the technology involved with communications, which brought such innovations as tape recorder, language laboratory, television, film, filmstrip, teaching machine, also assisted in forcing the language teaching profession to reconsider its entire approach to language teaching. The ferment was nation wide and some profound changes have taken place. Most apparent is the audio-lingual approach to language teaching, a teaching system derived from the linguist-informant method used in the Armed Services Training Program in languages during World War II and also used in the Foreign Service Institute School of Languages, in various Armed Forces Language Schools and in seminaries where missionaries are trained for overseas work such as the Hartford Seminary Foundation.

The Audio-Lingual Approach

What is this audio-lingual approach as it is used in our forward looking schools and colleges? First of all, it stresses teaching a language through ear and tongue. Language is to be thought of as oral communication and should be taught *as such* if the student expects to communicate by means of the spoken word. This approach, it is found, also eases the learner into a favorable position for acquiring the reading and writing skills more efficiently, if understanding rather than decoding a language is the expected outcome.

In schools which practice the above approach one will find the following:

1. *Students* and teachers *talk* the language in the classroom in a carefully structured natural communications situation at least 85% of the time.
2. The *classroom* is a *learning laboratory* where the student is conditioned to understand the spoken word and to speak the language.
3. The *teacher* is a *guide* who assists in developing an exchange of utterances *among the members* of the classroom group.
4. To help students master the phonology and the basic structure of the foreign language the first hundred hours or more in the classroom are devoted primarily to

¹⁾ From a paper read by Professor Birkmaier at the International Congress on Modern Foreign Language Teaching, held at Berlin in August 1964. See the report on page 479.

²⁾ More information is to be found in Parker, William R. *The National Interest and Foreign Languages*. Revised Ed. 1957 and the Third Ed. 1962. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office.

accurate listening and speaking with a limited range of structures. *Reading and writing are used only to assist the student's ability to listen and communicate accurately.* The time lag between audio-lingual work and the introduction of reading and writing depends upon the age level and the characteristics of the students.

5. The skills of a language are learned through persistent daily practice, active and aloud. This practice is facilitated by a *language laboratory* where the student can practice privately until he controls the language and where he can listen to native speakers to assure himself of correct models. Here he learns his dialogs, listens to simple plays and discourse, and manipulates the patterns of the language. The work in the laboratory is carefully correlated with the work which goes on in the regular classroom period.

6. An earlier start than the last three years of high school (ages 15-17) are required to control all four skills of a language. *A first foreign language is taken up in the elementary school or the junior high school at the latest.* To make best use of a child's neuro-physiological, psychological and intellectual growth, language learning should start at an early stage in his life. It facilitates automatic control of the sounds, structures and vocabulary. It allows the child to grow up with the culture of another country as well as his own.

7. Control of all four skills is achieved not only through *imitating and memorizing* but also through *analogy* carried out in the hundreds of exercises and pattern practices, both oral and written, which aid the student in achieving a command of the language. With the aid of a highly-skilled language teacher the student ultimately develops his own insights and analyzes the way this particular foreign language works.

8. In the course of the modern language program the structure and vocabulary control is expanded, first orally and then in writing, until the student can, in the foreign language, listen to, read, discuss and write about good literary works, important books, magazine and newspaper articles, film, TV and radio plays and commentaries, and participate in an occasional one act play himself. A few schools permit the highly-skilled language teacher with a strong second major in social studies, the natural sciences, or the language arts to teach these areas or certain topics in them in the foreign language. Here we are approaching closely schools for bi-lingual children where half the school day is devoted to teaching a certain group of subjects in the one language and the other half to the other subjects in the second language. Some schools reinforce regular language study in the junior and senior years of high school by study abroad, during the summer months or during an academic year, as in the case of Classrooms Abroad, the American Field Service (very limited), the Indiana Honors Program, and many others.

Audio-Lingual Materials or Systems

The audio-lingual approach to teaching must be backed up by new language materials or systems, and well-trained teachers. As early as 1953 the Modern Language Association's Foreign Language Program provided for committees of teachers and language specialists to develop language guides for grades 3, 4, 5 and 6 in the elementary school in French, German and Spanish. In 1959 under Title VI of the NDEA'S Language Development Program the federal government sponsored the development of pilot materials in French, German, Spanish, Russian and Italian and funded the Center for Applied Linguistics for the development of similar materials in the less commonly taught languages such as Chinese, Japanese, Hindi,

Arabic, Portuguese and languages which are not taught at all in our public schools but need to be taught. Under Title III of the NDEA, funds for acquiring language laboratories and other special teaching materials needed to strengthen our foreign language programs were made available to school systems. In this instance, the local school system usually matches funds on a fifty-fifty basis with the federal government.¹⁾ Title III makes possible foreign language consultants at the national and state levels who assist teachers and school administrators in the development of state and local foreign language programs, who conduct workshops for teachers in service, who help in obtaining and developing materials, in short, they help with the development of the new foreign language programs throughout the nation.

We can readily see from all this that the student textbook is no longer sufficient for a foreign language learning program. The new materials, or language learning systems as I like to call them, contain:

1. Tapes for the laboratory with recorded dialogs, conversations, drills and pattern practices, carefully correlated with the classroom work.
2. Student take-home discs (for oral home-work).
3. The student textbook(s) with pictorial clues and readings.
4. Workbooks (intended primarily for writing drills and exercises).
5. The teacher's manual.
6. Tests (listening, speaking, reading, writing).
7. Flash cards, pictures, slides, filmstrips or films (for visual stimuli and cultural understanding).
8. Programed materials for specific structural difficulties.²⁾

Teacher Qualifications

A teacher who is able to carry on with an audio-lingual program such as described above and who is at ease working with highly sophisticated language materials or systems must be well-qualified. In the U.S. the majority of our teachers have not been taught in the manner in which they are now supposed to teach. Most of our teachers did not begin to learn their second language until they were 15 or 16 years of age. Some did not start until they entered college or university. Their training in the colleges and universities was intended for the teaching of a strictly grammar-translation-reading approach and was inadequate for teaching audio-lingual control of a language.

The new language courses are sufficiently different from the traditional course

¹⁾ For materials purchaseable under Title III teachers refer to:

- a) Council of Chief State School Officers and Educational Facilities Laboratories. *Purchase Guide for Programs in Science, Mathematics, and Modern Foreign Languages*, 1959 and the *Supplement to the Purchase Guide*, 1961. Elton Hocking and Fred Eddy, eds. N.Y.: Ginn and Co.
- b) Modern Language Association. *Selective List of Materials*. Mary J. Ollmann ed., N.Y.: Modern Language Association, 1962.
- c) National Defense Language Development Program. *Completed Research, Studies, and Instructional Materials*. List No. 3, OE 12016-63. Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1963.

²⁾ For listings of the new materials see footnote 1 (above) under b and - Department of Audio-visual Instruction. *Audio-visual Instruction*, November, 1962. Pp. 647, 648. Washington, D.C.: National Education Association. Also Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development. *Using Current Curriculum Developments*, 1963. Pp. 25-40. A new edition will appear in the Fall of 1965 with an up-to-date listing of the systems developed since 1963. Washington, D.C.: National Education Association.

to require from the teacher almost near-native ability in the four language skills—auding, speaking, reading and writing. In addition, he must be well-oriented in the cultural ways of the country, whose language he is teaching. He must have an understanding of how the target language works, how his native language works, and where the crucial points of interference lie between the two languages. He must also have an understanding of the techniques and methods he can use to facilitate the student's acquisition of another language. The latter implies that he must be a student of the psychology of human learning, especially of language learning.

In schools where the language program starts, let us say, at grades three or four or even earlier, the teacher must be able to integrate the foreign language with the work of the classroom. This demands a teacher with a deep knowledge of a child's way of life in the foreign country including songs, games, rhymes and stories as well as an excellent pronunciation and intonation of that part of the language which he commands.

To facilitate the teacher training program in the audio-lingual approach the Modern Language Association of America, in 1955, issued a statement on the qualifications for secondary school teachers of modern languages. It was prepared by the Steering Committee of the Modern Language Program and endorsed by the executive boards of eighteen foreign language associations. The seven qualifications had to do with listening comprehension, speaking, reading, writing, language analysis, culture, and professional preparation. Competency in these seven areas was defined on three levels—minimal, good and superior. To do a good job in our schools with six- and nine-year foreign language programs it is expected that the future teacher display superior performance in all seven areas.¹⁾

In 1959, with the help of a grant from the NDEA, again under the auspices of the Modern Language Association and in cooperation with the Educational Testing Services at Princeton, New Jersey, a group of language specialists constructed a battery of seven tests for the purpose of evaluating the above qualifications.²⁾ The tests have been used since 1960 to determine the progress of the teachers who wish to orient themselves in the audio-lingual approach by attending the modern language institutes provided for under the National Defense Education Act of 1958.

The tests are also used in other evaluations. In the United States modern language teachers are certified in two ways: directly by the state certifying officer, or by a college or university, where the student has been trained, stating in a letter of endorsement to the state certifying officer that the student has the necessary qualifications for teaching in that state. Certification is often based on the number of credit hours accumulated by the cadet teacher without regard to his ability in handling the various skills of the foreign language. Rather than certify in this manner more and more of the college and universities throughout our country are using the MLA's qualifying tests to help in the evaluation of the future modern language teacher. The influence of these tests has also been felt in building and changing the modern foreign language teacher training curricula in our colleges and universities. In addition, they are being used by more and more state certifying

¹⁾ For a definition of the seven qualifications see *PMLA* (Publications of the Modern Language Association of America) vol. 70, no. 4, part 2, pp. 46-49, Sept. 1955.

²⁾ Information about the *MLA Foreign Language Proficiency Tests for Teachers and Advanced Students* and specimen sets can be obtained from Educational Testing Services, Princeton, New Jersey.

officers where states evaluate the applicants rather than the college or university.

To insure ourselves of a corps of qualified teachers who can handle the modern curricula in foreign language learning, the language field has had to attack the teacher training problem at three levels. First of all, the poorly qualified teacher and the teacher trained in the traditional grammar-translation-reading approach presented the most urgent cases. A second group to which we must pay utmost attention are the prospective teachers now receiving their training in the colleges and universities. Last, but not least, is the group of college instructors who teach the prospective elementary and secondary school modern language teacher but who, because they are so immersed in doing literary research, know very little about the actual language learning process and how to present the modern language effectively and efficiently.

College Instructors

This latter group has to date been largely untouched, but negotiations are now under way to establish institutes under the National Defense Education Act Language Development Program to upgrade the teaching competency of the college instructor. Indiana University, the University of Minnesota, the University of Wisconsin and a few others are presently concerning themselves with this problem.

Indiana University requires each master and doctoral candidate to be familiar with the significant recent developments in the teaching of foreign languages and to teach, in the presence of a committee of examiners, an extract from some literary work with which he is familiar. During the summer of 1964 Indiana University conducted an institute for college instructors to give them an idea of what is going on in the language learning field and to acquaint them with the new audio-lingual procedures and techniques.

The University of Wisconsin's French and Italian departments require each doctoral candidate to conduct a demonstration class before five members of the departmental committee on graduate studies. The University of Minnesota will in the fall of 1964 put its beginning French and German courses under the direction of a structural linguist who is also well-qualified in methodology. These beginning courses will be taught partly over closed circuit television and partly by assistants who will handle the small group sessions in which the work is correlated with what is taught on TV. It will be a team teaching endeavor where the assistants will be trained by the structural linguist (who teaches the TV sessions) in how to conduct the small group sessions using audio-lingual techniques.

The universities of the states of Washington, Minnesota and Ohio have developed doctoral programs in foreign language learning and teaching with emphasis on descriptive and applied linguistics, the science and study of culture, the psychology of verbal behavior, programmed learning, the design of experiments, the structure of English and the teaching of English as a foreign language, advanced methods in the teaching of foreign languages, development of modern language curricula and materials research in language learning, audio-visual, supervision and curriculum courses. The candidate is expected to be able to handle one foreign language well with a good knowledge of another and possibly a third. He should have two or more years of experience teaching in a public school.

The Teacher in Service

Since the modern language field is embarked on a "crash program," so to speak,

it has had to place primary emphasis on upgrading the efficiency of the teacher in service-group one mentioned above. This program started in 1958 with the Congress passing the National Defense Education Act in which was included a Language Development Program with Titles VI and III. Through funds from Title VI, well over 300 intensive summer language institutes of six to ten weeks' duration and over a dozen and a half of year long institutes have been conducted. More than 14,000 secondary and elementary school modern foreign language teachers have attended such institutes. The scope of these institutes includes not only the upgrading of Spanish, German and French teachers but also Russian and Chinese teachers at both elementary and secondary school levels. Hebrew and Italian have also been included in the program. It is expected in the near future that other institutes will be added for training elementary and secondary school teachers in the less common languages. Second level institutes are conducted in Germany, France, the Latin-American countries and the Soviet Union. Special institutes have also made it possible to train native speakers of a target language in the new audio-lingual approach by giving them courses which help to fit them into our schools as teachers and supervisors of modern languages.

Some forward looking educators in the United States, out of sheer necessity, are making a concerted effort to attract the bilingual individual to the modern language teaching field. It is estimated that we have, in the U.S., over twenty million speakers of other languages besides English. According to Dr. Theodore Andersson, in New York City one American citizen in ten is a native speaker of Spanish, one out of six Texans has a Spanish name and can usually speak Spanish. Louisiana has 400,000 speakers of French, not to speak of the many speakers of French in the New England states. There is the speaker of German in the Midwest, of Italian in many of our large cities, of Chinese and Japanese especially on the West Coast and in Hawaii, and of Russian, Polish and the Scandinavian languages in scattered islands throughout the country. With the aid of government money for scholarships and with training programs tailored to the particular needs of these individuals we could undoubtedly do the job of supplying excellently prepared foreign language teachers for the entire nation.

Through the aid of Title III funds, many thousands of foreign language teachers have also participated in in-service workshops and demonstrations of audio-lingual and language laboratory techniques which are sponsored by the individual states.

The NDEA Modern Language Institutes give the teacher in service a chance to upgrade his aural-oral, reading and writing skills as well as deepen his insight into the culture of a country. He is introduced to the field of applied linguistics and is shown how it can help him. He reads some of the literature of the country, uses the language laboratory to help him increase his language skills. He learns something about the equipment and utilization of the laboratory in a teaching situation and learns how to make his own tapes. He observes and uses new methods and techniques in the methods and demonstration classes that are a part of the institute. He also acquires a considerable array of professional information and instructional materials which he and his colleagues have made and can use in their classrooms. Participants go back to their language classrooms enthusiastically, stimulated by watching new procedures in action, more fluent and more correct in their own oral use of the target language.

The film has become a great aid in getting the cadet teacher as well as the teacher in service to understand the audio-lingual approach and how it is used. A

series of five teacher training films on the *Principles and Methods of Teaching a Second Language* is used throughout the world. Each of the five films is 32 minutes in length. Film I, *The Nature of Language and How it is Learned*, establishes the validity of the audio-lingual approach to teaching. Examples of speech drawn from many languages reveal how differently languages function in their sound systems, structural organisation and lexical development. Modern teaching of a second language parallels the way people learn their first language, but is scientifically organized and stresses the formation of new language habits. Film II, *The Sounds of language*, points out that each language has its own sound system with characteristic intonation patterns, rhythms, stresses and individual sounds. Sound features of various languages are compared and the concept of phonemic sound contrasts is explained. A class in Spanish for English students demonstrates how this is taught in the classroom. Film III, *The Organization of Language*, illustrates how pre-school children use the forms and arrangements of the words of their language to convey meaning. This is the grammar of the language. The film shows how patterns of organization differ from language to language and are based not so much on logic as on customs and conventions peculiar to each language. A class in German shows how grammatical patterns and their variations are taught by modern methods. Film IV, *Words and their Meanings*, demonstrates that words in a language are not single units of meaning. They change meaning depending upon the situations in which they are used. Therefore, learning lists of words in isolation is an inaccurate and misleading procedure. Situations in life are viewed differently in the various cultures. Modern language teaching is sensitive to the cultural attitudes that affect the use of words. A French class for English students shows how vocabulary is taught in meaningful context. Film V, *Modern Techniques in Language Teaching*, reinforces that which has been said in the first four films but in this case using illustrations from the teaching of English as the second language to be learned. Classes shown include a third grade class of Spanish speaking children, a ninth grade class of Spanish speaking adolescents and an adult class of speakers of languages from the Mid East, Far East, Africa, Europe and South America. The film also considers the role of the non-native speaker who must teach a second language. Use of the language laboratory and how to take care of an oversize class are also explored.

Another group of films done in four languages (French, German, Russian and Spanish) shows the various techniques used in an audio-lingual approach to language teaching. Two reels, each 30 minutes in length, are devoted to each of the languages. The first reel shows an abbreviated form of a 45 minute class near the end of the first year of instruction. Reel two deals with the first day of a beginning course and the various ways in which a teacher drills the students in the classroom - the dialog adaptation drill, the various substitution and transformations drills, response drills, directed dialog practice and free rejoinder exercises. Both sets of films are accompanied by worksheets and manuals.

Universities, boards of education, foreign language publishing houses are making films and kinescopes of demonstration classes showing effective classroom procedures. Such films help not only the teacher in service but have also become an integral part of the materials used in assisting the cadet teacher to understand the new approaches to language teaching.¹⁾

¹⁾ The Appendix lists some of the more important films which can be used for teacher training.

Another breakthrough in helping both the cadet teacher and the teacher in service has been the development of the teacher's manual which accompanies the new language materials now used by over 50 percent of the schools in the country. Some of these are elaborately detailed, step-by-step descriptions of what to do in the language classroom. Such manuals were practically non-existent before 1959.

Although there are many opportunities for teacher exchanges and study abroad the Smith-Hays Act of 1961 which provides funds for teachers to study and travel abroad is one of the major advances for helping teachers increase competency in the language.

The Cadet Teacher

We have considered primarily the teacher in service. A few of the scholars who have either directed an NDEA institute or taught in one are now incorporating the program into the regular curricula of the modern language departments in their colleges and universities. Some teacher training departments are taking a long, close look at the prospective teacher who, in order to teach today's youth, should be a person of superior intelligence with a dynamic and enthusiastic personality.

In his general educational background the cadet teacher is encouraged to take courses in the geography, history, culture and institutions of the country whose language he will be teaching. He takes courses in the structure of his own language (as it is seen from the point of view of the structural linguist) and learns how to teach it as a second language. Courses in cultural anthropology, linguistics and educational and social psychology become part of the cadet teacher's stock in trade.

The language laboratory plays an increasingly greater role in the education of the prospective teacher who starts his foreign language study at the college level. The cadet teacher who begins his learning of a foreign language at the college or university level must attempt the almost impossible task of acquiring near native ability in the language at a time in his life when it is rather difficult to do so.

As our new language programs reach down into the grade school, as the language laboratory is used extensively at the high school level, more and more students enter college with a fluency in a foreign language never before experienced in our country. High school teachers together with the college professors are cooperating in the referral of these able students and encouraging them to go into the field of foreign language teaching.

More and more college and university professors are giving their lectures on the civilization, culture and literature of the country whose language they teach in the foreign language. The speaker knows of several colleges where the language professor delivers half hour lectures which contain not only information on the country's contributions to literature, the arts and the sciences, but stress also the contemporary scene - the education, the family, the working conditions, the leisure time activities, sports, religion, etc. The students are furnished an outline of the lecture but are forbidden to take notes so that they can give their complete and undivided attention to the oral message. The lectures are recorded on tape so that the weaker students can listen as often as necessary to arrive at a complete mastery of the materials. The lectures become the subject of class discussion. Compositions dealing with the same materials are required. In cases where the professor also teaches the conversation classes he will use these lecture materials, especially the structures used in them, for further practice and drill.

Courses in applied linguistics contribute to the cadet teacher's training. Examined

here are the basic principles which lie at the root of the audio-lingual approach, the structure of language in general, its fundamental oral nature, and the resemblances and differences between the native and target language. Many of these courses are taught by trained language teachers who have made a careful study of linguistics and are concerned with its practical application.¹⁾

In his training program the cadet teacher will either take a special course (which in many cases has become part of the methods course) familiarizing him with laboratory equipment so that he can select and operate the kind of laboratory he will either encounter in the public schools or be asked to design and help purchase. He is taught about the administration and care of the laboratory, he is taught how to prepare taped materials and he observes the use of such materials in the language laboratory or in the class where he does his cadet teaching under the supervision of a master teacher.²⁾

There is a growing trend to have the prospective teacher spend the junior year of his college career in the country whose language he intends to teach. The State of Pennsylvania expects within the next few years to require this of the prospective foreign language teacher candidate. Teacher training institutions encourage young teachers to spend one or two summers abroad if they cannot stay for an entire year. These summers are usually between the junior and senior years just before the cadet teacher takes his professional training in methods and does his cadet teaching and directly after he receives his teaching degree from the college or university.

An increasing number of colleges and universities are instituting programs for the training of modern language teachers for the elementary school. These programs differ from those which train the secondary school teacher in that much more emphasis is given to oral language competency, for this is the crucial aspect of language teaching which can be accomplished extraordinarily well at the grade school level. The facets of the culture which are of particular interest to children are dwelt on in the culture class. Much time is also spent on learning how to integrate the foreign language learning with the other activities of the grade school classroom. The cadet elementary school language teacher should have at least six months to a year's experience abroad in a highly structured situation where he is attached to a pedagogical institute with much observation and even assisting in an elementary school. It is hoped that in the near future there can be an extensive exchange of such programs between the various countries.

State Department Programs

One state department of education grants a certificate in the teaching of modern languages from grades 1 through 12 to teachers with a bachelor of science degree who have a modern language major or specialization from an accredited teacher-training institution. The program must include 18 semester credits in education

¹⁾ An introductory book in linguistics which is *programed* and used extensively in some colleges and universities is Cynthia D. Buchanan's *A Programed Introduction to Linguistics: Phonetics and Phonemics*, 1963, published by D.C. Heath and Co., Boston, 270 pages.

²⁾ The Magnetic Products Division of the 3M Company, 2501 Hudson Road, St. Paul, Minnesota, has developed an audio-visual discussion course *Taking the Mystery out of the Language Laboratory*, with 3 filmstrips, 3 tapes and 3 study guides for use by the professional language teacher and in methodology courses.

(professional training) with a methods course in foreign language teaching at both elementary and secondary school levels. There must be supervised cadet teaching at both levels. The candidate is expected to achieve a rating of good or superior from the language department of the college or university in five of the seven competencies defined in the MLA's qualifications for secondary school teachers of modern foreign languages and at least a minimal rating in the remaining two competencies. The five which require a superior or good rating include aural understanding, speaking, reading and writing. The leading teacher training institution in the state requires from 54 to 59 quarter hours (36 to 40 semester hours) in the language major over and above the equivalent of 4 to 5 years of language training in the public schools as well as the methods and language laboratory training courses and cadet teaching.

Five-Year Programs

Some universities are extending their teacher training programs to five years at the end of which the prospective teacher receives a Master's Degree in the Teaching of a Foreign Language. This gives the prospective teacher a year of internship during which he works with a master teacher in a school system and takes his professional courses concurrently with his internship experience. These seminars and workshops on methods and techniques to be used in the classroom and laboratory are held in the late afternoons or evenings. Here master teachers, cadet teachers, and methods instructors get at the problems of language teaching in a realistic and meaningful manner. At some of these workshops cadet teachers together with a native speaker of the target language work with films and filmstrips, supplying different levels of foreign language narrative to be put on tape for use in the class. Other cadet teachers listen to and discuss a tape recording of a cadet teacher's classroom performance. Kinescopes of good and bad classroom teaching are used as a basis for bringing out important principles in language learning and teaching.

The University of Indiana has been given a Ford Foundation grant of \$ 650,000 to launch an ambitious ten-year program to improve foreign language teaching in the state in which only about 5% of the total high school enrollment was taking a foreign language. The goal of this program is as follows: by 1972, language instruction with modern methods and objectives in *every* public high school in Indiana, with an increasing number of schools offering four years or more of such instruction, and with every college-bound student counselled to study a foreign language for as long as possible. Such an ambitious program will require that teacher training be made one of its major concerns.

The State of California with legislation requiring all students in public schools to learn a foreign language in grades 6, 7 and 8 and with very few teachers in the state equipped to do this is launching hundreds of workshops and institutes for its teachers but is also concentrating heavily on weekly and twice weekly TV programs of half hour length which show the teacher how to conduct the foreign language class with materials developed for a particular school system. The emphasis is primarily on the Spanish language.

Pages could be written describing innovations in teacher training in the forward-looking institutions of the country, since that is where the power ultimately lies to change and experiment with new ideas in the field. The profession has not been afraid to use the new technology to better itself. Whether we have succeeded

is for the future to decide. Our clientele of today will let us know. There is much yet to do. We are not satisfied. The challenge to be on the alert for newer and better ways of teaching will always be with us.

EMMA BIRKMAIER, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis

APPENDIX

Films Useful in Teacher Training (all are 16 mm. sound)

1. *Principles and Methods of Teaching a Second Language*. A series of five films:
 - I. The Nature of Language and How it is Learned
 - II. The Sounds of Language
 - III. The Organization of Language
 - IV. Words and Their Meanings
 - V. Modern Techniques in Language Teaching

Each film is 32 minutes in length. The series was produced by the Modern Language Association and the Center for Applied Linguistics in cooperation with Teaching Film Custodians. Distributed by Teaching Film Custodians, Inc. 25 West 43rd Street, New York.

These films are specifically focused on the subject of language teaching methodology. They are accompanied by an *Instructor's Manual* available from the Center for Applied Linguistics, 1755 Massachusetts Avenue Northwest, Washington, D.C.

2. *Audio-Lingual Techniques for Teaching Modern Foreign Languages*. A series of 8 films, each approximately 30 minutes in length. Two films each are devoted to French, German, Spanish and Russian. Film one shows a class near the end of the 8th month of instruction, part one of film two deals with the first day of a beginning language class and part two with the drills and pattern practices teachers use in a class. An instructor's Manual goes with each language series. Available from MLA Foreign Language Research Center, 4 Washington Place, New York City.

3. *The Two O'Clock Class*. A 20-minute film made in an unrehearsed classroom teaching situation showing teacher and students working on units 16 and 17 of the Holt-Rinehart-Winston Spanish language materials *Entender y Hablar*. It shows the audio-lingual approach and demonstrates the use of the tape-recorder in the classroom. A guide sheet contains questions for discussion. Obtainable from Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., Foreign Language Department, 383 Madison Avenue, New York 17, New York.

4. *Teaching English Grammar*. A 20-minute film showing the use of pattern practices. Examples of simple and complex patterns are given.

Teaching English Speech. A 20-minute film demonstrates the informant-drill technique for teaching conversational English.

Teaching English Pronunciation. A 20-minute film shows several classes in English as a foreign language.

Teaching English Conversation. A 20-minute film demonstrates 3 teachers' methods with large classes and small groups.

These 4 films are obtainable from Norwood Studios, Inc., 926 New Jersey Avenue, Northwest, Washington, D.C.

5. *One Step at a Time*. A 30-minute color film reporting on the preparation and tryout of materials for self-instruction (programed learning) in 17 high schools. Obtainable from American Institute of Research, Pittsburg, Pennsylvania.

6. *Language Teaching in Context*. A 30-minute color film demonstrates the use of audio-visual methods in teaching French and shows the different materials used for instruction in the language laboratory. Obtainable from Wayne State University, Audio-Visual Production Center, 680 Putnam, Detroit 2, Michigan.

7. *The Language Laboratory in Action*. A 14-minute color film showing the operation of a language laboratory in a high school, includes an animated demonstration of the dual channel tape recording principle and shows the teacher working with groups of students, helping individuals and preparing duplicate tapes. Obtainable from Monitor Language Laboratories, 5034 Wisconsin Avenue, Northwest, Washington, D.C.

8. *Language and Linguistics*. A series of thirteen 30-minute kinescopes made by Henry Lee Smith, Junior of the University of Buffalo (New York).

Introduction to Language and Linguistics

History of the Indo-European Language Family

Dialects

A Definition of Language

The Alphabet

Language and Meaning

Language and Writing

Linguistic Approach to Language Learning

The Sounds of Language

Linguistic Science and the Teaching of Reading.

The kinescopes and a descriptive brochure are available from National Educational Television Film Service, Audio-Visual Center, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.

9. *Language and Communication*. A 16-minute film points out the use of gestures, of spoken language, and of writing as tools for communication. Obtainable from Moody Institute of Science, P.O. Box 25575, 11428 Santa Monica Boulevard, Los Angeles, 25, California.

10. *Lingua Film-Spanish for You*. 30 fifteen-minute films in color, the course includes records and tapes for classroom use. Entirely youngster oriented, avoiding the classroom and teacher. 2 films provide for a daily 15-minute Spanish period in the 6th grade for two weeks. A visual programed learning course. Accompanied by a Teacher's Guide. Obtainable from Lingua Film Inc., 6325 Santa Monica Boulevard, Hollywood 38, California.

11. *The Minnesota Second Language Teaching Films*. 25 thirty minute kinescopes, products of a closed circuit TV project on teacher education at the University of Minnesota. The films show demonstration classes in a NDEA Modern Language Institute; good and bad techniques in teaching; elementary and high school procedures; language laboratory operation, motivation, etc. For a list of the kinescopes send to Modern Language Department, University High School, 224 Peik Hall, University of Minnesota.

ZUR PÄDAGOGISCHEN PROBLEMATIK INTERNATIONALER SEMINARE IM RAHMEN DER ENTWICKLUNGSHILFE

– dargestellt am Beispiel der Deutschen Stiftung
für Entwicklungsländer in Berlin-Tegel ¹⁾ –

Eine interdisziplinäre Planung des sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Wandels unter Beibehaltung einer freiheitlichen Gesellschaftsordnung ist für uns alle Neuland. Sie erfordert eine intensive Kommunikation nicht nur innerhalb der zuständigen Behörden und Verbände eines der betroffenen Länder, sondern auch zwischen den Empfängerländern und den Geberländern der Entwicklungshilfe. Da sich fast täglich neue Erfahrungen ergeben und da der betroffene Personenkreis laufend wechselt – auch das ist ein Kennzeichen der Entwicklung – muß das Gespräch institutionalisiert werden, es bedarf der Einrichtung ständiger Gesprächszentren.

Diese Überlegung hat dazu geführt, daß Bundesregierung und Bundestag 1959 als deutschen Beitrag zu dieser internationalen Kommunikation das Seminarzentrum der Deutschen Stiftung geschaffen haben, für das die ehemalige Villa der Industriellenfamilie Borsig in Berlin auf einer Halbinsel im Tegeler See inmitten eines großen Parks ausgewählt und mit erheblichen Mitteln zu einer modernen Tagungsstätte mit Konferenzräumen, Dolmetscheranlage und allen sonstigen Ausrüstungen ausgebaut wurde.

Der Leitung eines solchen Hauses wird als erstes die Aufgabe gestellt, die politischen Zielsetzungen des Direktoriums in pädagogische Aufgabenstellungen zu übersetzen, also: Schaffung eines Vertrauensklimas zwischen den Afrikanern, Asiaten oder Lateinamerikanern einerseits und den Europäern und speziell Deutschen andererseits, Gewinnung eines Verständnisses für die deutsche Umwelt, für den geschichtlichen und gesellschaftlichen Hintergrund der "Angebote", die dem Gast aus einer fremden Kultur auf seinem Fachgebiet gemacht werden, und schließlich Erzeugung einer Arbeitsatmosphäre, die jeden einzelnen Teilnehmer möglichst aktiv und unter Einsatz aller seiner wissens- und gefühlsmäßigen Kapazitäten am Erfahrungsaustausch und am Lernprozeß teilnehmen läßt. Vertrauen, Verständnis und Beteiligung sind die drei pädagogischen Stichworte, die über allen weiteren Überlegungen der Programmgestaltung standen.

Was die Auswahl und Ausbildung des Mitarbeiterstabes anbelangt, so werden in Tegel die ständigen und die zeitweisen Mitarbeiter unterschieden. Zu den ständigen gehören sieben Gruppen: die wissenschaftlichen Organisatoren mit ihren Büros, das Tagungssekretariat, die Pressestelle und der ihr angeschlossene Besucherdienst, die Zimmermädchen, die Küche und die Fahrer. Alle sieben Gruppen kommen mit den Teilnehmern in persönlichen Kontakt und sind in ihrem Bereich für das Wohlergehen des Einzelnen von Bedeutung. Mitarbeiter, die zeitweise für ein oder mehrere Seminare angestellt werden, sind die Dolmetscher, die fachlichen Leiter der Seminare und die Protokollführer und Seminarassistenten. Die genannten

¹⁾ Am 19. September 1964 hatte die Deutsche Stiftung für Entwicklungsländer mit ihrem Seminarzentrum in Berlin-Tegel einen Grund zum Feiern: Ihr 50. Seminar ging zu Ende, diesmal mit dem Thema des Aufbaus der Forstwirtschaft in afrikanischen Ländern. Zur Gratulation war der Generaldirektor der FAO von Rom nach Berlin gekommen. Der Autor dieses Berichts hat die ersten drei Jahre das Seminarzentrum geleitet und sich speziell mit den pädagogischen Fragen der Begegnung unter Führungskräften verschiedener Kulturen beschäftigt.

Personen müssen um die Ziele und die Programmgestaltung wissen und sie bejahen. Erst wenn der Gast merkt, daß hier alle Hausbewohner an der gleichen Aufgabe mit Begeisterung mitarbeiten und sich für ihn interessieren, entsteht jene Vertrauensatmosphäre, von der am Anfang die Rede war. Methodisch gehören dazu regelmäßige Mitarbeiterbesprechungen sowohl zur Vorbereitung wie auch zur Auswertung einer Veranstaltung und andererseits die Einbeziehung des Hauspersonals in die geselligen Veranstaltungen der Seminargruppe, sei es nun ein Tanzabend oder eine gemeinsame Dampferfahrt. Übrigens ist dies nur möglich, wenn die meisten dieser Helfer im Schichtwechsel arbeiten können, da der Betrieb von sieben Uhr in der Frühe bis oft nach Mitternacht läuft. Wenn die Mitarbeiter keine Zeit haben, sich auszuspannen, und zu wenig Personal vorhanden ist, wird die Behandlung der Gäste sehr schnell zu einer mechanischen Routineangelegenheit, und man fühlt sich als Nummer in einem Fließbandbetrieb.

Das Haus in Tegel bietet als Tagungsstätte ideale Voraussetzungen. Es liegt etwa eine halbe Stunde Autofahrt vom Zentrum der Großstadt entfernt und fünfzehn Minuten vom nächsten öffentlichen Verkehrsmittel. So ist für eine ausreichende Isolierung gesorgt und andererseits können die Teilnehmer mit Hilfe der Kleinbusse, die zur Verfügung stehen, an einigen Abenden der Woche am kulturellen Leben der Stadt teilnehmen, deutsche Familien an Wochenenden besuchen und die für sie wichtigen fachlichen Einrichtungen besichtigen. Der große Park um das Haus lädt zu Spaziergängen ein, in der warmen Jahreszeit besteht die Möglichkeit, verschiedene Arten von Sport zu betreiben, und im Hause selbst gibt es neben einem Fernseh- und Musikraum eine Bibliothek, Clubräume und eine Bierbar im Keller, in der man singen kann, ohne das übrige Haus zu stören. Die große Halle eignet sich gut für die gemeinsamen Feste oder für Empfänge.

Nun kommt es darauf an, daß die Teilnehmer dieses Haus und seine Umgebung – umrundet vom See – als ihr eigenes „zu Hause“ empfinden. Die kleinen, aber bequem eingerichteten Zimmer sind mit Schreibtisch und Telefon versehen, so daß bereits auf den ersten Blick eine Arbeitsatmosphäre deutlich wird. Dann wird das Haus gezeigt und auf die verschiedenen Benutzungsmöglichkeiten hingewiesen. Nachdem sich die Teilnehmer kennen gelernt haben – eine ausführliche Vorstellung gehört zu jeder Eröffnungssitzung – wählen sie einen Programmausschuß, der zusammen mit der Tagungsleitung gemeinsam Programmänderungen oder auch die Vorbereitung besonderer Veranstaltungen beraten soll. Bei den Arbeitssitzungen führt abwechselnd jeden Tag einer der Teilnehmer den Vorsitz; ihm obliegt es auch, die Referenten oder Gäste des Tages zu begrüßen oder die Dankesworte im Namen der Gruppe zu sprechen. Die Tagungsleitung und der Organisator halten sich, soweit dies die Gruppenaktivität erlaubt, im Hintergrund und treten mehr in die Rolle des Beraters. Diese Berater haben ihre eigenen Sitzungen und versuchen dabei, die Fortschritte des Seminars Schritt für Schritt fachlich wie pädagogisch auszuwerten, Spannungen überwinden zu helfen, isolierte Einzelgänger in die Gruppe hineinzuführen oder zu stark dominierende Personen zu dämpfen. Das alles wird in einer natürlichen und lockeren Form getan, ohne in ein systematisches Manipulieren zu verfallen; aber dies Lenken mit Liebe und mit der leichten Hand will gelernt sein. Gerade die von außen hinzugezogenen Fachleiter bringen ab und zu ihre eigenen Vorurteile gegen einzelne Nationen oder Teilnehmertypen mit ins Spiel und tendieren zu autokratischen Eingriffen, wenn ein Gruppenprozeß erst ausreifen muß. Hier müssen die ständigen Organisationsleiter der Deutschen

Stiftung mit Geschick dem älteren Fachmann unbemerkt ein paar pädagogische Prinzipien verständlich machen.

Über die optimale Dauer und die Programmeinteilung der Seminare hat es viele Diskussionen gegeben. Nach fünfjähriger Erfahrung hat sich die Dauer von vier Wochen als gut herausgestellt. Für längere Zeit kann man keine führenden Persönlichkeiten gewinnen, denn länger kann ein leitender Beamter oder ein hoher Funktionär seinen Posten im Heimatland nicht verlassen. Bei intensiver Studienarbeit reicht der Spannungsbogen auch gerade über vier Wochen, mehr oder weniger wäre vom Übel. Jedes Seminar ist in drei Teile untergliedert, eine Einführungsperiode von etwa einer Woche, in welcher die Gruppe zusammenwachsen und ein Hintergrundverständnis für die fachliche Studienarbeit erhalten soll, einer Exkursionsperiode von etwa zwei Wochen mit einer Rundreise durch Westdeutschland und dem Besuch ausgewählter Modelle für fachliche Einrichtungen im Themenbereich des Seminars, Vorträgen und Diskussionen und schließlich einer Auswertungsperiode wieder im Hause in Berlin, bei der das Problem der Übertragung der gewonnenen neuen Erfahrungen und Kenntnisse auf die Wirklichkeit der heimatlichen Praxis im Vordergrund steht.

Während sich das Seminar auf der Rundreise befindet, beginnt bereits ein nächstes mit der Einführungswoche in Berlin und reist auf die Exkursion, wenn das vorhergehende zur Abschlußwoche zurückkehrt. So wird das Haus mit seinen erheblichen laufenden Kosten optimal ausgelastet, und jährlich können vierzehn vierwöchige Seminare bewältigt werden. Die Intensität der Arbeit bringt es mit sich, daß der verantwortliche Organisator, in Berlin "Seminarreferent" genannt, nicht mehr als drei Seminare im Jahr bewältigen kann. Gewöhnlich benötigt er zwei Monate zur Vorbereitung, einen zur Durchführung und einen zur Auswertung jedes Seminars.

Die Teilnehmer werden jeweils aus einer sprachlich einheitlichen Region eingeladen, also entweder aus spanisch bzw. portugiesisch sprechenden Ländern Lateinamerikas, aus französisch sprechenden Ländern Afrikas, aus englisch sprechenden Ländern Afrikas oder aus entsprechenden Sprachbereichen des nahen, mittleren oder fernen Ostens. Die "Seminarreferenten" sind entsprechend auf bestimmte Sprachen und Regionen spezialisiert, so daß anteilmäßig auf jede Region eine Anzahl Seminare entfällt. Auslandsreisen der "Seminarreferenten" dienen der Veranstaltung von „Ehemaligen-Treffen“ in ihren Länderbereichen und der Vorbereitung der Seminare des nächsten Jahres von draußen, d.h. aus der Praxis der Entwicklungsländer her.

Die Themen der Seminare verteilen sich auf die vier großen Entwicklungsbereiche Landwirtschaft, Erziehungswesen, Industrie, Handel und Handwerk sowie Gesundheitswesen. Dazu kommen Spezialgebiete der Sozialentwicklung, die durch die verschiedenen Fachgebiete hindurchreichen wie Community Development, Bildungsplanung, die Rolle der Frau in der Sozialentwicklung, die Aufgabe der Presse und des Rundfunks dabei und ähnliches. Zu jedem Seminar werden etwa dreißig Teilnehmer aus zirka zehn bis zwanzig Ländern eingeladen, wobei die Einladungen über die diplomatischen Vertretungen erfolgen und die einzelnen Teilnehmer durch ihre Regierungen ausgewählt und benannt werden. Dieses Auswahl-system funktioniert dann, wenn den Regierungen bewußt ist, daß ihre Delegation mit der anderer Länder in einen fachlichen Wettbewerb tritt und daß es darauf ankommt, gute Sachkenner zu senden, um das eigene Land nicht zu blamieren; je mehr die Qualität dieses Erfahrungsaustausches bekannt und seine Ergebnisse

in der Entwicklungspraxis der einzelnen Länder berücksichtigt werden, desto stärker ist dies Bewußtsein.

Die Bereitschaft, sich als Regierung eines Entwicklungslandes an einem solchen Erfahrungsaustausch zu beteiligen, kann auf die Dauer nur erhalten werden, wenn politische Polemik und Propaganda aus dem Programm herausgehalten werden. Im Leseraum des Seminarzentrums kann man sowohl die *Prawda* wie die *New York Times* lesen, das Fernsehprogramm bringt sowohl die kommunistischen wie die nichtkommunistischen Sender. Jedem Teilnehmer ist es freigestellt, beide Teile der Stadt Berlin zu besuchen, die Wirklichkeit zu studieren und seine eigenen Urteile zu bilden. Eine Propagierung sogenannter westlicher Ideale würde der entwicklungspolitischen Zielsetzung, von der am Anfang die Rede war, widersprechen. Nüchternheit, Realismus und Selbstkritik wird zuerst einmal vom Gastgeber erwartet, ehe er diese Haltung weiterzugeben hoffen kann.

Für Deutschland hat das Seminarzentrum bereits einen großen Nutzen erbracht; gibt es doch den eigenen Planern der Entwicklungshilfe die Möglichkeit, ihre Ansichten immer wieder im Kreise ihrer Partner testen zu lassen und zur Diskussion zu stellen; und draußen in den einzelnen Entwicklungsländern entsteht ein Netz von Führungskräften, die ihre Partner in Deutschland selber kennen gelernt haben und somit bessere Voraussetzungen zu weiteren Gesprächen mit sich bringen als vorher. Das einzelne Entwicklungsprojekt wird nicht mehr am grünen Tisch geboren, sondern es stehen Menschen dahinter, die einander kennen und um die Möglichkeiten und Interessen des anderen wissen. Das kann viel Geld sparen.

Ein Seminar-Zentrum wie das in Berlin benötigt pro Jahr mehrere Millionen Mark, um arbeiten zu können. Für einzelnes vierwöchiges Seminar für dreißig Teilnehmer muß mit Kosten in Höhe von 100–120.000 DM gerechnet werden, wobei die Reisekosten und die laufenden Kosten für Personal, Haus und Verwaltung nicht mit einberechnet sind.

Schließlich sei noch auf eine entscheidende Frage hingewiesen: Wenn Führungskräfte, die an Entwicklungsprogrammen arbeiten, zu Seminargesprächen zusammengeholt werden, so dürfen diese Seminare nicht isoliert außerhalb der Entwicklungspolitik liegen. Sie sollen zwar frei sein vom bürokratischen Alltag und der offiziellen Politik und somit unbelastet von „offizieller Entscheidung“, aber ihre Planung wie auch ihre Auswertung muß in das Zentrum dieser Politik hineinreichen können. In Deutschland ist dieses Problem dadurch gelöst, daß im Kuratorium der Stiftung, in dem die Seminare geplant und ihre Erfahrungen auch ausgewertet werden, sowohl hohe Beamte der zuständigen Ministerien wie auch mit Entwicklungshilfe befaßte Abgeordnete der verschiedenen Fraktionen des Bundestages zusammensitzen. Hier ist also Freiheit des Gesprächs mit direkter Kommunikation. Der Pädagoge, dem es mit den Schaltstellen der Politik in idealer Weise gekoppelt. Der Pädagoge, dem es darum geht, die Möglichkeiten des einzelnen Teilnehmers wirksam werden zu lassen und die Gruppe zu einer bestmöglichen und ertragreichen Zusammenarbeit zu bringen, müßte an seiner Aufgabe verzweifeln, wenn er nicht das Gefühl hätte, daß die Kontakte und die sachlichen Ergebnisse, die aus diesen resultieren, in politische Aktion umgesetzt werden. Deshalb ist der Standort einer solchen Begegnungsstätte im Ordnungssystem der nationalen und internationalen Politik von besonderer Bedeutung.

DIETER DANCKWORTT, Berlin

AN EXPERIMENT WITH GRADUAL MODIFICATION OF THE SCHOOL ORGANIZATION AT THE POST-PRIMARY STAGE

At Emdrupborg Experimental School a series of experiments was started in 1950 to throw light on some of the problems of school organisation at the post primary stage. The main purpose was to investigate the possibility of providing better opportunities for the pupils who under the traditional system were not selected for the stream leading to one of the national leaving certificates at 16 or 17.

The intention was to find a way by which one could gradually break away from the rigid two-stream school that traditionally followed the 5th grade, and to find a more flexible and yet effective form of organisation.

The four main parts of the project

The first part of the project was to teach unselected forms until the end of the 9th grade (16-17 years). This took place in the years 1950-55.

The second part, started in 1955, was to teach unselected forms through the first seven grades only, and thereafter apply some form of guided allocation to

1) a traditional leaving certificate course or

2) a variety of options ranging from academic to practical subjects.

The third part began in 1958 when a new subject-based national examination was introduced. The subjects could be chosen among the options mentioned above under point 2.

The fourth part of the project - in which streaming (according to general ability) is completely replaced by setting (according to ability in the subjects) - is still in its early stages, and will only come into full operation when the traditional leaving certificate at the age of 17, after the 10th grade, can be nationally recognised as a subject-based examination. This is a matter which has so far only been touched upon in the press, and is likely to meet with considerable resistance from teachers and from the civil service.

The second and the third parts of the project are still in operation and have during the years presented several problems which have been dealt with from year to year so that the teaching of the subjects, the organisation of courses and the procedure of personal guidance and allocation has been modified and improved. Presumably further improvement will be possible with continued experience.

As the first part of the plan, two age groups, each consisting of 50-60 pupils (two forms of 25-30) were taught unselected until the end of the 9th grade. The purpose of this undertaking, lasting five years, was to observe the development of the individual pupils in unselected forms and to compare their performances and achievements at the end of the 9th school year with the promise they had shown in the 5th grade, based upon the teacher estimates and test results which in case of selection at that time would have decided their streaming. We also wanted to collect some evidence (teachers' reports and test results) so as to show how far (e.g. in terms of subject matter and time spent) and by which methods it was possible to arrange the instruction so that it might comply with the needs for differentiated teaching of pupils in each unselected (unstreamed) form within its own classroom.

The findings from this first part of the experiment ¹⁾ indicated that

¹⁾ Anne Marie Nørvig et al. (eds.), *Beretning om Emdrupborg skoles første 6 år*, 1955.

1. a selection on the basis of 5th grade performance is a very uncertain one,
2. it is possible – although not without difficulties – to teach the unselected forms, giving due consideration to both the brighter and duller pupils in the 6th and 7th grade,
3. some form of grouping according to ability and interests seems necessary in the 8th and 9th.

A main difficulty: The second foreign language

The difficulties mentioned above under point 2 in teaching unselected groups refer mainly to the instruction in foreign languages. The introduction and teaching of English, the first foreign language, in the 6th grade was comparatively successful; the difficulties did not seem to be unsurmountable. The difficulties increased, however, when in the 7th grade the second foreign language, German, was introduced. For some of the pupils the difficulties appeared to be so great that it seemed unreasonable to burden them with instruction in German at this stage of their school career.

An arrangement was tried that allowed the slower pupils in the 7th grade to replace German with another course, but this arrangement proved to have a bad impact on the social relations within the class. Pupils not taking the course in German felt disparaged and reacted accordingly in a discouraged way. The unfortunate feature in the arrangement was the formation of *two* subgroups, which were immediately interpreted by the pupils themselves as a grouping into an intelligent and an unintelligent subgroup.

In order to overcome the two-grouping the addition of a few more options was suggested, but this suggestion was discarded as a superficial solution at this early level. It seemed to be a sounder idea to postpone the German course for all pupils until the 8th grade, and in the 7th grade replace it with a larger number of lessons in English. In this way the first foreign language would be better established before the introduction of the second. At the same time some periods in the 8th grade were reserved for an intensified course in German.

A three year experiment¹⁾ indicated that, provided the above mentioned re-grouping of periods took place, the instruction in German could be postponed until the 8th grade without adversely affecting the examination results at the end of the 9th grade, and since then this has been the practice.

This postponing of the second foreign language to the 8th grade eliminated the biggest single difficulty associated with the teaching of the unselected forms of the 7th grade. The remaining problems could apparently be solved through individual measures within the framework of the unselected form itself.

The effect on the leaving age

The fact that the forms are kept unselected till the end of the 7th grade – and that means the end of the compulsory education period – appears to entail a great advantage by influencing the pupils' attitude to schooling. In the unselected forms the majority of the pupils want a long-term education. Early leaving is not much thought of, and this marks the norm system within the group. To stay on at school seems to be a matter of course for most pupils in the unselected forms. Only about

1) Ejv. Jensen & Wilh. Marckmann: *Igangværende undersøgelser*, 1959.

10% leave after the 7th grade, and these very often with the intention of attending some other form of schooling or in some other way supplementing their education.

Guidance and allocation

Already from the 5th grade the pupils as well as their parents have been informed of the existing opportunities for education after the 7th grade, and have to some extent been advised by their teachers. Although some selective measures are necessary for the course leading to the traditional national leaving certificate, which comprises 12–14 compulsory subjects, the preceding information implies that a great deal of the parents, who do not feel convinced that their children will pass the examination in this large set of subjects, have already prepared themselves for choosing some of the less demanding opportunities offered by the school. In addition to this informal long term guidance by the teachers a more formal guidance procedure operates during the second semester of the 7th school year. A pamphlet with a description of the opportunities is sent to the parents; the choices are discussed with the adviser, and in most cases an agreement between home and school is easily obtained. Some borderline cases, however, are negotiated further between parents and school, but only in a few cases, where opinions about the best choice for the child differ so widely that a compromise is out of the question, is the pupil put to a test for final decision.

The opportunities

After the 7th grade about 30% of the pupils (about 14 years of age) are allocated to the *reallinie*, the stream leading to the national leaving certificate earlier referred to after the 10th grade, and no ordinary local school takes them further. 10–20% of the best qualified among these pupils may at this stage or already at the end of the 9th grade be transferred to a senior school, the *Gymnasium*, a three years course where they sit for a higher national certificate, *Studentereksamen*, which qualifies for matriculation in universities etc. This is the direct road for those who want an academic education.

However, the door is not closed for the remainder. The choice after the 7th grade is not irrevocable. For the remaining pupils a comprehensive system of courses through 8th–10th grade has been built up. In addition to a common core of compulsory subjects they may every year choose half or two thirds of their courses from about 15 options so that every pupil can get his individually composed course. Generally most of the desired subject combinations can be made (depending on timetable conditions and teachers available), and the pupils are guided individually by advisers in order to make sure that their choices are well-considered.

In this way the pupils are able to make subject combinations e.g. including foreign languages, mathematics and physics, and they can at the end of their courses sit for a national examination in the subjects chosen. As this examination, Preliminary Technical Examination, is subject-based, they can sit for one or more subjects as they choose and complete the subject group at any time later in life. By choosing several subjects with an academic bias, students who are interested in a later transfer to an academic course are able to keep the door open. Other students may choose fewer of these demanding subjects, and some may best apply their abilities to the more practically biased, general or recreative subjects. Any combination may be altered the following year.

Aims of the flexible system described

The students are thus given the opportunity to concentrate upon subjects in which they take some interest and from which they can benefit.

Considering the variety of courses available and the opportunity to approach an academic education although at a slower rate, the selection which after all takes place after the 7th grade is less decisive and consequently less straining.

A sharp distinction between the academic stream and the general courses hardly exists any more in our school, as some subjects are taught in common. It is our intention as the organisation of the school renders it possible, to increase the number of options for everybody and retain common courses in suitable subjects, so that there need not be any selection other than the individual pupil's own selection of subjects according to his abilities and interests. How this arrangement will influence the social climate of the school is a question that needs further accumulation of experience.

Until now – 1964 – our experiences with the gradual modifications of the school organisation that have taken place at Emdrupborg Experimental School in Copenhagen during the last 14 years seem to indicate that the education so reorganised has won the confidence and positive interest of parents and pupils, and that it is also appreciated by the various employers and trade unions to whom we pass on these young people.

WILHELM MARCKMANN, Copenhagen

HOCHSCHULINTERNES FERNSEHEN AN DER PÄDAGOGISCHEN HOCHSCHULE HEIDELBERG

Seit Mai 1964 laufen an der Pädagogischen Hochschule Heidelberg die ersten Versuche mit einer von der Stiftung Volkswagenwerk ermöglichten hochschul-internen Fernseh-Übertragungsanlage. Unterricht kann aus zwei akustisch und beleuchtungstechnisch für den Übertragungszweck ausgestatteten Aufnahmerräumen mit Hilfe von drei Fernseh-Kameras, drei Kondensatormikrofonen und einem Mikroport in einen Hörsaal mit Eidophor-Großbild-Projektion und drei Seminarräumen mit Bildempfang übertragen werden. In einer Zentrale wird an einem Regietisch die Fernsehbedienung der Kameras und die Auswahl des Bildes durch den Dozenten vorgenommen. Sowohl von der Zentrale als auch vom Hörsaal aus läßt sich der Ton zurücknehmen und ein Kommentar zu dem ablaufenden Geschehen vom leitenden Dozenten einsprechen. Sämtliche Räume sind mit der Zentrale durch eine Wechselsprechanlage verbunden.

Wie in der Pädagogischen Hochschule Bonn soll die Übertragungsanlage in erster Linie der Fernseh-Hospitation dienen. Die Bedeutung einer solchen Unterrichtsmitschau in der Lehrerbildung hat bereits Prof. A. O. Schorb nach seinen erfolgreichen Versuchen in Bonn eindeutig nachgewiesen (Schorb, A. O.: Die Aufgabe der Unterrichtsmitschau in der Lehrerbildung, *Pädagogische Rundschau*, 10/1963). Der Vermittlung eines didaktischen Grundmodells waren bisher Grenzen gesetzt. In einer Voruntersuchung wurde festgestellt, daß es mit Hilfe der Schul-Hospitation nur in geringem Maße gelingt, die Vorstellung vom Unterrichten, die fälschlicherweise das didaktische Geschehen als einseitigen Aktionsprozeß sieht, auszukorrigieren. Die angelaufene Untersuchung soll feststellen, welche Unterschiede zwischen

der Beobachtungssicherheit der Studierenden bei der Schul- und Fernseh-Hospitation bestehen und inwieweit die Fernseh-Hospitation dazu beitragen kann, das Anliegen der Pädagogischen Hochschule stärker zum Tragen zu bringen unter gleichzeitiger Entlastung der Studierenden, der Ausbildungslehrer und Dozenten und gleichzeitigem Zeitgewinn für das notwendige Training der Studierenden im Unterricht.

Bei der Fernseh-Hospitation soll der Studierende möglichst auch ko-operative Stilformen erleben und durchschauen lernen, damit ihm die Möglichkeiten für sein Training im psychologisch-adäquaten praktischen Umgang mit Kindern bewußt werden. Die Möglichkeiten zeitgerechter Unterrichtsformen müssen durch ein optisches Mittel sichtbar gemacht werden, wobei das Beobachten von unbeeinflussten Lernsituationen für den Studierenden eine wesentliche Studienhilfe bieten könnte.

Wenn kleine Schülergruppen in Aktion gesetzt werden, kann der Lehrer nie erfahren, welche Akte sich im einzelnen in den Gruppen ereignen. Es interessieren ihn aber u.a. die Variablen und Verlaufsgestalten der Kleingruppenprozesse bei den verschiedenen Aufgabenstellungen. Es soll hier mit den Fernaugen versucht werden, ohne anwesende Beobachter, Protokollanten oder Tonbandgerät die gruppen-internen Vorgänge der Interaktion und der Kooperation in Bild und Ton einzufangen unter gleichzeitigem systematischen Beobachten und Protokollieren durch eine größere Seminargruppe. Die kategoriale Beschreibung und Vergleichen der Gruppenprozesse soll geübt werden.

Die Heidelberger Anlage erhält ein Bildaufzeichnungsgerät, mit dem alle Unterrichtsverläufe bei den Fernseh-Hospitationen in Bild und Ton aufgezeichnet werden. Es geht darum, exakt wissenschaftliche Auswertungsmethoden für die konservierten Sendungen im Blick auf die schulpädagogische Tatsachenforschung zu entdecken und zu erproben, und die besten Möglichkeiten des Einsatzes dieses didaktischen und psychologischen Materials in den Vorlesungen und Übungen herauszufinden. In diesem Zusammenhang erscheint auch die konservierte Sendung als geeignetes Mittel, mit dem Studierende, Lehrer oder Dozenten ihr eigenes Unterrichtsverhalten objektiv und distanziert kontrollieren können. Die Bedeutung einer solchen Selbstkontrolle kann im Blick auf die Realisierung kooperativen Lehrerverhaltens nicht hoch genug eingeschätzt werden. Insgesamt könnten unter Berücksichtigung aller Grenzen, die bei dem Einsatz einer solchen technischen Apparatur gleichzeitig erforscht werden müssen, als Hauptergebnisse der geplanten Versuche erwartet werden:

1. Eine Intensivierung und Rationalisierung der Schulpraktischen Studien, der Allgemeinen Didaktik als erfahrungswissenschaftliche Strukturtheorie, einschließlich aller Fachdidaktiken der Päd. Psychologie und der Gruppenforschung – trotz erhöhter Studentenzahlen.
2. Ein stärkeres Ausschalten von Lehrfehlern und Lehrersubjektivismen.
3. Eine Erhöhung der schulpraktischen Trainingszeit in den Ausbildungsklassen.
4. Eine Intensivierung der Vorlesungen und Übungen durch ausgewählte konservierte Unterrichtsbeispiele.
5. Die Gewährleistung einer exakten schulpädagogischen Forschung unter Beteiligung aller Wissenschaftsbereiche an der Pädagogischen Hochschule.
6. Eine wissenschaftliche Vertiefung des Studiums künftiger Lehrer sowie der Lehrerfortbildung durch die Gewinnung wissenschaftlicher Erkenntnisse im eigentlichen Feld des Erziehens und Unterrichtens.

ERNST MEYER, Heidelberg

CONFERENCES – KONGRESSE – CONGRÈS

XVth International Congress of Applied Psychology

Ljubljana, 2–8 August 1964

It seems somewhat pretentious for one person to attempt to report on even one aspect of the substance of a Congress in which several programs occur simultaneously. But the impressions that a participating vocational psychologist had, might be worth sharing. In opening and closing the congress, government officials stressed the importance of the individual in society, and Professors Viteles and Bonnardel, brought important perspectives to the role, methods, and contributions of applied psychologists.

In a number of sessions on the psychology of groups considerable interest was shown, by participants from a variety of countries, in managerial and supervisory styles, and in particular in the question of democracy in administration. Studies reported by Jugoslavs, Frenchmen, Swedes, Americans, and others evoked many questions, lively discussion, and a pleasing frankness in the recognition of weakness in factory management, supervisory training programs, and other relevant aspects of industry and of applied psychology. The same frank approach to problems was shown in some of the related field trips organized by the Congress.

The superior stage management which characterized the general sessions, and the lively discussion which followed some of the papers, were not characteristic of all sessions. Speakers in rooms which lacked simultaneous translation facilities found themselves helped or handicapped by the language of the preceding speaker: thus several times chairmen and speakers were embarrassed when a room was virtually emptied by an exodus of monolingualists after an English-speaking contributor finished his presentation and a French or Russian speaker was about to begin, or after a French speaker finished and an English speaker was about to begin. When there are no translation facilities, a program in which only one language is used, and in which all contributors speak slowly and distinctly, holds its audience best and evokes the most discussion.

One important symposium, organized by Professor Rodger, dealt with the criterion problem. Professor Rodger suggested that just as predictors have tended to be the center of attention in vocational psychology for the past twenty years, criteria will receive attention during the next twenty. He noted four trends: 1) discontent with the distinction between the objective and the subjective, particularly when subjective data are superficially treated as though they were objective; 2) recognition of changes in the appropriateness of criteria; 3) more attention, in criterion development, to the expectations of the individual being counseled or of the employer whose job-opening is being filled; and 4) increasing study of the difficulties or distastes of a job. Professor Albert Thompson pointed out that the more objective the criterion is, the less relevant it is likely to be, and stressed the dynamic, multidimensional, and longitudinal characteristics of adequate criteria. A good criterion should reflect direction and rate of movement: several studies which utilize such measures were cited as promising beginnings.

In one of a series of individual papers, Professor Hornowski reported a study of the values of students in the last year of secondary school in Poland, in which he found that the majority of boys aspired to technological employment and the

majority of girls to the biological sciences. Comparisons were made, without comparable data to insure their adequacy, with secondary school students in other countries, and discussants commented on apparent changes in the values and ambitions of Polish youth over the years. There seemed to be general agreement that a truly comparative investigation, in which similar samples of youth were studied with appropriate instruments in different countries, would be desirable, and that speculation concerning differences should be limited in the absence of objective and comparable evidence.

In the same series, Mr. Duncan described the origins and careers of a group of unusually successful young executives. Their vocational progress was characterized by one-step, rather than long range, planning, and they had typically made something more than one move in every two years. Discussants noted that it would be important to know whether these were characteristics of business, as contrasted with professional careers, and whether one-step planning is a cause of success or simply the inadequate way in which otherwise successful people plan.

In one of another series, Professor Tomaszewski described his attempt to develop behavioral criterion measures of motivation, prior to launching a study of predictor measures. Choice of work tasks when the worker has a degree of self direction was tried as measure of preference, as were voluntary actions, resistant actions, and complaints. Discussion treated this as a somewhat novel approach, disregarding, it seemed to this observer, the attempts to develop objective, behavioral criteria which had been made by others (e.g., studies of absenteeism), and perhaps slighting the fact that the psychological and social complexity of such criteria has generally proved to be much greater than anticipated.

Sampling proved to be a thorny problem in a number of papers, revealing a distressingly wide range of methodological sophistication and perfectionism in participants. In one study of practitioners of one profession, for example, the sample proved to be one of convenience despite the ready availability of methods for obtaining a representative sample; in another study of group *versus* individual productivity one Laboratory task (what any psychometrician would treat as one item in a test) served as the sample of complex problem solving, with no evidence that behavior in that situation correlated at all with other samples of complex problem solving. But other psychologists from the same two countries, be it noted, reported on a truly representative national sample of secondary school pupils and on a well selected sample of interest in activities, revealing sharp contrasts in psychological *savoir faire*.

Youth and old age both received their share of attention in research and in theorizing. Mme. Larcebeau's contribution to a symposium on vocational development reported a substantial degree of stability in the inventoried interests of boys and girls aged ten to sixteen, lowering even further than did Professor Carter, twenty years ago, the age of the usability of vocational interest inventories. Interest structure, it was reported, is more stable than are individual interests, and factor structure at one age is the same as at another, at least from ten on. A comprehensive program of counseling older workers concerning retirement in a major corporation, coupled with a stimulating program of research on the need for and effects of pre-retirement counseling, was reported by Dr. Ash, with evidence that helping people plan ahead contributes to better adjustment.

Both Drs. Flanagan and Dailey presented findings from Project Talent, whose data are so numerous and bear on such significant topics that it is difficult

to assimilate them. Trivial in some ways, but significant in others, are two minor facts which I did record: only about one-half of American high school boys know much about electricity, and few girls are interested in home economics. Both facts call into question some stereotypes, and the second fact raises questions about an important segment of the high school curriculum, which must be either inappropriate or ineffective.

In a special evening lecture Professor Vernon contrasted British-European methods of vocational counseling with those of the USA. The latter he termed more non-directive, putting more stress on interests and making more use of Freudian concepts without actual psychoanalysis, the former more of a case study approach. It occurred to this observer that one might also say that the British-European counselor diagnoses his client, whereas the American works with his client to understand and to find answers, but this would be merely to paraphrase Carl Rogers' original formulations in contrasting traditional and client-centered counseling. Professor Vernon's conclusions concerning the relative superiority of European or American methods are also reminiscent of current American thinking on directive and nondirective techniques: the answer is not clear, but may be a function of the individual counselor and of the individual client. It may also be a function of the state of the client's development and of his momentary readiness.

Agreeing with Cronbach on the need to depend as much as possible on objectively validated tests, Vernon questioned the feasibility of developing, in Europe, the number and variety of validated tests available in the USA. This observer is, obviously, much less qualified to judge this than is Professor Vernon, never having developed tests during his years of European residence. But he is in a position to note that until quite recently most American test construction which has been useful in vocational guidance (other than intelligence tests) was done by individuals with limited resources, who found substantial financial support for their work only after it was successful. Differences in resources do not explain the differences in achievement in this area.

Professor Vernon used a term to characterize his conception of good vocational counseling which he attributed to Professor Rodger and which bears repetition here: "planned procrastination." Noting that vocational choice is a process rather than an event, and that counseling deals with a sequence of unfolding events, Professor Vernon thus described its exploratory quality and stressed the importance of preparing to make decisions while postponing making them until the last possible date, thus closing no doors prematurely.

A vocational psychologist who has studied avocations may perhaps be permitted to end with an extracurricular note on the warm and natural hospitality of our Yugoslav hosts at the Ljubljana Congress. Not once did one feel that our hosts were unsure of their ability to do a good job, not once did one get the feeling that they were trying to prove their own efficiency, superiority, or wisdom. Things went smoothly, easily, and pleasantly, without (save for the glaring TV lights in the opening session) one's even being aware of the fact that people were working to make the Congress a success. We all owe a great deal to Professors Bujas and Petz, and to their numerous colleagues, for being such gracious and competent hosts.

DONALD E. SUPER, New York

*Sixth London International Youth Science Fortnight
London, 6–17 August 1964*

The sixth International Youth Science Fortnight, organized by the World Friendship Federation and the British Association for the Advancement of Science, was attended by 500 students from twenty-one countries as well as 1,000 young British delegates from all over England. 21 students (11 boys, 10 girls) selected from universities in Tokyo were present from Japan.

The opening ceremony was presided over by Sir John Cockcroft, F.R.S., messages were received from the British Prime Minister and Minister of Education and from the Moscow Medical Academy. Two guest speakers, Sir Christopher Hinton, F.R.S., and Sir Cyril Hinshelwood, F.R.S., spoke about recent scientific progress and its relation to social change.

A demonstration of several scientific experiments, such as the testing of artificial limbs, orthopedic devices for thalidomide babies and audio-visual and film demonstrations of neurosurgery, etc., were presented by outstanding researchers from the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., Great Britain, Austria and Yugoslavia, which gave the audience exciting opportunities to develop an understanding of the recent advances of medicine.

Group meetings were organized according to scientific subjects, for instance, physics, chemistry, biology, biochemistry (medicine), mathematics, engineering and general science in which discussions followed a lecture given by a specialist in each field.

The meeting provided a place for not only the intellectual growth of young people through scientific understanding, but also a place for social gatherings which were greatly appreciated by the participants from distant countries.

TOSHIO IRTANI, Tokai University, Tokyo

*Die erste Weltjugendkonferenz der UNESCO
Grenoble, 23. August – 1. September 1964*

An der ersten Weltkonferenz über Jugendfragen nahmen Delegierte aus 72 Mitgliedstaaten der UNESCO, Vertreter von fünf Sonderorganisationen der Vereinten Nationen, von vier weiteren zwischenstaatlichen Organisationen und von 36 nicht-staatlichen internationalen Organisationen, die den Konsultativstatus mit der UNESCO besitzen, teil.

Diese bunte, große Teilnehmerschaft, der stilvolle gesellschaftliche Rahmen, die Publizität, die wirklich eindrucksvolle organisatorische Durchführung dieses Unternehmens, die hohen Erwartungen, die zu Beginn der Konferenz – insbesondere in der Eröffnungsansprache des Generaldirektors der UNESCO, M. René Maheu – zum Ausdruck kamen, und nicht zuletzt das fast etwas naiv klingende selbstzufriedene Pathos, mit dem ausgewählte Teilnehmer die einstimmig angenommenen Ergebnisse der Konferenz bei der Abschluß-Sitzung feierten, – all dies zusammen genommen mochte vielen Teilnehmern und Beobachtern das Gefühl vermitteln, einem grossen „historischen“ Ereignis beigewohnt zu haben.

Ohne Zweifel muß es für viele Teilnehmer ein starkes Erlebnis gewesen sein. Den Vertretern der jungen Länder bot diese Weltkonferenz ein Forum, auf dem sie ihre

neu gewonnene Unabhängigkeit in der Atmosphäre selbstverständlicher Gleichberechtigung, die die Konferenz bestimmte, bestätigen konnten. Und wenn man täglich mit Jugendlichen in der Jugendgruppe, im Lager, im Jugendheim – ganz gleich an welchem Ort der Erde – zu tun hat oder aber täglich mit der administrativen und sozialpädagogischen Arbeit in der Berufsberatung, der Arbeitsvermittlung, der Leiterausbildung, der Organisation von Austauschprogrammen in seiner Stadt oder seinem Land ausgefüllt ist und nun zum ersten Mal Kollegen aus vielen anderen Ländern begegnen, mit ihnen sprechen und arbeiten kann, dann kann eine solche Gelegenheit, wie die UNESCO sie in Grenoble bot, zur prägenden Erfahrung werden. Wir kennen den Erlebniswert internationaler Treffen, und er soll auch bei der Beurteilung der Grenoble-Konferenz nicht unterschätzt werden. Im Gegenteil: gerade weil dieser Wert ein wesentliches Kriterium zur Beurteilung darstellt und nicht verfälscht als Aushängeschild zum Verdecken anderer Tatbestände benutzt werden sollte, lohnt sich eine kritische Auseinandersetzung mit all dem, was diese Konferenz sonst noch bedeutete und was sie an Ergebnissen hervorgebracht hat.

Die Teilnehmer waren eben nicht nur Praktiker der verschiedenen Zweige der außerschulischen Jugendberziehung. Es waren zweifellos ebenso viele „Jugendpolitiker“ dabei, die viel internationale Konferenz Erfahrung und zum Teil auch Konferenzmüdigkeit mitbrachten.

Natürlich gab es einige Persönlichkeiten, die „sachliche“ und „politische“ Kompetenz in sich vereinigten; sie waren vereinzelt und konnten das Klima sicherlich etwas, die Ergebnisse aber kaum bestimmen. Grob genommen gab es zwei Kategorien von Teilnehmern – die „Fachleute“ und die „Politiker“ –, wenn auch viele Schattierungen eine klare Abgrenzung nicht sichtbar werden ließen. Grenoble hat einmal wieder erwiesen, wie schwer sachliche Zusammenarbeit ist, wenn man diese Kategorien als solche ignoriert.

Hier wird nicht die Meinung vertreten, daß diese Zusammenarbeit oder überhaupt internationale Zusammenarbeit auf dem Gebiet der außerschulischen Jugendberziehung unmöglich oder etwa gar unnötig sei. Wiederum: im Gegenteil! Beides ist in der praktischen Durchführung schwer; und überall auf der Welt sind wir im Stadium des Experimentierens. Gerade deshalb sollte man aber die bestehenden Schwierigkeiten nicht verniedlichen. Es bleibt eine offene Frage, ob die UNESCO als Veranstalterin dieser Konferenz diese Schwierigkeiten nicht gekannt hat oder aus welchen Gründen sie ihnen bei der Vorbereitung der Konferenz nicht anders begegnet ist.

In drei Bereichen liegen sachlich begründete, bisher ungeklärte Probleme, die trotz der relativ kurzen Zeit der Erfahrung, die wir in internationaler Zusammenarbeit haben, allmählich erkannt sein könnten. Der erste ist der Sachbereich selbst. Jugendarbeit, Jugendfragen, außerschulische Jugendberziehung – wie man es immer nennen mag – ist ein noch undefinierter Komplex. Man hat in Grenoble die weitest mögliche Auslegung vorausgesetzt und kurz alles einbezogen, was nicht Schulerziehung ist. Außerschulische Jugendberziehung ist im Vergleich zur Schulerziehung, die sozusagen das Rückgrat jedes nationalen Erziehungssystems bildet und klar definiert ist, auch in hochindustrialisierten, technisch entwickelten Ländern ein junger Zweig der Bildungsarbeit. Sie ist in den verschiedenen Ländern unter sehr unterschiedlichen historischen und sozialen Bedingungen erwachsen und hat, je nach dem soziologischen Standort der Altersgruppe „Jugend“, recht mannigfaltige soziale, kulturelle und politische Funktionen. Die aus der deutschen „Jugend-

bewegung" erwachsenen Jugendverbände verstehen sich anders als die *youth-clubs* etwa in den angelsächsischen Ländern. Für *youth service* im Englischen gibt es weder im Deutschen noch im Französischen einen äquivalenten Begriff, weil es das Äquivalent nicht gibt. Die begriffliche Klärung und auch sachliche Arbeitsteilung zwischen Jugendpflege, Jugendwohlfahrt, Jugendverbandsarbeit etwa im deutschsprachigen Bereich ist im Fluß. Fließend und national unterschiedlich ist die Abgrenzung zwischen behördlicher und „freier“ ausserschulischer Jugenderziehung. Institutionell ist Jugendarbeit eine dynamische Angelegenheit; der „Beruf“ des Jugendleiters trägt in den verschiedenen Sprachen so viele Namen, wie er unterschiedliche Funktionen beschreibt und Voraussetzungen für diese Tätigkeit erfordert.

Diese wenigen Hinweise mögen genügen, um einen Teil der sachlichen Problematik anzudeuten, die den Hintergrund der Weltjugendkonferenz bildete. Man kann sich freilich fragen, ob es sinnvoll wäre, ein solches Bündel von Problemen in einer internationalen Konferenz auch nur anzuschneiden, oder anders ausgedrückt, ob eine internationale Konferenz das geeignete Instrument sei, solche Probleme einer Klärung näher zu bringen.

Diese Frage leitet über zu dem zweiten Bereich, in dem sachlich begründete Schwierigkeiten stecken. Es ist das Programm, die Thematik selbst, die für diese Konferenz ausgewählt wurde. In Grenoble nahm man die Hürde, die die in der Praxis undefinierte und damit problematische Jugendarbeit nun einmal darstellt, mit einem großen Sprung, indem man nicht von dem, was ist, ausging, sondern von dem, was sein sollte. Die Konferenz sollte sich damit befassen, was aufgrund der Bedürfnisse der Jugendlichen und der Anforderungen der Gesellschaft Jugendarbeit eigentlich zu leisten hätte, und nicht mit der Frage, wie dies konkret zu leisten wäre. Die Tagesordnung der Konferenz war von einem internationalen Vorbereitungsausschuß ausgearbeitet worden. Sie entsprach in dem Teil, der nicht auf Geschäftsordnungspunkte bezogen war, dem Programm eines Studienseminars, das die Aufgaben der Jugendarbeit behandeln soll. In vier großen Arbeitsgruppen wurde die Vorbereitung der Jugendlichen 1) für das Berufs- und Arbeitsleben, 2) für Freizeitaktivitäten, 3) für das staatsbürgerliche Leben und 4) für das Leben in der internationalen Gemeinschaft diskutiert. In drei Einführungsreferaten wurde ebenfalls der wissenschaftlich-sachliche Charakter der Konferenz betont. Sie behandelten auf hohem Niveau einige der großen Probleme der Jugendlichen und der Pädagogik in unserer Zeit. Sie konnten nur Teilaspekte darbieten, wie es der Natur der Sache entspricht; diese Beiträge wären jedoch wert, in der internationalen wissenschaftlichen pädagogischen Diskussion beachtet zu werden. Bei dieser Konferenz bestand eine gewisse Gefahr, daß *pars pro toto* genommen wurde, einmal weil es ein Forum für eine wissenschaftliche Diskussion noch nicht gibt, das Maßstäbe für diesen Zweig der Wissenschaft setzen könnte, und zum anderen weil die Diskussion zwischen Wissenschaftlern und Praktikern in der außerschulischen Jugenderziehung ganz in den Anfängen steckt und die Praktiker das hier Gebotene weder in seiner allgemeinen Gültigkeit noch im Verhältnis zu den praktischen Konsequenzen kaum abschätzen konnten.

Professor Bogdan Suchodolski, Direktor des Pädagogischen Instituts der Universität Warschau, sprach über „Psychologische und soziale Merkmale der heutigen Jugend und Trends in der gegenwärtigen Pädagogik“. Er bezeichnete Erziehung als einen dynamischen Prozeß, weil der Mensch eigentlich ist, was er zu werden vermag. Somit hält Suchodolski soziologische Untersuchungen, weil sie statisch

sind, für die Pädagogik für relativ wertlos. „Wenn es heißt, daß wir die Jugendlichen kennen müßten, um sie zu erziehen, lautet unsere Antwort, wir müssen die Jugendlichen erziehen, um sie zu kennen“. Alle Erziehungsarbeit gründet nach seiner Ansicht auf der Kenntnis der Anforderungen, die die Entwicklung der modernen Zivilisation an die Menschen stellt. – Professor Leopold Rosenmayr, Universität Wien, gab dagegen als Soziologe eine möglichst gewissenhafte Übersicht über die Ergebnisse der modernen Jugendforschung. Unter dem Thema „Wirtschaftliche und soziale Bedingungen, die das Leben der jungen Menschen beeinflussen“ wies er vor allem auf die Bedeutung des Jugendalters als Periode der Sozialisierung hin; er differenzierte die Rolle des Elternhauses in diesem sozialen Lernprozess nach den sozialen Klassen, behandelte die soziale Funktion der Jugendorganisationen und betonte die besondere Problematik einer modernen Massengesellschaft, in der die Jugendlichen mannigfaltigen, zum Teil ganz neuartigen sozialen und pädagogischen Einflüssen ausgesetzt sind. Von den Teilnehmern dieser Konferenz wurde ganz offenbar diese synoptische Darstellung von Jugendproblemen, wie sie nach dem Stand der Forschung erfaßt werden können, als hilfreiche Klärung angenommen. Die Darstellung der komplizierten Verhältnisse in den Entwicklungsländern, die allerdings unzureichend erforscht sind, kamen jedoch etwas zu kurz. Es ist zu hoffen, daß diese Lücke von seiten der UNESCO besonders beachtet wird. Detaillierte Erforschung von Jugendproblemen in einigen ausgewählten Entwicklungsländern unter dem Aspekt möglicher pädagogischer und sozialpädagogischer Aktionen der außerschulischen Jugenderziehung könnten helfen, einen unbefangeneren Blick für die unterschiedliche soziale Funktion der Jugendarbeit in verschiedenen politischen Systemen zu entwickeln.

In Grenoble schien diese Unbefangenheit mehr gespielt als erreicht; die Unterschiede kamen nur bei wenigen konkreten Anlässen, z.B. bei der Diskussion über den Wert oder Unwert von Jugend-Festivals ans Licht. Im allgemeinen tat man, als spräche man dieselbe Sprache. Ein solches Vorgehen mag unmittelbare Konflikte vermeiden helfen, wird aber langfristig kaum eine bessere Verständigung fördern. Es kann sein, daß auch deshalb der dritte Vortrag von Herrn Ravindra Varma, Mitglied des indischen Parlaments, über „Maßnahmen, um die Ideale des Friedens, der gegenseitigen Achtung und Verständigung zwischen den Völkern bei der Jugend zu fördern“ in diesem Teilnehmerkreis nicht so recht Feuer fing. Seinen stark idealistisch motivierten Appell, den sicherlich im Prinzip jeder gern unterschrieb, konnte, auf die praktische Wirklichkeit bezogen, jeder seinem besonderen politischen Standort gemäß auslegen. Aufgrund der Struktur des Programms konnte es nicht ausbleiben, daß diese drei beachtlichen Referate sozusagen im Raum stehen blieben; es wurde kaum je wieder auf sie Bezug genommen. Doch sie gaben der Konferenz einen würdigen, angemessenen Auftakt; sie setzten einen anspruchsvollen Ton, der zwar in den Gruppendiskussionen nicht ganz aufrecht erhalten werden konnte, der aber zweifellos die Atmosphäre der Konferenz im ganzen beeinflußt hat.

Die Arbeitsgruppen, in denen zum Teil hundert Menschen aus all den so verschiedenen Ländern, Berufssparten und Interessensphären diskutierten, wären überfordert gewesen, wenn sie das ihnen gestellte Programm anders zu behandeln versucht hätten, als sie es taten. Vornehmlich in den drei ersten Gruppen (Beruf, Freizeit, politische Bildung) wurden mit viel Sachkenntnis und Sachlichkeit Informationen ausgetauscht, an die man sonst nicht so leicht herankommt. Die eigentliche Problematik z.B. einer Erziehung zum Umgang mit der Freizeit oder

einer staatsbürgerlichen Erziehung, in der nationale und internationale Zielsetzungen in einem prinzipiellen Spannungsverhältnis stehen, konnte freilich nicht berührt werden. Die Diskussion war ohnehin von vornherein in feste, ausgetretene Bahnen gelenkt, da im Programm die landläufige Aufteilung der Aufgaben der außerschulischen Erziehung in diese vier Themen beibehalten worden war. Es ist jedoch durchaus diskutabel, ob es sinnvoll ist, politische Bildung und Erziehung zur internationalen Verständigung wie zwei getrennte Themen zu behandeln. Gleichermäßen diskutabel ist die Ausgliederung des Themas „Vorbereitung für Freizeitaktivitäten“, wenn sich praktisch alle außerschulische Erziehung in der freien Zeit der Jugendlichen abspielt, also Freizeitaktivität ist.

Am leichtesten hatte es die erste Gruppe, in der sich meist Fachleute der Berufsausbildung und -beratung zusammenfanden und dieses relativ praktische Problem von verschiedenen Seiten her einkreisen konnten. Am schwierigsten war eine sachliche Diskussion in der vierten Gruppe (Erziehung zur internationalen Verständigung), die offenbar von den meisten Delegationen von vornherein als die „politisch“ wichtigste angesehen wurde und die „Politiker“ am meisten anzog. Folglich ergaben sich in ihr die relativ stärksten Spannungen und Kontroversen. Wenn trotzdem am Ende der Konferenz nur einstimmig angenommene Empfehlungen herauskamen, ist das nicht darauf zurückzuführen, daß man Kontroversen ausdiskutiert und sich auf Kompromisse geeinigt hätte, sondern darauf, daß man einen Verfahrensmodus angenommen hatte, nach dem nur einstimmig angenommene Empfehlungen in den Schlußbericht der Konferenz aufgenommen werden konnten. Kontroversen fielen sozusagen unter den Tisch. Dieser Verfahrensmodus hat es zweifellos ermöglicht, daß diese Konferenz mit einer großen Anzahl von Empfehlungen letztlich friedlich und in aller Augen erfolgreich über die Bühne ging. Man kann sich aber auch besorgt fragen, ob das das alleinige Ziel einer solchen Konferenz sei; ob nicht vielmehr in einem Akt großartiger Selbsttäuschung Kontroversen mit einer Flut von einstimmigen Empfehlungen überspielt wurden, die nicht überspielt werden dürften, einfach weil sie unter Umständen wirklichen Konfliktstoff in sich bergen. Man kann sich auch fragen, ob internationale Konferenzen als Mittel zur internationalen Verständigung prinzipiell Einstimmigkeit erstreben sollten oder ob nicht vielmehr in einer pluralistischen Gesellschafts- und Weltordnung die Fähigkeit zum *agree to differ* das erstrebenswerte Ziel sein sollte.

Diese nachdenklichen Erwägungen über eine so banale Angelegenheit wie einen Verfahrensmodus leiten über zur Frage, ob solch ein Kunstgriff denn überhaupt notwendig war. So, wie die Konferenz angelegt war, war er vielleicht notwendig, wenn überhaupt Ergebnisse in Form von Empfehlungen dabei herauskommen sollten. Es scheint aber, daß bereits in der Anlage ein wesentliches Mißverhältnis sichtbar wird. Die Konferenz hatte mit ihrem Programm Themen zu bewältigen, die eine Konferenz dieser Art nicht bewältigen kann. Mit anderen Worten: Instrument und Stoff standen in keinem angemessenen Verhältnis zueinander; ohne Kunstgriff wären nicht einmal die Ergebnisse, die heute vorliegen, zustande gekommen. Die UNESCO als interstaatliche Organisation ist aufgrund ihrer Struktur an gewisse Formen der Zusammenarbeit gebunden. Eine Konferenz hat bestimmte Spielregeln; die Mitgliedstaaten wählen ihre Delegationen aus und entsenden sie nach einem anerkannten Schlüssel; die Delegationen vertreten ihr Land, und nur sie haben Stimmrecht. Die großen nicht-staatlichen internationalen Organisationen entsenden Beobachter, die wiederum in der Regel ihre Organisation vertreten. Wie kann man vernünftigerweise erwarten, daß „Vertreter“ von Staaten

und Organisationen sich plötzlich in Fachleute der Jugendarbeit verwandeln und losgelöst von ihrer Vertreterfunktion so komplizierte Probleme wie Freizeit, politische Bildung und Erziehung zur internationalen Verständigung – dazu noch in unförmig großen und in jeder Hinsicht heterogenen Gruppen – nur annähernd sachgerecht diskutieren können. Konferenzen sind wichtige Instrumente internationaler Zusammenarbeit. Man sollte sie nicht dadurch entwerten, daß man sie mit Aufgaben und Programmen überfordert, die sie von ihrer Struktur her nicht leisten können.

Mit diesen Erwägungen soll nicht gesagt werden, daß die in Grenoble gestellten Themen als solche nicht wichtig und für internationale Zusammenarbeit nicht wichtig sind. Aber es sind Themen, die fruchtbar nur diskutiert und weiter entwickelt werden können, wenn sie in klarer Fragestellung definiert sind und von entweder fachlich oder geographisch homogenen, kleinen Gruppen behandelt werden.

Geeignete Themen für weltweite internationale Konferenzen auf dem Gebiet der Jugendarbeit wären hingegen solche, für die Vertreter von Staaten und Jugendorganisationen nicht nur kompetent sondern auch in ihrer praktischen Verwirklichung mitverantwortlich sind. In Grenoble wurde ein solches Thema auf Wunsch einiger Staaten in einer kleinen Sondergruppe behandelt – leider nur ganz am Rande –, nämlich „Die Beziehungen zwischen behördlichen Stellen und den nicht-staatlichen Organisationen“. In allen Staaten wächst die Bedeutung der außerschulischen Jugendernziehung. Gleichzeitig stehen sie gemeinsam vor dem Problem, wie dieser Zweig der Pädagogik und Sozialpädagogik am besten in das bestehende oder entstehende nationale Erziehungssystem einzubauen sei; wie die finanziellen Mittel zu verteilen, welchen Organisationen und welchen Behörden bestimmte Verantwortungen zu übertragen seien, kurz, welche institutionelle Form (oder welche Formen – Jugendarbeit wird wohl immer vielgestaltig sein müssen) außerschulische Jugendernziehung allmählich erlangen könnte. In diesem Bereich scheinen alle Staaten und Organisationen aus einem internationalen Erfahrungsaustausch profitieren zu können. Gleichzeitig würden solche Konferenzen zur notwendigen Klärung der bisher ungenau umschriebenen, daher auch häufig vernachlässigten außerschulischen Jugendernziehung beitragen. In Grenoble wurden die Ergebnisse der kleinen Sonderkommission zu diesem Thema am Schluß nicht einmal dem Plenum vorgelegt.

Ein anderes gleichermaßen nützliches und wichtiges Thema für eine solche Konferenz wäre ein Erfahrungsaustausch über Formen der Jugendleiterausbildung. Begriff und Beruf des Jugendleiters sind nicht weniger verschwommen als der Begriff der außerschulischen Jugendernziehung selbst. Zahlreiche Empfehlungen auch dieser Konferenz bestätigen, wie wichtig die Klärung der Ausbildungsbedingungen für diese Art der Arbeit wäre, wenn sie überhaupt die ungeheuren Aufgaben, die ihr so freimütig zugesprochen werden, realistisch bewältigen soll.

Der Katalog der weit über hundert Empfehlungen und Wünsche, die nun als formulierte Ergebnisse der Konferenz vorliegen, ist sehr eindrucksvoll. Das Dilemma ist jetzt, was aus ihnen werden soll. Sie sind nach Form und Inhalt sehr unterschiedlich; einige beziehen sich auf bis ins einzelne gehende methodische Fragen (z.B. die Art der Berufsberatung), andere sind ganz allgemein formuliert (z.B. daß eben dem Problem der Freizeitgestaltung mehr Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt werden sollte), wieder andere sind spezifischer, z.B. daß die UNESCO, um internationale Verständigung zu fördern, das Jahr 1965 benutzen und die Mitgliedstaaten anregen

sollte, jungen Menschen die Bedeutung des Zweiten Weltkrieges und des Kampfes der ganzen Menschheit gegen den Faschismus zu erklären. Fast alle sind an die UNESCO oder die Mitgliedstaaten und internationale Organisationen gerichtet, ausnahmslos ohne konkreten Hinweis auf Möglichkeiten der praktischen Verwirklichung. Auffallend groß ist die Zahl der Empfehlungen, die Anregungen für weitere Studien, Untersuchungen, Forschungen enthalten. Der Mangel an exakten Informationen und an Kenntnissen der Hintergründe von Problemen, mit denen man sich konfrontiert sieht, wird ganz offenbar stark empfunden. Besonderes Interesse verdient auch die Betonung, mit der die Bedeutung des Fremdsprachenstudiums für den in der Jugendarbeit tätigen Personenkreis hervorgehoben wurde. Der UNESCO wurde auch nahegelegt, alle Möglichkeiten zu prüfen, die geeignet sind, Jugendliche zu sozialen Diensten in den Entwicklungsländern anzuspornen.

Neben dieser Gruppe von Empfehlungen, die immerhin in den Arbeitsgruppen diskutiert und ausdrücklich angenommen worden waren, tauchte in der Schlußsitzung noch eine Reihe allgemein formulierter Empfehlungen auf, die auch angenommen wurden, die aber vorher nicht diskutiert worden waren. Sie beziehen sich auf mögliche Formen der Arbeit, wie sie in Zukunft von der UNESCO entwickelt werden sollten. Sie erscheinen interessant genug, um hier ausschnittsweise wörtlich zitiert zu werden:

- i. Ein internationales Jugend-Komitée gründen;
- ii. Maßnahmen ergreifen, um den Informationsaustausch zwischen Jugendleitern und Spezialisten zu ermöglichen und ihre Qualifikationen zu verbessern; zu diesem Ziel: Errichtung regionaler Zentren für Information, Dokumentation und Forschung;
- iii. Untersuchungen und Forschungen über Jugendfragen und außerschulische Jugenderziehung anregen und solche Arbeiten koordinieren;
- iv. als Folge dieser Konferenz, Tagungen veranstalten entweder in Form von regionalen Konferenzen oder Studientreffen mit dem Ziel, einige der in Grenoble diskutierten Fragen gründlicher zu untersuchen;
- v. regionale und internationale Tagungen für nationale Jugendleiter aus verschiedenen Teilen der Welt einberufen;
- vi. auf Anfrage von Regierungen Experten entsenden, um Jugendprobleme zu untersuchen und Pläne für außerschulische Jugenderziehung auszuarbeiten;
- vii. außerschulische Jugenderziehung in Programme einbeziehen, die Technische Hilfe empfangen, so daß Entwicklungsländer die Experten und das Material erhalten können, die sie im Zusammenhang mit ihrem Jugendprogramm benötigen;
- viii. Programme und Hilfsmaßnahmen zum Nutzen der Entwicklungsländer in Afrika, Asien und Latein-Amerika allgemein planen.

Diese Empfehlungen klingen in ihrer glatten, eingängigen Form überaus einleuchtend. Bei näherem Nachdenken erweist sich jede einzelne als ein weitreichendes, kostspieliges Programm. In Grenoble wurde nicht einmal der Versuch gemacht, sie auf ihre praktische Durchführbarkeit hin zu überprüfen. Sind die Mitgliedstaaten wirklich bereit, regionale Zentren zu errichten, Forschungen zu unterstützen, Informationsaustausch für Jugendleiter zu organisieren? Wenn diese wertvollen Vorschläge nicht sehr gewissenhaft und konkret geprüft werden, laufen sie Gefahr wie gängige Schlagworte verschlissen zu werden.

Trotz allem besteht die Hoffnung, daß der Schwung und die Begeisterung der Grenoble Konferenz, die die Erinnerung vieler Teilnehmer beherrschen mögen, der

außerschulischen Jugend-erziehung einen Auftrieb geben und ihr somit ein gewichtigerer Platz im Programm der UNESCO eingeräumt wird. Form, Ausmaß und Inhalt werden von den Beschlüssen der Mitgliedstaaten bei der General-Konferenz abhängig sein.

Es steht aber auch zu befürchten, daß diese erste Weltkonferenz über Jugend-fragen nicht wie ein erster Versuch sorgfältig analysiert und ausgewertet, sondern als rundherum erfolgreich beurteilt wird. Die kritischen Erwägungen, die hier an-gestellt wurden, beziehen ihre Rechtfertigung aus der engagierten Besorgnis, daß gerade auf dem Gebiet der Jugendarbeit selbstzufriedenes Hinwegtäuschen über wirklich bestehende Schwierigkeiten in der internationalen Zusammenarbeit dem großen, fast peinlich oft proklamierten Ziel der internationalen Verständigung sehr schaden kann.

HELGa TIMM, Gauting bei München

*International Conference on Modern Foreign Language Teaching
Berlin, 31 August–5 September 1964*

Under the chairmanship of Professor James B. Conant several hundred modern language teachers in universities and schools, and researchers in the field of language learning, gathered for a week in the *Kongreßhalle* of Berlin. The newly established *Pädagogisches Zentrum* had carefully prepared the meeting which was divided into two parts.

In the first three days 7 small groups of experts met in order to deal with problems of language learning in: Kindergarten and Primary Schools – Secondary Schools – Adult Education – Teacher Training – Research – Commerce and Vocational Training – Principles.

During the last three days public lectures were given for large audiences, while simultaneously 4 small committees sat to discuss: Exchange of Information – Special Courses in Foreign Languages – New Instructional Media – Machine Translation.

Research

In answer to the question of what I considered to be the most remarkable trend in all the discussions during that week in Berlin, I should reply that it was the importance attached to research and the need to strengthen and expand the existing facilities for the international exchange of information about research in progress and about research results. Several groups formulated recommendations to have centres established regionally, nationally and internationally, one of them saying: "It would be desirable to have a network of regional centers that coordinate and promote research and experimentation in the field of foreign language teaching and set up a documentation service giving all researchers and teachers access to publications from all countries."

The meeting showed that the experts present, coming chiefly from European countries and North America, with a small number from Africa, Asia and South America, were aware of the complexity of the language learning business and the need for more research especially regarding constructive studies which examine the

resemblances and differences between the native and the target language from the point of view of descriptive linguistics. Several speakers expressed the fear that so far many language teachers are not familiar with the theoretical foundations of present-day thought on the basic principles of the structure of language in general, its fundamental oral nature, and with the psychology of language learning.

Reforms in teacher training and increased efforts in in-service training are needed to remedy this lack. The Planning Committee recommended the production and wide distribution of cheap publications (modelled on some already produced in the USA) on what research has to say to the teacher.

Language laboratory

Much time was devoted to the language laboratory. It can be judged as a healthy sign that the lab was not considered a panacea for all the present weakness of language teaching but was treated as one contribution among others that technology can make towards the teaching of languages. The teacher training group expressed its opinion in this way: "It is not the introduction of the language lab that is revolutionising language teaching but rather the new conception of what language is that we find behind the audio-lingual approach. This is what teachers must familiarize themselves with. Then they will find that the language laboratory, among other aids, can relieve them of a number of tiresome drill activities and set them free for the more creative side of their work with the learners." "Language labs — in themselves only a piece of hardware — can only be as useful as the materials which can be made available for use in them," said the Principles Group. The New Instructional Media Committee recommended that "the technological experts agree on the standardisation of the basic elements of construction so that the possibility of interchange of materials be made easier, and that specifications be clear and precise and that the equipment must meet the stated specifications."

Programmed instruction

Although pioneer work done in the methodology of using "teaching machines" and in setting up programmes was welcomed because they allow for individual differences and individual rates of learning, and although some tangible results of such efforts were reported, the discussion made it evident that developments are still at an early stage.

Aptitude tests

Reports from two American professors on their experiences with language aptitude tests were received with great interest. For some detailed information on such tests please turn to page

Early beginning of language learning

The group of Primary Education welcomed the development of language teaching spreading downward into the primary schools to children below 10.

Teacher training

The Teacher Training group stressed the advantages of international exchange by the following 2 recommendations:

- 1) The training of teachers might be organized in such a way that students can proceed from one country to another to do part of their professional training there

They should not only study another language and culture there, but also basic educational principles and practice.

2) An international college of education, sited somewhere in Europe, might be created.

Criticism and appreciation

It is always easy to criticize a conference. In the case of Berlin some participants were disappointed with the insufficiency of the demonstrations of language labs actually in use with classes of pupils.

Some of the discussions might have been more fruitful if the speakers had more knowledge of comparative education, or, in other words, if the audiences had been more aware of the cultural milieu and the background of the school system in general in which one particular act of language teaching was being carried on.

The Steering Committee of the conference attempted to summarize the findings of the conference by asking one of the group chairmen to give an overview of the findings of all the groups and committees in a plenary session on the last day of the meeting. Due to the brilliance with which Dr. H. H. Stern fulfilled this difficult task, the daring suggestion of the Steering Committee proved a great success. Dr. Stern, this year's chairman of the Modern Language Association, whom the readers of the *International Review of Education* will remember as its executive editor a few years ago, was strongly applauded when he stated his impression that the Berlin conference had shown great vitality in the language teaching world and that urgent need for more such conferences was widely felt.

What was appreciated by every participant, was the ample opportunity, provided by the Berlin hosts of the conference, to meet informally colleagues from other countries, and the officers of various international organizations active in the field of language teaching such as the Modern Language officers of the Secretariats of Unesco and of the Council of Europe, representatives of ministries of education, officers of the *Fédération Internationale des Professeurs de Langues Vivantes*, and of a number of national teacher associations.

The *Pädagogisches Zentrum* of Berlin is handling the publication of an enormous documentation collected during that week. A considerable part of what will in the end be 1400 pages of papers had already been printed by the end of the year 1964, and the rest will soon be out.

WILLI KOELLE, Hamburg

Unesco General Conference Paris, 20 October-20 November 1964

Education, once again, was given priority at the 13th session of the Unesco General Conference. Out of Unesco's total regular budget of \$ 48,920,000 for the years 1965-66, the Conference voted about one quarter, or \$ 11.3 million, for education. In addition, nearly \$ 22 million will be available for educational activities from the United Nations Technical Assistance Programme and from the United Nations Special Fund.

Within this priority for education, two subjects were given special attention: educational planning and a literacy programme, which it is hoped will lead to a world campaign for universal literacy.

Literacy, as Unesco's Director-General Mr. René Maheu told the Conference, must be integrated into social and economic development, both to aid this development and to be economically valid. As a first step, an experimental literacy programme is to be applied in the form of mass pilot projects in eight selected countries throughout the world. In connection with this programme, the Shah of Iran sent a message to the Conference offering Teheran as the site for a major conference on literacy to be held in 1965 or 1966. The General Conference unanimously decided to accept this "generous offer" from the Shah. The pilot project countries will be selected on the basis of established criteria after careful study during 1965.

Unesco's work in *educational planning* took an important step forward since the last General Conference in 1962 through the establishment in Paris of an International Institute for Educational Planning. The Institute, during 1964 carried out seminars, meetings, research studies and preparation of materials in the field of planning, with emphasis on education in Latin America. The Institute will intensify and expand its work during 1965-66, particularly collaborating with educational planning bodies which already exist, making planning surveys in depth of specific countries in various parts of the world.

Increased aid will be given to countries upon their request in the form of missions by Unesco experts who will help advise Governments on educational planning to fit in with overall plans for economic and social development. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (the World Bank) is cooperating with Unesco in this field. Two pioneer missions sent jointly by Unesco and the world Bank to Latin America at the end of 1964 to identify and assess possible projects for the spread of education in developing countries, are to be followed by further such missions.

The next two years will see a consolidation and an increase in Unesco cooperation with the World Bank and its affiliate, the International Development Association. Technical advice and services needed in connection with the financial aid these bodies grant to Member States for developing education will be provided.

Following the Unesco International Youth Conference held at Grenoble earlier this year,¹⁾ the Organization plans to establish an *International Committee on Youth* during 1965 and, in collaboration with this body, to seek to promote youth activities for international co-operation and understanding.

As far as Unesco regional assistance to education is concerned, the major share goes to *Africa*. Unesco assistance will continue for the Regional Centre for Educational Information and Research in Accra; the African Textbook Production Centre in Yaoundé; and the Unesco School Construction Bureau in Africa at Khartoum, where work is being reorganized with increased international staff. Attention will also be paid to the promotion of national centres for educational information and research, with a view to improving teaching methods and materials and to the Africanization of such materials and of school curricula at all levels, and special emphasis is again to be laid on increasing the educational opportunities available to women and girls in African countries, bearing in mind especially adult literacy programmes.

With some \$ 6.28 million contributed by the United Nations Special Fund, 13 higher teacher training institutions in 10 African countries will have been established

¹⁾ A report of this meeting can be found on page 472.

by the middle of 1965, and it is expected that three more similar projects will be entrusted to Unesco for execution by the end of 1966.

Unesco's education programme in the *Arab States* falls into four main parts: educational planning and administration, with special attention being paid to continued aid to the Arab States Training Centre for the Advanced Training of Educational Personnel (ASCATEP at Beirut); increased training of primary and secondary school teachers; education for community development, with continued assistance to the Arab States Training Centre for Education and Community Development (ASFEC) near Cairo; and to providing experts and fellowships in connection with the development of teaching methods and the preparation of textbooks. Continued support will also be given to the educational programme for Palestinian refugees in collaboration with UNRWA.

Unesco's assistance in education to *Asia* continues to be based upon the 1962 meeting of Asian Ministers of Education in Tokyo. A further meeting of Education Ministers is also envisaged during the next two-year period, to review progress made and discuss major policy issues. Most of Unesco's education work in the South and South East Asia regions will continue to be handled through the Organization's Regional Office for Education in Bangkok. Bearing in mind the great rising tide of school enrolment, about 100 million during the next two-year period and an estimated 220 million by 1980 if targets are met, Unesco will continue concentrating assistance on three principal institutes. These are: the Asia Institute for Educational Planning and Administration in New Delhi; the Asia Institute of School Building Research in Bandung; and the Asia Institute for the Training of Teacher Educators in Quezon City. In addition to help to the Quezon City Institute, Unesco, in co-operation with Unicef (United Nations Children's Fund) will support a number of teacher training activities, mainly for primary teachers, in Afghanistan, Thailand, Indonesia, the Philippines and Viet-Nam. Unesco will continue to act as Executing Agency for the UN Special Fund in the running of a Higher Teacher Training College at Kabul, Afghanistan, and two other Special Fund educational training projects are expected to be started during the next two years in other Asian countries. In the field of adult literacy, a team of five or six specialists will be recruited during 1965 who, after necessary orientation, will be available to Member States to advise on setting up or on improving and expanding adult literacy programmes.

In *Latin America*, Unesco's education programme for the next two years envisages another Conference of Ministers of Education, which will both survey results achieved in the major project for extension and improvement of primary education, and consider the setting up of a regional programme for the overall development of education. Some idea of the success of the major project can be gathered from the fact that, during the past 8 years since the project started, the number of primary pupils has risen by about 11 million and 150,000 new classrooms have been built. Further assistance will also be given to studies on educational planning being carried out by the UN Economic Commission for Latin America in Santiago, Chile; to the Regional School Building Centre in Mexico City; and to the universities of Sao Paulo, Brazil, and Santiago, Chile, for the training of educational specialists and research workers. A new activity will be the creation, at Buenos Aires, of a Regional Centre for Pedagogical Research, during 1965. In the teacher training field, Unesco experts will continue their work in experimental

teacher training schools, for primary education, in Colombia, Ecuador, Honduras and Nicaragua.

Support will also be continued in the operation of the Fundamental Education Centre for Community Development in Latin America (CREFAL), in Mexico, in co-operation with the UN and some of the Specialized Agencies. During the next two-year period, a meeting of experts on the development of higher education in the region is to be held jointly with the Inter-American Bank.

As far as *Europe* is concerned, a suggestion presented during the Conference by Austria and Belgium that a Conference of Ministers of Education of the European Member States of Unesco be convened in Vienna during the 1965-66 period was approved. This conference will have as its main theme the problems involved in the development of higher education.

(UNESCO, Paris, 12 November 1964)

BOOK REVIEWS – BUCHBESPRECHUNGEN – ANALYSES BIBLIOGRAPHIQUES

DOUGLAS, J. W. B., *The Home and the School: A Study of Ability and Attainment in the Primary Schools*. London: MacGibbon and Kee 1964. pp. 190. 36/—.

Well designed and executed long-term longitudinal studies are, unfortunately, all too rare. As major sources of fundamental insights and understandings, such studies as those of Terman (gifted children), the Gluecks (juvenile delinquents), the Scottish Council for Research in Education (1947 inquiry), and Bayley (intelligence) have become landmarks in behavioral research. *The Home and the School* is a worthy addition to this same tradition, though its significance may be masked by its concise reporting.

Begun in 1946 as an appraisal of the availability and effectiveness of pre-natal and maternity services (the findings were reported in *Maternity in Great Britain*, Oxford University Press, 1948), the study has focused on a large sample of children for almost 18 years. A second study, issued as *Children Under Five* (Allen and Unwin, 1958), reported the major illnesses suffered by the children up to the point when they entered infant school. Now the third stage findings – the growth of the children in primary schools, the results of the Eleven-plus selection for secondary schools, and the consequences of certain educational practices – are reported. The sample group has now completed secondary education and many have left school for employment. Two additional volumes are planned: one will deal with the secondary education of the group and the other will describe the transition from school to employment or higher education.

The study sample consists of children born during the first week of March 1946. The sample consisted of all of the children born to wives of non-manual workers and farm laborers and one-fourth of those born to the wives of other types of manual workers and self-employed persons, with twins and illegitimate children excluded. (Thus, for some analyses, the original national population can be reconstituted by multiplying four times the number of manual workers and self-employed persons' children.) The sample in *Children Under Five* totaled 5386. Full information (test data at ages eight and eleven and details of the Eleven-plus selection) was available on 3418 children with partial data available on an additional 657. Douglas indicates that the sample is valid for generalizations about all the children who took the Eleven-plus in March 1957.

Teachers supplied information on schooling, including attendance data and reports on behavior and attitudes toward school work; supervised the tests of mental ability and school achievement at ages eight and eleven; and rated parental interest in the children's school work. School doctors gave special clinical examinations three times during the primary years. Health visitors and school nurses visited each child's home at least once a year and recorded all accident and hospital or clinic information. The local education authorities provided the Eleven-plus selection data.

In the introduction, D. V. Glass points out that the study underscores serious deficiencies, unequal opportunities, and considerable wastage of potential talent

which have led to general reappraisals of the present system of primary and secondary education. Once again, the issues of tripartism, selection, deployment of staff, resources and building facilities are subject to serious questions. The Robbins' Commission proposals (*Higher Education*) would need to take into account and to prevent the losses at the primary and secondary levels of the abler children, especially from the lower working classes.

Four group tests, designed by the National Foundation for Educational Research, were administered in 1954 and 1957. These are discussed in an appendix by D. A. Pidgeon of the National Foundation. At age eight, the battery of tests examined non-verbal ability, reading comprehension, mechanical word reading, and vocabulary. At age eleven, subjects took tests of verbal and non-verbal ability, arithmetic, mechanical word reading, and vocabulary. The reading and vocabulary instruments were the same for both testings. Though direct evidence of validity is difficult to obtain, the test reliability is high for all the instruments used.

The findings from the testings and other information sources comprise a series of tightly written chapters, beginning with reports on selection for secondary school which stress the regional inequalities of this process. What emerges from Douglas, in light of the recent reports of the Central Advisory Council for Education (England), especially Crowther (*15 To 18*) and Newsom (*Half Our Future*), is a picture of "wastage of ability" which bluntly challenges educational planners.

Douglas reports less parental objection to the 11+ on political or social grounds than on the simple fact that too few grammar school places are available. Both the teachers and the mothers believe that grammar school education is available for only two-thirds of the children who might actually benefit from such a program. The data indicate that mothers' attitudes toward grammar school places are particularly important, especially when a child's measured ability is close to the borderline level. The geographic inequalities of grammar school places are, of course, unrelated to either the ability of children or the availability of independent schools. The fixed number of places in a particular area can assume changing implications if there are shifts in the social composition of the local families. For example, a new housing estate can bring a different population. Interestingly, the researchers found that school progress is relatively unaffected by frequent moves during the primary school period although some young children from transient families seem to do less well on tests.

A number of chapters deal with the home, the family, the general maturing patterns and development of the sample. The influence of the homes and schools on educational opportunity is examined along many dimensions. As might be expected, during the eleven years of the survey, home circumstances improved greatly for both middle-class and manual working-class families, even though a large number of the latter are still below the average. When measured ability in each social class is kept constant, those from more satisfactory homes have an advantage over the rest, regardless of whether the area has many or few grammar school places. Douglas speculates that it may be the type of area, rather than the standard of housing, which affects educational achievement. In general, because of the greater availability of grammar school places, children of any given level of ability on council estates have a better chance than those living in privately rented dwellings. Poor housing conditions are linked with poor test results. While this is so in each social class, the middle-class child seems not to fall so far behind as his working-class counterpart,

The researchers found that father's occupation alone was an unsatisfactory criterion of social status. Hitherto ignored were the instability of occupations and the mother's background. The influence of the mother's education and social background is so apparent that it contributes markedly to the attitudes toward education. Douglas finds that able working-class children whose parents are willing to have them remain at grammar schools are being deprived of the opportunity because of the shortage of places. He finds more and more parents encouraging their children to stay on at school beyond age fifteen - a trend observed by other researchers who point out the sharp interest in voluntary staying to age sixteen and beyond. This trend seems to cut across parents of all ages and social class. However, children of lower manual working-class parents appear to be doubly handicapped in that their performance on the test of ability and achievement shows a relative decline between eight and eleven years and their chances of going to a grammar school are low even when allowance is made for their level of measured ability at Eleven-plus.

Parental encouragement, or its lack, significantly influenced the performance of their children on the tests and the Eleven-plus examinations. When parents take an interest in school work and encourage their children the consequence is improved scores between ages eight and eleven and a slight advantage on the Eleven-plus. When parents take little interest, their children's performance declines between ages eight and eleven and they gain fewer places on the Eleven-plus than might be expected from their measured ability. The data clearly indicate that the attitude of children toward schoolwork is deeply affected by the amount of parental encouragement and by their own level of emotional stability. Those children with fewer symptoms of emotional instability and with a greater amount of parental ambition seem to pursue their studies with greater vigor and concentration than others and to have an increasing advantage at the primary school.

On some of the tests, the girls do better, and on others, the boys. Generally, despite the fact that teachers are more critical of boys and believe they deserve fewer grammar school places, the actual awarding of places follows closely what might be expected on the basis of measured ability. It was found that girls who reach puberty early tend to be superior in behavior and measured ability, a large proportion being only children or from small families. The first-born children in families of two or three do better on the Eleven-plus than would be expected from their measured ability and the later born do less well, especially in the manual working classes. The eldest children seem to receive a stimulus which the younger children seem to lack and which spurs them to do better on the Eleven-plus. The data do not support the view that in the manual working-class families the youngest child has a better chance of going to a grammar school.

The findings concerning the importance of family size on test performance raises a number of interesting speculations. There was no evidence that children from large families "deteriorated" in their best performance between eight and eleven years. The influence of family size on measured ability seems less for the first-born middle-class girls but large for middle-class boys.

Having examined the educational progress of children against the background of their families and their homes, Douglas turns then to the influence of the primary school. The researchers gathered detailed descriptions of the physical plant, the staff and pupil populations, class size, and organizational patterns of the schools. As would be anticipated, the primary schools with the best records of grammar school awards

have more middle-class children whose parents are anxious for them to succeed. Such children show a relative improvement between their test scores at ages eight and eleven and draw ahead of children at schools which have fewer grammar school awards. This influence of the school is most marked for middle-class children and least marked for manual working-class boys. Douglas contends that by the time they are eleven years of age, the academic success of the school has considerable influence and is second only to parental interest in affecting grammar school goals. Unfortunately, the study was unable to analyze the reasons why some primary schools are more successful than others in improving the test performance of their pupils.

Douglas does examine the consequences of streaming by ability, pointing out that the selective process begins much earlier than the Eleven-plus - perhaps very early in the junior school. The conclusion that he draws is that streaming by ability reinforces a process of social selection wherein "children who come from well-kept homes and who are themselves clean, well clothed and shod, stand a greater chance of being put in the upper streams than the measured ability would seem to justify." As has been pointed out in other studies of streaming (particularly that done by J. C. Daniels), once children are in the A-stream they are likely to stay and to improve in performance. On the other hand, children in the lower stream of similar initial measured ability are likely to deteriorate in test scores. Thus, the "validity of the initial selection appears to be confirmed by the subsequent performance of the children, and an element of rigidity is introduced early into the primary school system." This self-fulfilling prophecy of the streaming and the teaching that takes place in various streams has been underscored before but never with such persuasive data.

The final chapter deals with *The Wastage of Ability*. Douglas believes that the evidence "gives strong reasons for believing that much potential ability is wasted during the primary school years and misdirected at the point of secondary selection." The data show that between the ages of eight and eleven the performance of children in tests of mental ability and school achievement is greatly influenced by their homes and by their schools and that the child's capacity to do well in his work at school depends on parental encouragement, the kind of home he comes from and his early academic record. He argues that there is a loss of ability which no Eleven-plus selection can eliminate and which leads to further loss through early school leaving and academic failure. Late transfers to grammar schools or the award of technical school places appears to do little to reduce the social inequalities of the Eleven-plus selection. If private as well as grammar and technical schools are included in selective secondary education, Douglas points out that "all semblance of social equality vanishes." A substantial proportion of the brighter children are not reaching the selective secondary schools if one judges by their eight-year scores rather than their eleven-year test scores.

Douglas raises the question of whether the extension of middle-class attitudes toward grammar school education throughout the rest of the community would boost demand for more selective secondary school places. He estimates that if all social classes demanded a fair share of selective school places, 75 percent more would be needed and selective schools education would have to be provided for 47 percent of all children.

Sixty-four percent of the survey group left school at age 15, primarily from the secondary modern schools or streams. The proportion ranged from 16 percent in

the upper middle-class families to 77 percent in the lower manual working-class families. It is likely that with more grammar school places early leaving would be reduced. On the other hand, it is quite possible that as new programs are developed and increase "the examinable" in all kinds of schools, the trend toward voluntary staying will continue without additional grammar school places.

Finally, Douglas probes the concept of the limited "pool of talent", the few persons who can benefit from higher education. His conclusion is that the substantial loss of ability among manual working-class children could be prevented by better teaching, even if parental attitudes toward education were not changed. Consequently, he suggests improvement of the level of teaching in the primary schools to enhance and preserve the pool of talent. Even earlier are the unplumbed possibilities of educational and environmental enrichment at the pre-school years, to reverse the mental stunting of homes and neighborhoods suffering intellectual poverty. His recommendation to view nursery schools in terms of their personal and social contributions echoes similar current activities in the United States and Israel.

English education has been in a state of ferment since the Education Act of 1944 proclaimed "education for all" as the major goal. Committee recommendations, increasingly based on empirical data as well as on the testimony of individuals and agencies representing various social, political, philosophical and educational viewpoints, are already available for the age group thirteen to sixteen, fifteen to eighteen, and the university and higher education group. The Plowden Committee is currently inquiring into primary education. *The Home and the School* argues for a reappraisal of the nature and structure of educational institutions at all levels, the re-examination of curriculum and the nature of teaching, as well as intellectual stimulations of the environment at the pre-school and early school years. This study is an important resource for all educational planners. One anticipates the two volumes still to come.

A. HARRY PASSOW, New York

GRANT, NIGEL, *Soviet Education*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books 1964. pp. 189. 3/6.

Nigel Grant, geb. 1932 in Glasgow, ist seit 1960 Dozent für Erziehungswissenschaft am Jordanhill College of Education in Schottland, nachdem er mehrere Jahre als Lehrer für englische Sprache und Literatur an Glasgower Schulen tätig gewesen war. Im September 1962 machte er eine pädagogische Studienreise nach Sowjetrußland, besuchte in Moskau und Leningrad Schulen, Hochschulen und andere pädagogische Einrichtungen und führte Gespräche mit Lehrern, Dozenten, Professoren, Schülern, Studenten und Verwaltungsleuten. Die persönlichen Eindrücke, die er dabei gewann, wurden vorher und nachher ergänzt durch das Studium einschlägiger Literatur über das sowjetische Erziehungswesen, wovon es in englischer Sprache bereits eine reiche Auswahl gibt. In der Bibliographie am Ende seines Buches nennt er von amerikanischen Autoren u.a. George Counts, George Bereday, William Brickman, Gerald Reed und Nicholas De Witt, von sowjetischen Veröffent-

lichungen in englischer Sprache oder Uebersetzung die Schriften von Kondakow, Korolew, Yelyutin und Shapovalenko (Unesco) sowie den Bericht des sowjetischen Erziehungsministeriums über die Entwicklung im Schulwesen 1960/61, bestimmt für die Genfer Internationale Unterrichtskonferenz vom Sommer 1961. Dazu kommen noch Arbeiten englischer Autoren wie Nicholas Hans, Edmund King und Dorothea Meek.

Auf Grund dieser persönlichen und literarischen Orientierung will Grant, wie er im Vorwort sagt, „aus der Vogelperspektive“ einen *Ueberblick* über die heutige Erziehung in der Union der Sowjetrepubliken geben. Er beginnt mit einer *Skizze des Hintergrundes*, auf dem die Sowjetpädagogik sich zu entwickeln hatte, mit der Größe des Landes, der Verschiedenartigkeit der Bevölkerung, der Rückständigkeit des zaristischen Schulwesens, den kriegerischen und revolutionären Ereignissen, die sich mehr zerstörend und hemmend als fördernd für die Erziehung auswirkten, und der gewaltigen Aufgabe, das Analphabetentum auszurotten. 1926 gab es noch 42% Analphabeten allein im Europäischen Russland. Heute soll nach den Berichten der Sowjets und Unescos die Fähigkeit zum Lesen, Schreiben und Rechnen im ganzen Volke verbreitet sein; vorsichtige Beobachter nehmen noch einen Rückstand von höchstens 5–10% an.

Auf die sowjetische *Erziehungs-Theorie* oder -Ideologie übergehend, macht der Verfasser die Feststellung, daß Erziehung in der UdSSR primär ein politisches Werkzeug für den Aufbau einer kommunistischen Gesellschaft ist. Daher die Betonung des Marxismus und Leninismus im Unterricht, die grundsätzliche Feindschaft gegenüber religiöser Unterweisung im Schulwesen – die allerdings nach Grants Meinung neuerlich einer Mischung von Ablehnung und Toleranz gewichen ist –, die Herausstellung des „Sowjetpatriotismus“ als allgemeines Erziehungsziel, der Massencharakter der Schulorganisation mit Planung und Kontrolle an zentraler Stelle.

In der nun folgenden *Darstellung des Schulwesens* auf allen seinen Stufen berücksichtigt Grant sowohl in kurzen Hinweisen die Entwicklung in den 4 Perioden der 20er Jahre, des Stalinismus, der Nachkriegszeit und der Chruschtschew'schen Reform, als auch in übersichtlicher Breite die Gestaltung des Aufbaus in den einzelnen Schulstufen. Er ergänzt diese Darstellung durch eine ausführliche Behandlung des Hochschulwesens und der Lehrerbildung. Er verfährt dabei meistens rein-beschreibend, nur gelegentlich auf Unterschiede im großbritannischen Schul- und Hochschulwesen aufmerksam machend, zuweilen auch Bedenken äußernd wie bei der Chruschtschew'schen Forderung gleicher Schulzeit, allgemeiner Bildung und produktiver Arbeit für alle Bildungsgänge, die in der letzten Zeit nach einer Zeitungsmeldung auch bereits ein Zurückstecken im Zeitmaß für die künftigen Werktätigen nötig gemacht hat.

In einem Schlußkapitel, überschrieben *Schlußfolgerungen und Kritik*, macht Grant auch den Versuch einer vergleichenden Zusammenfassung. Es bleibt aber in der Hauptsache bei einer persönlichen Kritik einzelner Merkmale des sowjetischen Erziehungswesens, wie Dogmatismus, Zentralismus, Uniformität, und der Anerkennung grosser Leistungen in der Verbreitung des Bildungswesens, in der Anpassung der Schulerziehung an die Forderungen der Gegenwart. „Gegenüber dem Aufruf des Sowjetschulwesens müssen wir erwägen“, so schreibt er am Schluß, „ob wir der Erziehung die Aufmerksamkeit, das Geld und die Anstrengung widmen, die sie verdient und verlangt“.

Der *Hauptwert* des Buches besteht darin, daß es eine klare, erste Einführung in

das sowjetische Bildungswesen gibt, die als Grundlage für Information und seminarische Übungen dienen kann, aber einer dokumentarischen Ergänzung bedarf, wenn vergleichende Untersuchungen angestellt werden sollen.

FRANZ HILKER, Bonn

NASTAINCZYK, WOLFGANG, *Makarenkos Sowjet-Pädagogik. Kritische Analyse seiner Kollektivierung*. Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer 1963. pp.313. DM 35.—.

The fascination of Western educators with the work of A. S. Makarenko continues undiminished. During the last decade or so a considerable literature, mostly by West Germans, has grown up about it, of which this study is both an extension and a critical review. The reasons for the fascination would in themselves provide an interesting topic in comparative education. Not all of them are self-evident or conscious in the minds of the commentators and interpreters even though some are obvious enough. There certainly has been astonishment over the discovery that communism could produce and acclaim so authentic a figure whose authority owes nothing to ideological lip service and everything to fierce conviction and the hard school of experience. Perhaps there is also involved here a sense of envy and embarrassment over the fact that Western countries, though materially richer than the Soviet Union, remain beset by social and spiritual problems to which no response comparable in moral earnestness and poetic appeal has been forthcoming. One could go on speculating about still further reasons.

This study of Makarenko is the most detailed and painstaking written so far. It is distinguished by a thorough knowledge of all of his published work and, what is more, by scrupulous intellectual honesty of its presentation. For an author who rejects completely Makarenko's conception of man and society, this is no mean achievement. The pedagogical portrait drawn here does justice to all that is valuable and creative in the original without ever forgetting that Makarenko the educator, however admirable, is inseparable from the philosopher and strategist of communist society. This reviewer took essentially the same view in a study published in 1958.

In the concluding chapters analytic and empirical methods are abandoned in favor of dogmatic assertions. Catholic theology alone, it is maintained, offers the ultimate criteria by which any theory of education must be judged. Only through the acceptance of divine revelation as communicated through the Church can educators be guarded against the misuse of human beings entrusted to their care. The author is, of course, entitled to his beliefs, and I am not concerned to quarrel with them. But they are, strictly speaking, extraneous to his subject. His theological-philosophical arguments apply not only to communism but equally to many other philosophies, such as humanism, existentialism and naturalism in so far as they take a secular view of man. This generality deprives these arguments of any particular relevance to Makarenko's work and, contrary to the author's belief, they are unable to yield any deeper insight into it. The only conclusion to be drawn from their application in this case is the fairly banal one that anti-revisionist communism and dogmatic Catholicism are antithetical. I doubt whether there is anyone who had not known this truth before.

In its closing remarks the book lapses into an astonishing naïveté. Makarenko's errors, we are told, could have been prevented had his interpretation of human existence remained open to the truths of divine revelation! No doubt modern history would have taken different turns had all men been able to continue to believe in the dispensations of divine providence. But secularization is an accomplished fact, and Makarenko's replacement of the omnipotence of God with the omnipotence of man is one extreme form of this secularization. Surely the author is aware of all this. Yet in the end he writes as though modern history with all its repercussions on the modern consciousness had not really happened. He thereby diminishes the significance of his work and leaves his interpretation of an historic figure standing in a void. This is the failure of a book which otherwise demonstrates careful scholarship and offers a well informed exposition of the most provocative of all communist theorists of education.

FREDERIC LILGE, Berkeley (California)

INATOMI, EIJIRO, *Kyoiku jinmei jiten* (Pädagogisches Namenlexikon). Tokyo: Risosha 1962. pp. 950. 3.200 Yen.

Fünf Jahre lang hat ein Redaktionskollegium unter Leitung von Eijiro Inatomi an der Herstellung dieses Lexikons gearbeitet, das zum 60. Geburtstag des japanischen Pädagogen und Philosophen als das erste pädagogische Namenlexikon erschienen ist. Professor Dr. E. Inatomi ist Dekan der Literarischen Fakultät der Sophia-Universität in Tokyo, Präsident der *Kyoiku Tetsugaku Kai* (der japanischen Gesellschaft für pädagogische Philosophie) und Vorstandsmitglied verschiedener wissenschaftlicher Gesellschaften, u.a. der *Nihon Kyoiku Gakai* (der Gesellschaft für Erziehungswissenschaft) und einiger Regierungsausschüsse für Muttersprache, Lehrerbildung und Erziehungsplanung. Weiten Kreisen der japanischen Öffentlichkeit wurde Eijiro Inatomi durch seine Tätigkeit als Vorsitzender des Regierungsausschusses für die Moralerziehung bekannt, zudem seine Veröffentlichungen (Erörterungen über Moralerziehung, 1955; Moralerziehung und Menschenbildung, 1959 u.a.) die Diskussion um dieses Zentralthema der gegenwärtigen pädagogischen Entwicklung Japans fundierten.

Das *Pädagogische Namenlexikon* enthält 2000 Beiträge über führende Pädagogen aller Zeiten, Länder und Völker, Schulgründer, Schulpolitiker und -organisatoren. Auch über Persönlichkeiten des internationalen Kulturlebens, aus Philosophie, Psychologie, Politik, Soziologie und Naturwissenschaften wurden Beiträge aufgenommen, sofern in ihrem Werk relevante pädagogische Aussagen zu finden sind oder ihr Wirken einen Einfluß auf das Erziehungsgeschehen erkennen läßt. Jeder Artikel enthält einen Lebenslauf, die Einordnung der betreffenden Persönlichkeit in die Geschichte der Pädagogik, einen Abriß der pädagogischen Auffassungen, die wichtigsten Quellschriften und Hinweise zur Sekundärliteratur. Beachtenswert ist die Verteilung der einzelnen Beiträge auf 378 japanische Pädagogen, 147 aus anderen asiatischen Ländern und 1.475 aus Europa und den USA, darunter zahlreiche noch heute tätige Pädagogen aus allen Ländern.

Im Anhang des Lexikons finden sich eine Anzahl wertvoller chronologischer Tabellen, wie sie in dieser Art bisher in anderen japanischen Lexika nicht veröffentlicht wurden. Diese Tabellen vergleichen folgende Gebiete des japanischen Bildungswesens mit der Entwicklung anderer Länder: 1) Allgemeine Kulturgeschichte,

2) Pädagogik in geistesgeschichtlicher Sicht, 3) Elementarerziehung, 4) Höhere Schulen und Universitäten, 5) Lehrerbildung, 6) Sozialpädagogik (Erwachsenenbildung, Jugenderziehung, Berufsbildung, Kleinkindererziehung), 7) Heilpädagogik und Sonderschulwesen, 8) pädagogische Reformbewegung. Diese Tabellen bieten eine gute Informationsquelle zur Vergleichenden Erziehungswissenschaft.

Aus dem Kreis der 257 Mitarbeiter, die unter Leitung von E. Inatomi an diesem Werk tätig waren, lehren eine große Anzahl im Fachbereich der Vergleichenden Erziehungswissenschaft oder beschäftigten sich mit Teilfragen dieses Forschungsbereiches. Das dürfte auch die sachgerechte Berücksichtigung der europäischen und amerikanischen Pädagogen erklären, darunter auch die Würdigung der deutschen Pädagogik. Dem japanischen Studenten stehen zwar eine ganze Reihe weiterer Fachlexika zur Verfügung (z.B. von S. Kobayashi u.a.), aber die vergleichenden Aspekte werden am eindrucksvollsten aus dem *Pädagogischen Namenlexikon* von Inatomi ersichtlich. Obwohl es nur in japanischer Fassung vorliegt, wird es zur weiteren Vertiefung der internationalen pädagogischen Kontakte beitragen.

KENZO SUZUKI, Tokyo, und
HORST E. WITTIG, Bremen

BROUDY, HARRY S., SMITH, B. OTHANEL, BURNETT, JOE R., *Democracy and Excellence in American Education*. Chicago: Rand McNally 1964. pp. 302. \$ 5.—.

It is a good thing that this challenging book has been written, even if its impact upon the actual school situation remains slight for a couple of decades and even if, because of its middle-class values, it fails to consider the average adolescent when actually purporting to do so. For, at the very least, it will compel many of those who believe that the comprehensive school should provide an elective curriculum, and one that affords varied opportunities for pre-vocational education, to analyze and re-formulate their reasons for the faith that is in them.

The authors have done, almost throughout, an excellent job of hard thinking and they have come out with, or sought to justify, views which are firmly stated. These views therefore provide the setting for true intellectual battle with no outlets for evasive action.

They start from first principles, which is something too infrequently done in pedagogical literature today, and they analyze "the educational demands exerted by the emerging culture, the structure of knowledge, the structure of the learning and teaching process, and the uses of schooling in life". From this analysis they obtain support for what, one feels, was rather an *a priori* position, namely that the time has come when all adolescents, save the intellectually subnormal, must be given the same "essential set of key concepts, skills and logical operations". They develop a fascinating new design for the curriculum under the headings of English language, foreign language, mathematics, science, "developmental studies," aesthetic studies based on "exemplars" and "molar problems." They allow for the different levels of ability and achievement in these fields by the provision of what in schools of England and Wales are called "sets" and have long been used to establish relatively homogeneous groups in such subjects as Mathematics, Latin and foreign languages. The introduction of "sets" into every subject demands that the

school shall not be structured into year grades, as is the normal pattern in American education. The authors fail to tell us how the personal needs of the pupil with regard to those feelings of security and "belonging," hitherto provided by the "home-room," are to be met in such a school. But they give references to other books in which, perhaps, possible answers to this question may be found.

In the different "sets" content, depth of knowledge and method of teaching are all to be adjusted to the needs of the group. So the maximum possible curricular flexibility will exist for every individual pupil, the gifted can complete a course in less than standard time and take units that should enable them to obtain advanced placement in the American college. The general planning of this kind of curriculum, which offers new scope for the utilisation of such new developments as language laboratories, programmed learning and team teaching, is clearly explained in diagrams. These, in the last chapter, bring to a focus all the high-quality thinking that has made up the book. Three of the terms used by the authors need special explanation. "Developmental" studies are an attempt to help the student to situate himself in space and time. They tell him what we think about the evolution of the cosmos, including man, about the evolution of social and political institutions and finally about "the evolution of our culture with respect to its technology, its fine and applied arts, its economic systems, its ideals and ideologies." "Exemplars" provide studies directed towards the establishment of value standards; "models . . . had best be sought in the art, literature and music that have stood the test of critical scrutiny." "Molar" studies, or social problem-solving, "or, more accurately, problem-studying" is the name given to exercises in which the pupil, approximately fifteen years of age, is encouraged, under guidance, to discuss such matters as the problems of economic democracy, disarmament and juvenile delinquency. For this work they should draw upon the intellectual skills and the information they have acquired in earlier stages of the curriculum. The ideas put forward in Chapter XIV, regarding ways in which such discussions, which are needed in all the secondary schools of the world, might be so structured as to get the maximum of clear thought from the participants are particularly valuable and would make a splendid basis for an international meeting of educators considering this important subject. On the other hand, Chapter VIII is so obsessed with communism-phobia that it makes a strange bed-fellow to this chapter in a book which argues that the ability of pupils to structure a discussion of social problems and to give them objective consideration is "the ultimate test of all schooling" (p. 272).

The basic contention of this book is that a time has come, in the affairs of mankind, when "a hitherto undreamed of level of intellectual and moral maturity for most and preferably for all citizens" is required. Everyone would agree, but the attempt to cope with this need wholly or mainly in the secondary school is not the only way. The leaders of the Soviet Union have the same view and are working towards 11 years of education from the age of 7 years for everyone. Yet in the 1958 reform it was recognized that many young people between the ages of 15 and 18 are not going to be content with "general" education, however brilliantly it is presented. So provision for vocational education or work with part-time general education was made for these. A somewhat similar plan holds for Sweden and will hold in France from 1967. It would be surprising if the young men and women of the USA were all that different! Life-long education is the concept which some of us would like to see established round the world. But this cannot be achieved unless the material is geared to man's nature and to his needs at different stages,

and these needs are changing with the economic and social pattern. So it is to phased part-time education, according to his or her needs, that some of us look rather than to suppression of the pre-vocational element in the secondary schools.

Nevertheless, this is a book which will richly repay reading. The authors have made an important contribution to educational thought, and it should provide material for discussion for a decade.

C. H. DOBINSON, Reading

SCHMIDT, JULIUS, *Das deutsche Philosophiejahr als Brücke zur Universität*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag 1963. pp. 72. DM 3.80 brosch.

Le livre *Das deutsche Philosophiejahr* de Julius Schmidt ne se propose pas seulement d'ajouter un nouveau plan de détail aux innombrables plans de réforme qu'on présente pour l'enseignement secondaire allemand. Ce vieux praticien, à l'esprit sobre et en même temps idéaliste, vise à un but plus élevé: sauver les lycées trop uniformes d'aujourd'hui d'une bureaucratie qui menace d'y écraser toute vie spontanée, et ceci en leur redonnant leurs trois formes traditionnelles: *Gymnasium*, *Realgymnasium*, et *Oberrealschule*. En les rétablissant dans leur ancienne autonomie et avec leurs caractères particuliers, on regagnera ce qu'on n'obtiendra jamais avec une spécialisation en diverses matières comme il se fait dans l'*Oberschule*. Ces formes individuelles, bien définies et distinctes dans leurs buts et pourtant réunies dans leur dessein commun d'amener les élèves à leur "maturité", seront de nouveau les foyers qui seuls permettent la formation d'un esprit collégial parmi le corps enseignant et un esprit d'équipe entre les étudiants, bases de toute formation secondaire digne d'une grande culture.

Ce nouvel esprit positif, qu'on cherche actuellement en vain à ressusciter, permettra, combiné avec l'enseignement en périodes, (enseignement alterné par demi-années des matières correspondantes: Français, Anglais, Chimie, Physique, etc. . . .), de raccourcir la durée de la scolarité secondaire, (neuf ans actuellement), d'une année sans baisser le niveau du baccalauréat. Celui-ci gardera toute sa valeur. C'est seulement pour les futurs étudiants de lettres et candidats aux professions libérales, qu'on devrait introduire une année obligatoire de philosophie "das deutsche Philosophiejahr".

Cette année sera caractérisée par moins d'heures de cours (vingt au total) au profit d'un travail personnel plus intensif. Les matières seront: philosophie, (cinq heures par semaine), allemand, (cinq), langues modernes ou sciences naturelles, (trois), musique ou dessin, (deux). Malgré certaines ressemblances avec la propédeutique française, l'année de philosophie allemande se distinguera d'elle. Cette année, qui vise plutôt au développement de la personnalité et du jugement de l'élève qu'à l'acquisition de nouvelles notions, aura lieu au lycée même pour éviter une rupture subite pour l'élève; en même temps elle donnera par son caractère demi-académique de nouvelles perspectives et de nouvelles tâches aux meilleurs des professeurs et animera et fertilisera ainsi toute la communauté du lycée. Etant donné l'esprit et le caractère particuliers de la philosophie allemande, l'enseignement - ne pouvant pas s'appuyer sur un système préétabli et des définitions exactes des notions philosophiques principales comme nous le trouvons en France - ne procédera pas par déduction des notions essentielles, mais comprendra une initiation à

l'interprétation des textes choisis qui aboutira à une discussion des idées générales qui s'y trouvent exprimées.

Le livre de J. Schmidt est caractérisé par un amour profond pour le lycée et beaucoup de confiance en une régénération de son ancien esprit positif qui seul pourra vaincre le malaise actuel des universités. La réforme des universités commence et se décide pour lui dans une nouvelle organisation des lycées. Rien ne montre mieux la valeur des réformes proposées que l'attention et l'admiration que ce livre a suscitées chez le Prof. Dr Eduard Spranger qui écrit: "Le travail de J. Schmidt apporte enfin un ton nouveau dans les débats relatifs à l'enseignement terminal des lycées."

P. CHAMBRE, Chambéry (France)

BLOOM, BENJAMIN S., *Stability and Change in Human Characteristics*. New York: Wiley & Sons 1964. pp. 237.

In the preface the author states that "the book could be summarized in a single mathematical formula $I = I_1 + f(E_{2-1})$ where I represents quantitative measures of a characteristic [e.g. height, I.Q.] at two points in time and E represents the relevant environmental characteristics." In other words the measurement of, say height at age 10 is height at age 9 plus some function of the environmental change between 9 and 10. Or more starkly, the increment of height from 9 to 10 is a function, simply and solely, of the change in environment from 9 to 10. A necessary consequence would then be that if the environment fails to change between 9 and 10 no growth occurs. Evidently Professor Bloom means nothing so preposterous; probably a constant term should be included in the function bracket and then the hypothesis is that every child would grow the same amount between 9 and 10 were it not for environmental differences.

At times indeed this does appear to be the author's thesis, but in other passages he clearly contradicts such a notion and comes nearer to the modern concepts of canalization and the non-linear interactions of genetic and environmental factors. The book is neither a monograph dealing with personal research, nor a text book, but an extended review of the results of a number of longitudinal growth studies, almost entirely American. Data on height, I.Q., educational achievement and interests and attitudes are in turn reviewed, to see to what extent environment might be responsible for observed changes. As Professor Bloom very cogently observes, the amount of published longitudinal data on educational achievement is surprisingly scanty considering the great volume necessarily accumulated by the schools; and the data on interests and attitudes is still less. He leans heavily therefore on growth in height as a model for his subsequent argument. He points out that between 5 years and adolescence gains in height from year to year are nearly independent of absolute height at the beginning of each year and cites this as evidence that the correlation coefficients between age 5 and subsequent ages reflect chiefly the percentage of growth achieved. This, however, is as far as his approach goes. Though he rashly concludes that in these circumstances cross-sectional data can be used to estimate the relationships to be expected in longitudinal data, he cites none of the papers dealing either mathematically or empirically with this very difficult statistical topic, and is apparently unfamiliar with much of the work on successive correlations in longitudinal growth studies (e.g. Arch. Dis. Child. 31, 372, 1956).

Partly this is due to the fact that an extraordinary delay has clearly supervened between the drafting and publication of the book. There are practically no references to work later than 1959, except in the case of unpublished theses. But partly the oversimplification of this chapter seems to come from an unfamiliarity with biology, to the extent that he writes "... pointed up the physiological effects of the menarche in slowing up the pituitary secretions and in speeding up the gonadal secretions."

Much of the book is altogether admirable, and a great deal of data has been collected together. The educationist will be able to judge for himself to what extent the author's evidence supports his feeling (with which the reviewer personally agrees) that the primary school years are of paramount importance and that a severe failure there is unlikely to be remedied later. But he should be aware that the presentation of the physical growth model does involve some fairly dubious simplifications.

J. M. TANNER, London

TORRANCE, E. P., *Education and the Creative Potential*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press 1963. pp. 158+ref.+index, \$4.50.

This is a remarkably untidy book, but, - perhaps because of this - it is also remarkably stimulating. To imagine that at this stage in our organisation of the study of creativity, a systematic account of the field could be given, is to venture very far indeed into the realms of the unreal. Again, it would be unrealistic to hope that our enquiries had reached a stage at which any one topic in this field could be adequately coped with. Until we have a better idea of the nature of the components of the field we cannot tell how they should be related. Until we have a better idea of how these components relate, we cannot tell their precise nature.

Torrance's book covers a hotch-potch of topics, each of which provides the enquirer with a few questionable answers, but raises a multitude of further questions. It is divided into two parts, the first of which consists of seven semi-popular talks, and the second of which consists of six accounts of experiments on various specific issues. A little more trouble might have been taken over the editing, for one feels that the excision of many of the repetitions contained in it would have done the book no harm.

The first chapter - "The Creative Potential of School Children in the Space Age" - calls the teacher's attention to the urgency of the need to exploit the child's creative potential, and suggests ways in which creativity might be trained. In the second - "Conditions for Creative Growth" - some interesting observations are made on such factors as "sanctions against questioning and explaining", the "work-ply dichotomy", and "teachers as hypothesis makers" - factors which might be expected to influence the development of creativity. Next, in a chapter devoted to some mental health problems of the creative, an explanation is given of the sometimes unfortunate consequences of society's intolerance of creative behaviour. The fourth chapter should perhaps have been contained under the title of the second, for they both cover the same kind of ground and to some extent overlap. If it and, then perhaps its title, which sentimentally begins "Giving Children a Chance...", could have been avoided. The chapter is aimed at parents, we are told, and certainly

bears out any suspicions of tendentiousness which may have been aroused by its title. On page 52 it contains a sentence at which non-Americans may well raise their eyebrows: "Ability to test ideas will protect us from brainwashing, hidden persuaders, *Communism* and other threatening influences". The persuaders contained in this sentence are certainly not very well hidden. Chapter 5 describes eight creative students as instances of how tests and observations can be used in the identification and guidance of the creative. The chapter "Cultural Discontinuities and the Development of Originality" reveals a most interesting phenomenon: according to certain measures, there are decrements in the creative thinking ability of American children at the ages of five, nine, thirteen and seventeen. These decrements are explained fairly convincingly in terms of changes in the ways in which, in compliance with the American culture pattern, curiosity and creative needs are treated at these ages. The final chapter of the first part - "Religious Education and Creative Thinking" - merely stresses again the importance of learning all things creatively. Apart from the facts that it contains a few biblical quotations, and the observation that Jesus was a creative learner and teacher, it has no *particular* pertinence to religious matters.

The findings of the experimental studies reported in the second part of the book are sometimes interesting, and Torrance's choice of topics to investigate is suggestive of the width of the range of possibilities of experiment in this field. Highly creative children are found to be adept in restructuring sex-inappropriate tasks, so that they can deal with them creatively. Boys are found to be superior to girls in certain (sex-biased?) creative tasks. Manipulation promotes the generation of inventive ideas. It is demonstrated that groups use negative sanction against their most creative members, and certain techniques used by the creative for coping with group pressures are revealed. It is shown that creativity can be cultivated. Social changes are found to affect children's conception of the areas in which it is legitimate for them to enquire and enjoy enquiring. Finally, assumptions concerning the sex-role identification of creative individuals are questioned.

This book certainly repays the reader for his efforts - but perhaps it is not unfair to say that the more critical readers will be the more likely to feel dissatisfied with it. One so often wonders, during its course, whether the "creativity" involved in particular investigations is a function of tests that are not representative of a psychologically- or even socially-relevant kind of task, or whether it is a function of attitudinal factors the significance of which is psychologically trivial. However, it is bristling with suggestiveness and could benefit parent, teacher or researcher.

JOHN D. WILLIAMS, London

BERNHARDT, KARL. S., *Discipline and Child Guidance*. New York: McGraw-Hill 1964. pp. 322. 50/6.

In the discussion of educational processes the author has chosen for a starting point "the nature of the child, the world in which the child is being reared and the goals the adult may have in mind." Discipline is defined in a very general manner: it is thought of "as a plan of training, not just as correction or punishment." As a result of this definition the conceptual framework is bound to be too diffuse. The practices adopted by parents in child guidance should be classified more accurately:

First, parents attempt to regulate (increase or decrease) the amount and the quality of environmental stimulation to which the child is exposed; in other words, they create and present some learning situations to their children and protect them from other learning experiences. Second, parents may reinforce their children's behaviour by rewards and punishments, in accordance with the way the children have reacted in these situations. In every day language the word "discipline" is mainly used to include the negative sanctions applied by the parents. The extension of the concept of discipline to both positive and negative sanctions may be acceptable. On the other hand, the regulation of the environmental stimulation is an essentially different type of procedure in child guidance. It should, therefore, be clearly distinguished from the former. This general remark refers to the first part of the book, in which the conceptual framework for the discussion of educational problems is presented.

The analysis of the nature of "discipline" required in a democratic society is very much to the point: It does not mean obedience to individuals or to single rules. It is obedience to general principles or ideals, especially to the ideal of justice. It is considered an important goal of education to aid the child in making choices and in assuming responsibility for the consequences of his own decisions and behaviour. This general starting point is very fruitful and it is applied in the examination of problems in child guidance at successive developmental stages and in different life situations. One of the merits of the book is the emphasis on the changing nature of the relationships between parents and children with the increasing age level of the children.

The second part of the book is close to a guide book; it is divided into specific subsections. No important problems of child behaviour have escaped the author's examination. On the other hand, the number of problems discussed is so great, that it is impossible to look into them more deeply.

It has been very typical of educational guidance in the last decades that the most important problems and decisions based on personal value systems have been neglected or their nature has not been properly recognized. Therefore, counselors and guide books have, unhesitatingly, provided very superficial or flat suggestions in various problems related to marriage, religion, vocational guidance, mass communication etc. Avoiding straight advice, one could (and should) direct the educators to see these problems. This situation is clearly stated in the introduction to the book. The author emphasizes that the parents can solve their own problems; "no one can solve them for them." In connection with concrete life situations this aspect is partly neglected. The same general criticism applied to previous guidance, can be offered to much of the advice on handling various life situations.

The author's attitude towards the parents is very positive. He always emphasizes what they can do. He does not describe the parents' failures or present series of admonitions, which might create anxiety in parents who feel unsuccessful and who make the counselor the object of their resentment. Thus the parents are here motivated in a positive way to utmost efforts to reach a state, where living with their children and the guidance of their development become one of the most fruitful experiences in their lives.

ANNIKA TAKALA, Jyväskylä (Finland)

knowledge of persons, of the nature and intention of change to be made, and of the learning process by which it is made. Therefore, to us, those who administer an educational institution should have professional training which encompasses at least these things."

"In education, the number of decisions made which are based on professional judgment is great, and the cumulative importance of such decisions is tremendous. The right of a person trained in a profession to hold and express personal opinions about professional matters in which judgment is required must be retained if the profession is to have status."

The book is filled with useful information, particularly for school administrators and professors of administration. The reviewer would have desired that the authors treat in greater depth the special professional competence of school personnel and the diversity of programs, curricula, and instructional materials, together with their relevance to wise decision making by the school administrator. In the opinion of this reviewer, the educational administrator, in terms of educational decision making and action, might be more aptly compared to the chief of staff of the medical group than to the superintendent of the hospital or its business manager.

Only as study in depth is made of the nature and scope of the educational enterprise and as interpretations are made of contemporary political, scientific, economic, social and ideological phenomena, can the needed competence of the educational administrator be identified with validity. His decisions and Executive Actions should stem from these bases.

As is pointed out by the authors, the need for considerable depth study in related disciplines such as economics, political science, sociology and history should constitute basic elements in the preparation programs of the educational administrator.

Another commendable quality found in the book is the emphasis on in-service education. Education is an instrument for coping with change as well as for creating change. To meet this criterion administrators dare not become obsolete.

Training the Administrator, A Study With Special Reference to Education should be commended to leaders of education in all countries; it is indispensable to those in Australia.

FINIS E. ENGLEMAN, Pitman/New Jersey (USA)

ROSENMAYR, LEOPOLD, *Familienbeziehungen und Freizeitgewohnheiten jugendlicher Arbeiter*. Eine Untersuchung von 800 Lehrlingen in Wien und Nieder-Österreich. Wien: Geschichte und Politik 1963. pp. 431.

Dr. Rosenmayr is a leading Austrian specialist in family and youth research. The present book reports the results of one in a series of studies conducted under his direction by the University of Vienna Sociology Department.

A three-stage sampling procedure was used for this survey. The capital and a middle-size industrial town in Lower Austria were retained for the study; a sample of class units was selected next among the first and third grade classes in the woodwork and mechanical engineering departments of technical trade schools; a written questionnaire was presented to all apprentices of these classes.

The content coverage of the study is exceptionally comprehensive, as the

number of questions included in the questionnaire - 237 - indicates. Family relationships, leisure behavior and attitudes, religious practices, political and cultural preferences, relationships to friends and peer groups and participation in various associations are systematically explored. The data were analysed separately for adolescents living in the metropolitan area, in the middle-sized town, and in rural communities, but are not always presented separately, as they should have been (since stratified sampling does not allow grouping together the results of the three sub-groups without correcting for differences in proportions of populations selected).

Let us mention just some of the most interesting findings. The study reveals strong and stable ties of young men to their mothers. As a matter of fact, the attachment to mother is in most cases deeper than the relationship to father. The relationship to the parents is dominated, as could be expected with adolescents, by an ambivalence of strong affections and a feeling of restrictions coming from the family.

The peer group is the second pole of attraction to the adolescent; but in the absence of an "interim society" between the family and the adult world, the participation to the informal groups is not channelled into organised activities. The study shows a lack of group norms, fixed codes, or secondary structuration in these groups. The author even speaks of a general "socio-structural vacuum" in which the young people live. Membership of existing associations - which range from popular sports clubs to savings clubs - is limited in number; the organisations have little or no "binding power" and impinge very few value orientations on their young members.

No conflicts were found between the family and participation in formal associations. On the contrary, the family seems to support the joining of such organisations. Real tensions exist, on the other hand, between participation in formal organisations and in formal groups.

As far as leisure activities are concerned, the picture is neither one of youth overburdened by work nor that of a "leisure society." Cinema going, dancing and sport attendance increase, but the boys are not only consumers, but also actively engaged in various endeavours. Thus, the proportion of young people watching sports is inferior to the proportion of those practising them. Soccer and Sunday swimming are particularly popular among young workers.

This book is, indeed, interesting reading. It is rich in factual data in a field where empirical results are still badly needed, where, much too often, in the absence of precise knowledge about how young people feel and act, we are left to speculation, untested theories, and transmitted beliefs. Certainly, the results can not be generalised beyond the population studied, but the educators, youth leaders, and administrators will undoubtedly find it useful: it invites critical thinking. It will also help the sociologist and the social psychologist in the formulation of their hypotheses, when working on their theories.

VITO AHTIK, Paris

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1964 EINGEGANGENE VERÖFFENTLICHUNGEN
PUBLICATIONS REÇUES EN 1964

except those already reviewed. The mention of a book in this list does not preclude a later review.

mit Ausnahme von solchen, die bereits besprochen worden sind. Die Aufnahme eines Buches in diese Liste schließt eine spätere Besprechung nicht aus.

exception faite de celles qui ont déjà été analysées. L'énumération d'un livre dans cette liste n'exclut pas une analyse ultérieure.

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Jean LIVESCU, docteur en philologie, professeur ordinaire de littérature allemande à l'Université de Jassy (1946-1955) et de Bucarest (depuis 1955). Doyen de la faculté de philologie (1948), recteur de l'Université de Jassy (1948-1955), vice-recteur (1956-1959) et recteur (1959-1963) de l'Université de Bucarest, vice-ministre de l'enseignement de la République populaire roumaine (depuis 1963), vice-président de la Commission nationale roumaine pour l'UNESCO (1964). Il publia des ouvrages (en allemand et en roumain) sur l'Histoire de la Littérature Comparée (la fortune de Pétrarque en Allemagne), sur la littérature allemande et autrichienne (notamment Grimmelshausen, Goethe, Schiller, Hölderlin, Lenau, H. Mann, Brecht, Böll, Musil), sur des questions de Littérature Générale. Etudes (en roumain, français et anglais) sur des questions de l'enseignement supérieur.

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